



Government of Bengal,

**Final Report on the
Survey and Settlement Operations
in the District of Murshidabad
1924—1932**

By

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Table of Contents.

PART I.

The Land and its People.

Chapter I.—Physical condition, climate, health, communication, etc.

	Para.	Page.
Scope of the operation	1	1
The District : its boundaries : physical features : divisions : the <i>Rark</i> : the <i>Bogri</i> ..	2	1
Flora	3	2
Fauna	4	2
Climate : temperature, rainfall, health	5	2
Communications : river system, roads, railways	6	5
Hats and Markets	7	8
Melas	8	8

Chapter II.—History.

Introductory		9
The <i>Rark</i>	10	9
Villages or places with old historic associations	11	11
<i>Pundarika Kula Panjika</i>	12	12
Result of the excavations of the Archaeological Department 1928-29 & 1929-30 ..	13 & 14	13 & 15
Relief common	15	15
Pargana Fatesing	16	15
Genealogy of Sabita Roy's descendants	17	18
The <i>Bogri</i>	18	20
The District under Muhammadan Kings	19	20
Character of the preceding Rule	20	24
Fiscal administration of the Muhammadan Rulers	21	24
European Settlement and rise of the British power	22	27
The East India Company—1658-1757	23	28
Serajud-dowla and the East India Company	24	29
Warren Hastings' description of the Cossimbazar factory in 1756	25	29
Captain Grant's description of the defence of Cossimbazar	26	31
The Battle of Plassey	27	31
Mir Jafar Khan (1757-61)	28 & 29	32
The condition of affairs	30	33
Mir Kasim (1761-63)	31	34
War with Mir Kasim	32 & 33	34
Mir Kasim's correspondence with Major Adams	34	35
Massacre of Patna	35	36
The massacre and Shitab Roy	36	37
The English merchants' view	37	38
Return of Mir Jafar	38	38
Nawab Najmuddowla	39	38
Further transference of powers	40	38
The first Punyah	41	40
The Mutiny of 1857	42	40
Formation of the District	43	42
Bhadrapore and Maharaja Nundoomar	44	42

Chapter III.—The people and their social customs.

The population	45	42
Castes and sexes	46	43
The Hindus: castes and sub-castes	47	43
The Christians	48	49
The Muhammadans: different types	49	49
Education	50	54
Progress of Education	51	55
Character of the people	52	56
Incidence of excise revenue	53	56
Litigation	54	57
General Traits	55	58

(ii)

Chapter IV.—Agriculture and agricultural stock, etc.

	Para.	Page.
Statistics regarding agricultural condition of the District	56	59
Extent of cultivation	57	59
Crops grown	58	60
Paddy	59	62
Varieties of paddy	60	62
The uses to which paddy is put	61	64
Cultivation of paddy	62	64
Selection of seeds	63	67
Diseases of paddy	64	67
Outturn of crops	65	67
Other crops	66	68
Orchard	67	68
Agricultural stock	68	68
Milk, fodder and manure	69	69
The new tendencies in the Agricultural people	70	69

Chapter V.—Irrigation and Drainage system.

A.—Irrigation.

Introductory : needs of irrigation and drainage	71	70
Irrigation : Rights and Methods	72	70
Suggestions for improvement of irrigation	73	71
Tanks, as sources of irrigation	74	71
Improvement in the condition of tanks: how to be effected	75	71
Wells : Popularisation thereof	76	72
Utilisation of natural channels	77	72
Larger schemes of irrigation	78	72
Smaller schemes of irrigation	79	73

B.—Drainage.

Drainage	80	73
The <i>Pulbandi</i> Embankments	81	74
Review of the condition of drainage in the East	82	74
Floods	83	75
The Bhagirathi as it stood in the earlier papers	84	75
Later history of the Bhagirathi	85	76
The Government Committees (for enquiry into the question of decadence of the Hooghly)	86	93
Nature and Geological formation of the Delta	87	93
Other views	88	95
Embankments	89	96
Conclusions	90	96

PART II.

Fiscal History.

Jurisdiction and its changes	91	99
Formation of the District and changes in Revenue jurisdiction	92	99
A short history of the changes in administrative and Revenue Jurisdictions since 1582	93	100
Summary of changes in District Administration since 1772	94	102
Land Revenue policy in pre-British days	95	104
1st Mughal Settlement	96	106
2nd Mughal Settlement	97	106
3rd Mughal Settlement	98	106
Revenue administration under the British	99	109
Decennial and Permanent Settlements	100	111
Insufficient Revenue Statistics of the District	101	112
Effect of the Permanent Settlement and Subsequent Regulations	102	114
The period from 1793 to 1859	103	116
The Permanent Settlement as a fiscal measure	104	116
The Permanent Settlement Reviewed	105	118

(iii)

	Para.	Page.
Alternatives to Permanent Settlement	106	119
Changes in Revenue roll after 1879	107	120
Foreign Estates	108	120
Resumed Estates	109	121
Case for subjecting all Revenue-free lands to assessment of Government Revenue	110	122

PART III.

Economic life of the people.

The position as it was	111	123
Health as it was	112	126
Health as it is	113	126
The causes of decline	114	127
The present state of industry, trade and commerce	115	128
The distribution of population by occupation	116	129
Occupation in the district (compared with that in foreign countries)	117	130
Position of agriculture analysed	118	131
Incidence of rent	119	134
Land of small tenancies	120	132
Size of tenancies in foreign countries	121	134
Comparison with France	122	135
More than one cropping and irrigation	123	136
Conclusion	124	137
Agricultural indebtedness	125	137
Position as it stands to-day	126	139
Remedy	127	139
Consolidation of holdings	128	139
Introduction of Cottage Industries	129	140
Introduction of money crops	130	141
Live stock and milk	131	142
Radical methods	132	142

PART IV.

The present operation.

Chapter I.—Survey of the lands and framing of the records.

Inception of proceedings	133	143
Area taken up	134	143
The blocks in the joint operation	135	143
Traverse	136	144
Kistwar	137	144
Khanapuri and Bujharat	138	144
The staff of Khanapuri and Bujharat	139	144
Sardar Amins	140	144
Circle Officers	141	145
Boundary disputes	142	145
Roads	143	146

Chapter II.—From Attestation to Final Publication.

Problems met with	144	146
The annual programme of work	145	147
Thak	146	149
Disputes	147	149
Transfer of occupancy rights	148	149
Revenue-free Estates	149	150
Tenure-holders	150	152
Rayati rates of cash rent	151	153
Illegal enhancements	152	153
Peculiar cases of rent	153	154
Private service tenancies	154	154

	Para.	Page
<i>Chowkidari Chakran</i>	155	154
Claims to <i>Mokarari</i> status	156	156
Produce-paying tenancies	157	157
<i>Utbandi</i> system	158	158
<i>Debottar</i>	159	159
Rent-free claims	160	160
The <i>Aima</i> Estates	161	160
Use of section 22(2) of the Bengal Tenancy Act (as it stood before the amendment of 1929)	162	161
Peculiar Tenancies	163	161
Partitioned Estates	164	161
<i>Abwabs</i>	165	162
Large <i>Rayati jotes</i>	166	163
Char tenants	167	163
Partial <i>Kharij</i>	168	164
<i>Begar</i>	169	164
103A Objections	170	165
Final <i>Janch</i>	171	165
Drawing Section	172	166
Jurisdiction	173	167
Statistics	174	167
Missing Estates	175	168
Printing	176	168
Final Publication	177	168

Chapter III.—The concluding stages.

Computation and Recovery	178	169
Case work	179	173
Points of procedure—Civil Procedure Code notes	180	178
Evidence Act problems	181	181
Hindu Law problems	182	182
Peculiar cases tried	183	182
Difficulties under the new Amended Bengal Tenancy Act	184	188
Suggestions	185	189
<i>Jamabandi</i>	186	190
<i>Diara</i>	187	194
Peculiar points in <i>Diara</i> Resumption	188	195
Points of procedure regarding <i>Diara</i> Resumption	189	198
Handing over of records	190	199
Financial Analysis	191	199
Merits of officers	192	202

List of Appendices.

- I. District map.
- II. A map of historical places in the city of Murshidabad and the town of Berhampore.
- III. Map of the district showing possibilities of irrigation and general physical features ($\frac{1}{4}$ " = 1 mile).
- IV. *Milak Khassra* or area statement.
- V. *Jinewar* or crop statement.
- VI. Agricultural Stock statement.
- VII. Statistics of tenancies and rents.
- VIII. Special statistics (Grouping of tenancies).
- VIII (A). Index to specimen irrigation map.
- IX (a). Specimen map illustrating irrigation, with plot Nos., translated into English.
- (b) Specimen irrigation record, with translation of entries into English.
- (c) Summary of general instructions regarding record of irrigation.
- X. List of (a) *hats* and markets and (b) fairs and *melas*.
- XI. List of places connected with local traditions or historical importance.
- XII. List of inscriptions on historical tombs.
- XIII. List of areas omitted from the present operation.
- XIV. List of estates taken up in resettlement of Government revenue.
- XV. List of rivers taken up in *diara* resumption.
- XVI. List of notifications.
- XVII. Summary of the position as regards consolidation of holdings.
- XVIII. Notes on the position of silk industry and mulberry, sugarcane, potato and *jatal* cultivation.
- XIX. A comparative map to the scale of 1"=5 miles, showing position of rivers according to the different surveys made from time to time.

Final Report on the Survey and Settlement operations in the District of Murshidabad.

PART I.

The Land and its People.

CHAPTER I.

Physical condition, climate, health, communications, etc.

1. **The scope of the operation.**—The area dealt with, in the operation of which this is the report, deals with the entire district of Murshidabad except Pargana Fatesing and some other small areas forming a small portion of the total area, a list of which is given in Appendix XIII.

2. **The district: its boundaries: physical features: divisions.**—The district of Murshidabad is situated at the north-western corner of the Province and lies between $23^{\circ}43'$ and $24^{\circ}52'$ north latitude and $87^{\circ}49'$ and $88^{\circ}44'$ east longitude. It is a pear-shaped tract of area with the districts of Sonthal Parganas and Birbhum to its west, the districts of Burdwan and Nadia to its south, and the districts of Maldah, Rajshahi and Nadia to its east. There is no physical barrier between it and the area in the districts of Sonthal Parganas, Birbhum and Burdwan, but the Ganges or the Padma divides it up from the districts of Maldah and Rajshahi while the river Jellanghi separates it from the district of Nadia.

The district is divided almost equally by the river Bhagirathi—the two portions having well-defined geological composition. The difference is well-marked and well-recognised. The western portion is commonly known as the *Rarh* and the eastern the *Bogri*. The names are those of the traditional divisions of Bengal made by king Ballal Sen into *Rarh*—the portion to the south of the Ganges and west of the Bhagirathi, *Varendra* to the north of the Ganges between the Mahananda and the Karotôya, *Bogri* or the portion between the Bhagirathi to the west and the Padma to the east and *Banga* or the portion to the east of the Padma.

Rarh.—So far as the *Rarh* is concerned that the name does not start with

Ballal Sen is apparent to every student of history and it will be dealt with in brief in the chapter on the history of the district. The soil is largely of laterite clay and limestone nodules and slopes down from the west, that is, the uplands of the district of Birbhum to the banks of the Bhagirathi to the east. The eastern limits of this slope, however, are marked by cliffs and bluffs, of which the most marked is the cliff at Rangamati, which rises forty to fifty feet above the level of the river. The soil in *Rarh* is quite good and rich and far better than that in *Bogri*.

While this is true of the *Rarh* area generally the area covered by the police-stations of Suti and Samserganj though lying to the west of the Bhagirathi has a different soil. It is more than probable that the tract lying closer to the confluence of the Padma with the Bhagirathi was in the past subjected to continuous inundations and the alluvial deposits transformed its character. Similarly the area known as "*Hijol*" to the south-west is a treeless plain of about fifty square miles at the confluence of the Mor and the Dwaraka. It seems to have been a hollow where the general slope of the country had drained its water. It is fast being brought under cultivation and promises to be a fertile and rich territory. For the present, it is cultivated every 3 or 4 years under a nominal *Utbandi* system and is largely used for pasturage. It seems to have derived its title from the *Hijol* tree which grows plentifully in the area.

The *Bogri* is the tract to the east of the Bhagirathi. Geographically, the area can be divided into five distinct tracts—

- (1) the municipal areas;
- (2) the riverine tract of the Bhagirathi;
- (3) the central tract between the Bhandardaha and the Bhairab;
- (4) the eastern tract between the Bhairab and the Jellanghi;
- (5) the *Kalantar*.

The municipal area forms a strip, 5 to 8 miles in width, on the eastern side of the Bhagirathi, starting with Jai-ganj and ending in Berhampore. The area covers practically all what constituted the old town of Murshidabad and its suburbs. It is full of buildings in ruin and jungle filling up what were originally habitations and gardens. There are many historical remains in and near about the area which are threatened with complete obliteration.

The riverine tract of the Bhagirathi is the belt of 5 to 10 miles from the present channel of the river. Embankments now practically shut out this area from the river-bed. It is full of *bils*, and has a fertile soil though damp. Towards the north, much bamboo is grown, while the south contains extensive cultivation of mulberry.

The central tract is slightly higher than that on either side. As a result this is never re-fertilised by the silt from the rivers. The soil of parts of it is inferior, and as manure is very little used, these parts are tending to go out of cultivation. There is little jungle there. Towards the south it merges gradually into the fertile *Kalantar*.

The eastern tract consists of Hurshi (Raninagar) and Domkal thanas. It is low specially to the south where there are many *bils*. Indigo cultivation was widespread there and the silk industry was at one time in a prosperous condition. The people are still well-off; there are good paddy lands. In the north, the cultivation of sugarcane has been started with success; towards the south, it is one of the finest pepper-growing areas in Bengal. There is little jungle except in the neighbourhood of Jitpore. This is at once jungly and unusually malarious.

The *Kalantar* is a very low area lying along the south of the district. It has an area of about 50 square miles in the district and there is a fringe area along its edges almost as large. It spreads also for some distance into Nadia. The *Kalantar* proper goes under water during the rains. It is drying up with the decline of the rivers and for the present it grows excellent crop of *aman* paddy. The crops here are occasionally damaged by locusts and grass-hoppers. The soil is black clay, very tenacious when wet and extremely hard when dry and very fertile. The origin of the name is not clear. As it was once an unculturable

marshy waste, some say it means "outside the region of the God of death" who never had occasion to go to so uninhabitable a place. Probably it simply meant outside the region of habitation as it was more or less a marsh.

3. **Flora.**—There is some definite distinction between the east (*Bogri*) and the west (*Rarh*) portions of the district in the matter of the flora. The west, in common with the rest of the *Rarh* area is distinguished by its tanks with Palmyra palm (*Borassus flabelliformis*) on its banks. Its orchards though not rich in mangoes grow jack fruits (*Artocarpus Integrifolia*) and *Sajina* in plenty. The cocoanut palm is rare and is to be found only in the villages on the banks of the Bhagirathi and the Mayurakshi. The northern portion of the *Rarh* tract, however, has more plentiful supply of *Babul* (*Acacia Arabica*) and plum. In them is grown the lac insect.

The *Bogri* or the eastern part has less of Palmyra palm than the west but more of the cocoanut and the date palm. The *Simul* (*Bombax malabaricum*) is full in appearance but *Palas* is less common in the *Bogri* area than in the *Rarh*.

The *Bogri*, however, is richer by far in its orchards. The area near Channukhali is noted for its mangoes and in and about the police-stations of Lalbagh—Lalgola and Bhagawangola—one finds excellent mango gardens. Most of these gardens are old and decayed but fresh orchards are just being planted in some of the villages specially of police-stations Lalgola and Bhagawangola.

4. **Fauna.**—Wild animals of bigger type have disappeared. Antelopes, and deer which once were to be found in the district have completely disappeared. The Revenue Surveyor reported in 1857 that he found tigers, rhinoceroses and a few wild buffaloes. But none of them exist now. Wild boars, however, still abound and pig-sticking was a common pastime in and about Patkebari till lately but as stickers are rare the pigs are multiplying fairly fast. Leopards can be found in and about Murshidabad in Hariharpara and wild cats are occasionally to be found, too. But monkeys (the black-faced *Hanuman*) reign supreme and are a standing menace to the culture of fruits and flowers.

5. **Climate.**—*Temperature.*—It shares with the rest of west Bengal its common seasons. But the temperature

in the eighties of the last century seemed to have ranged between a mean minimum temperature of 70° to a mean maximum of 88° . The lowest temperature often went down to 53° in about the middle of January and rose to about 100° in about the end of April or the beginning of May. The highest maximum between the years 1925 to 1933 during which the operation was conducted, however, was $109\cdot6$, while the lowest minimum during the period was $40\cdot2$ (January 1928).

It does seem that the temperature is undergoing change, for in its highest there is a difference of about twenty degrees and in its lowest of about 30 degrees from the mean averages in the eighties of the last century.

Rainfall.—The mean rainfall recorded was—

Decade 1892-93 to 1901-2— $53\cdot44$ inches.

Decade 1901-2 to 1910-11— $54\cdot4$ inches.

Decade 1911-12 to 1920-21— $54\cdot99$ inches.

Decade 1921-22 to 1930-31— $47\cdot50$ inches.

We get, however, from the records kept that the average in 1871 was $69\cdot07$ and in 1872 about $64\cdot62$. In the former, it was noted by Sir W. Hunter that the average was higher than the annual average by $14\cdot77$ inches, in the latter it was in excess of the annual average by $11\cdot32$ inches. If this be true then one may conclude that between the averages taken in 1871-72 till 1921-22 the average was fairly maintained. But in the decade just ending with the present operation there was a decline of 6 to 7 inches. It is not clear how the average was determined in 1871 and 1872 by Sir W. Hunter but if the actuals of these years be taken it seems that there has been a decrease in the total annual rainfall. No systematic figures were available to determine the issue definitely but it is the common belief among the cultivating agriculturists that rainfall has gone down and cultivation which depends so largely on irrigation and on rainfall has suffered in consequence. The impression is that deforestation and diminution of water carried by the Bhagirathi and its floods is responsible for the decline in rainfall. It is for meteorologists to consider how far this is scientifically correct. That the district was far better wooded before than now appears from the old records and that the

Bhagirathi carried more water along its bed and its floods before can hardly be questioned either.

Health.—No early record of the condition of health of the district can be traced. But the fact that it contains old and decayed townships and that as early as the year 1704, i.e., the beginning of the 18th century the town of Murshidabad came to be the capital of Bengal are at least proofs that its health could not have been bad. Even half a century earlier than this, i.e., in about 1658 or 1659 that Cossimbazar was selected to be one of the first centres where the British established their factories is a proof that it could not have been an unhealthy area. That after the battle of Plassey it continued for a long time as the site for a Cantonment is a further presumptive proof that the area could not have been unhealthy. There is evidence on record that in about the year 1814 devastating epidemics of fever destroyed particular tracts such as Mirzapore in Jangipore subdivision, Baranagore, off Azimganj, and the old town of Cossimbazar. Starting with this speculative conception, however, we find an unredeemed record of unhealthiness ever since.

In 1857 the report of the Revenue Surveyor noted "The district of Murshidabad cannot be called healthy. The western half of the district has more claims to the title than the eastern, but on neither bank do the inhabitants appear robust and strong; they are all weakly-looking and short in stature. Fever and Cholera are the great scourges of the district more specially in the towns and villages on the Bhagirathi and, above all, in the city of Murshidabad and its environs." Sir W. Hunter writing in 1871-72 stated "Among the endemics to be found permanently in the district are malarious fever, splenitis, elephantiasis, and hydrocele. Cholera may be regarded as an endemic in Murshidabad. Splenitis is very common specially in those parts of the district where the drinking water is bad. Malaria is extremely common in Murshidabad district."

In January and February of 1906-07 Captain G. E. Stewart, I.M.S., and Lieutenant A. H. Proctor, I.M.S., carried out some special enquiries and the general conclusion arrived at was—

"Malaria appears to be prevalent, and there is a large mortality directly due to malaria over the whole area visited, but

particularly in the area lying south of the retired line of the embankment between the Bhagirathi river and the Gobra Nullah, and in the Hariharpara thana. The area lying north of the retired line of the embankment appears to be more healthy. Average spleen rate has been shown to be the highest in villages with the most jungle, and also in villages and areas where the sinking of the sub-soil water since the rains has been the least. It is probable that it is to the combination of these two factors that the large amount of malaria is due, and not to either of them by itself."

The Drainage Committee reviewing the position stated—

"The facts may be summarised as follows:—

- ~ (a) Some portions of the district are extremely unhealthy, more so than Jessore or Nadia; other portions are comparatively healthy.
- (b) Fever is similarly distributed.
- (c) Local investigation has shown that the fever is malarial, but the presence or absence of *Leishman-Donovan* infection is an open question.
- (d) The most malarious thanas are Bhagawangola, Manullabazar, Shahanagore, Sujaganj, Gora-bazar, Hariharpara, Asanpur, and perhaps Jalangi.
- (e) The least malarious areas are comprised in the whole of the Kandi subdivision and in the thanas of Samsherganj, Suti, Raghunathganj, Mirzapur, and Sagardighi."

In the year 1908-09 Major W. H. C. Forster, I.M.S., Professor of Pathology in the Lahore Medical College, was placed on deputation with the Government of Bengal with the principal object to ascertain the extent to which *Kala Azar* prevailed in the district. Dr. Forster's conclusions generally were: "The feature of the vital statistics of the district is a steadily rising mortality, which is principally due to the causes of splenomegaly. For practical purposes, the causes of splenomegaly in this district are malaria and *Kala Azar*. The question is—Which of them is the cause of the rising mortality? While admitting that there is a good deal of malaria of the very worst type (malignant tertian) in the

district, he held that the steady rise in mortality was due to *Kala Azar* spreading slowly from one part to another."

His conclusions on other diseases affecting the district were—

"(1) Phthisis is not common in the villages. Roughly, it may be said that the larger the village, the greater the probability of cases of Phthisis being present. In municipal towns, however, a different state of affairs prevails, and cases of this disease are very common indeed. An interesting clinical point in connection with this disease is the very rapid course it runs as compared with cases under similar conditions in Europe."

"(2) The only type of fever at all prevalent was that associated with enlargement of the spleen."

"(3) It was ascertained that in 1907, in addition to fever with enlarged spleen, there had been a great outbreak of small-pox, particularly in the Bhagawangola thana. It appeared that the *chowkidars* were in the habit of returning deaths from this disease under the head of fever to avoid the inconvenience of making daily reports, which are required in cases of epidemic disease."

"(4) Whilst it appears from observations on the endemic index that the district of Murshidabad is not strikingly malarious, it must be remembered that the season 1908-09, during which these observations were made, was a remarkably healthy year in the whole of the Presidency Division. On the other hand, the previous season was one of the worst on record, and if the total mortality of that season had been largely due to the ravages of malaria, one would have expected to find more marked traces of the malaria epidemic than were brought to light in the course of this enquiry. During a malaria epidemic, and for sometime after, one commonly finds that infected children have all three varieties of parasites, whereas in this district mixed infection was the exception. With regard to the varieties of malaria parasites in the district, it will be noted that, as in the case of the Jessore district, malignant tertian is the commonest variety."

As a scientific analysis Major Forster's view as to the prevalence of *Kala Azar* was not entirely accepted by the

other experts of the Government but the fact remains that particular areas have suffered largely from a type of fever which to a non-expert has all the outer symptoms of the particular type.

Considerable private and public efforts are being made to improve the health of the district and public dispensaries of considerable equipment exist at Berhampore, Murshidabad, Jangipore, Azimganj, Kandi with a number of smaller dispensaries at different places throughout the district, such as, Beldanga, Daulatabad, Maricha, Hariharpara, Domkal and Panchthupi.

The Berhampore Dispensary owes a debt of gratitude to the munificence in recent times of the Maharaja of Lal-gola who contributed near about two lakhs for various improvements while private subscriptions contribute near about 80 per cent. of its upkeep expenses.

The Azimganj Dispensary owes its origin to the contribution made in 1866 by Late Rai Dhanpat Sing Bahadur and further contribution later from the same source.

The Kandi Dispensary started with a gift of a lakh and twenty-five thousand from Late Kumar Giris Chandra Sinha of Paikpara. It is maintained mainly from the interest of this endowment supplemented by grant from the municipality.

A boon to the female sufferers of the district is to be found in the dispensary started at Jiaganj through the efforts of the London Mission and the inspiring presence of Dr. Miss Hawker.

In spite of all these efforts, however, it does not appear that the health of the district as a whole has improved to any appreciable extent. This will be apparent when we examine the figures of population of the older towns and the municipal areas which naturally receive more attention and have people with richer economic status than the average area in the interior.

Population in	1872.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1921.	1931.
Berhampore	27,110	23,605	23,515	24,397	26,147	26,370	27,403
Murshidabad	24,534	20,841	18,893	15,168	12,669	10,660	9,483
Jiaganj-Azimganj	21,448	18,390	16,677	13,385	12,327	11,231	10,998
Jangipore	11,351	10,187	9,794	10,921	11,408	10,739	12,796
Kandi	12,016	10,661	11,131	12,037	12,636	11,787	12,616

It will appear that while the population in Jangipore, Berhampore and Kandi has remained more or less stationary that in Jiaganj-Azimganj and Murshidabad has steadily and rapidly declined. It is also borne out by the figures of vital statistics as far as can be traced.

In the decade ending with 1901-02, the birth-rate, was 40.55 and death rate 32.77 per thousand. In the decade ending with 1931 the birth-rate was 41.2 and the death-rate 31.1 per thousand. As stated above dispensaries and doctors are doing a lot to cure but it seems that good as they are, they are ineffective in bringing about those radical changes, which must be handled, if effective and permanent amelioration in the health of the district is to be effected. To bring about those radical changes economic betterment, education for healthy and scientific living and strong measures to improve the drainage of the district and the condition of its rivers must have to be taken in hand and well-planned schemes worked out. Their successful execution, however, presupposes a continuity of policy and a provision of funds both of which in the existing conditions seem to be difficult to secure.

6. Communications.—*River system.*

—Formerly, the district was well-supplied with rivers which had sufficient running water to admit of boats and steamers passing through some of them. The northern portion of the district is still served by the Padma where steamer service and country boats do a lot of transport work. So far as the Bhagirathi is concerned the earliest records go to show that it afforded regular means of communications between the upper Gangetic valley and the Sea-board. It, of course, started silting up quite early. French traveller Tavernier in a letter, dated 6th January 1666, referred to traveller Bernier going overland from Rajmahal to Cossimbazar as the river route was impracticable. Hodges in 1683 said that the river above Nadia was full of shoals and he had to go by land route from Mahula (about 8 miles off) to Cossimbazar in consequence. But nonetheless the process of deterioration was slow and it is only in the beginning of the 20th century that it could be held to have almost ceased to be a channel of communication except in

the months during rains when country boats ply within limited areas. Similar is the case with the Bhairab and the Jellanghi, though on account of a break in the mouth at its junction with the Padma the Bhairab has improved a little of late. But to-day one can almost say that except for the northern part, river as a means of communication has almost ceased to operate. The position of the rivers is dealt with in greater details in the chapter on the drainage system.

Roads.—Roads play an important part. The length of roads maintained by the Public Works Department is small. The more important roads are kept up by the District Board. The length of the metalled roads so maintained is about 56 miles, of unmetalled roads of about 515 miles, with fair weather roads of an aggregate length of about 872 miles.

The more important roads are:—

(1) *The Calcutta Road.*—It connects Berhampore with Krishnagar and the latter with Calcutta. It was the old road along which troops marched and was a high road largely used for traffic before the construction of the Eastern Bengal Railway. The Railway now running almost parallel to it has considerably affected its utility though still for the marketing of agricultural produce it has a large use.

(2) *The Berhampore-Bhagawangola Road.*—It is one of the most important roads that linked up a large part of the north-eastern part of the district with headquarters, with the river market at Azimganj, Lalgola and Bhagawangola. Though its utility has been affected by the Ranaghat-Lalgola line it is still largely utilised by the traders.

(3) *Berhampore-Jalangi Road.*—This passes through Daulatabazar, Kaladanga and traversing the Bhairab and the Sealmari goes on to Jalangi. It is the most important road connecting the south-eastern tract with the headquarters town and is largely used by the people who have no other good road close by.

(4) *Berhampore-Patkebari Road.*—It passes through some of the unhealthiest areas in the district, such as,

Hariharpara and Choan and is the one important road that serves the southern areas between the Bhagirathi and the Jellanghi effectively.

These along with the feeder and the fair-weather roads may be said to be the main highways that serve the *Bogri* part of the district. Of the better type of smaller roads here may be mentioned Jiaganj-Daulatabad, Daulatabad-Bhagirathpore, Hurshi-Domkal, Beldanga-Amtala, Beldanga-Sonaidiar, Rejinagor-Gardiar.

In the *Rark* or west Bhagirathi area of the district the following roads are the most important:—

(1) *The Badshahi Road.*—It starts from a village called Jarur near Jangipore and is about forty-five miles in length. About a length of seven miles of this passes through the district of Birbhum but thereafter runs through Panchgram, Khargram, Burwan. It passes over a high embankment between Sherpore and Khargram.

Its origin is not definitely known but it is certain that it existed during the Mughal period. It is conjectured that it existed from a still earlier period and was a disrupted link between the ancient capital of *Gour* and western India. It fell into a state of disrepair but was reconstructed in 1874 as a part of famine operation in the district. It is one of the main routes for trade and other traffic in this area.

(2) *Dhulyan-Ramnagore Road* is the road on the north-western part of the district, which, with a diversion, links up the district with Pakur in Sonthal Parganas. It is the main channel for communication and transport with the Sonthal Parganas and links up the north-western corner with Raghunathganj-Jangipore the principal centre of trade in that area.

(3) *Azimganj-Nalhati Road.*—This apparently was the main path of communication between the district of Murshidabad and the district of Birbhum in the pre-Railway days. It now runs parallel and contiguous to the branch Railway line between Azimganj and Nalhati.

(4) *Lalbagh-Panchgram Road*.—It starts from Dahapara opposite to the subdivisional headquarters at Lalbagh and ends up with Panchgram on the Badshahi Road. Though it taps an important area it passes through low land and is often in a bad state of repairs specially during and after rains.

(5) *Berhampore-Kandi Road*.—This is a road about 20 miles in length connecting the headquarters of the district with the subdivisional headquarters of Kandi. It passes through low regions on either side and at places on high embankments. It crosses the Mayurakshi at Rangram where there is a ferry in all but the summer season. When the river is low a temporary bridge is thrown over it. There is record in the past that at times the Mayurakshi overflowed and breached the road at several places. Even so late as in 1909 I remember to have been interrupted in my tour back from Kandi by a sudden flood and to have swam over and walked through neck-deep water for a distance of more than four miles. With the decline of the Mayurakshi floods the breaches are rare. It is a very important road and with the opening up of the Railway line buses and taxis ply between Kandi and Radharghat Station.

(6) *Kandi-Sainthia, Kandi-Panchthupi, Kandi-Salar* are some of the more important of the other roads that act as distributories between Kandi and outlying tracts in the interior.

I had been a touring officer in the district in 1908-10 and I had to tour again intensively during the present operation and I am constrained to note that though there are improvements here and there the condition of roads in the interior has deteriorated. It is generally the rule that farther one goes from the district headquarters the worse is the condition. Complaints in the interior are not rare that the repairs are not commensurate with the reported expenditure and the supervision on expenditure is not adequate. It is obviously not for me to suggest how the District Board can adequately maintain the efficiency of the engineering staff but it is for the Ministry of Local Self-Government to determine how best to secure efficiency and it will be a disaster to the agricultural population if

fresh roads are not opened up and those that exist are not kept up in an efficient state. It will adversely affect marketing, keep down prices and thwart the progress of the largest part of the population. A co-ordinated plan between the Railways and the District Board might also be worked out in advance and the question considered whether the development of the one and the other does not lead to overlapping. It can hardly be doubted that the Calcutta Berhampore Road and the Azimganj-Nalhati Road counteract considerably the utility of Railway. The expenditure here might have been so regulated as to help almost untapped areas in the north and the south of the district instead of being wasted in areas provided with good Railway communication.

Railway.—The district is now fairly well-served latitudinally by the Railways. The only longitudinal line is the short branch line connecting Azimganj with Nalhati on the Loop line of the East Indian Railway.

Azimganj Nalhati.—This was the only line in the district up to 1905. This Railway was constructed in 1862 by a private Company at an estimated cost of £80,000. It covers a distance of twenty-seven and a quarter mile of which about fifteen miles lie in the district of Murshidabad. It was acquired by the Government in 1872 and called Nalhati-Azimganj State Railway. It is now being managed as part of the East Indian Railway. In 1873 the Railway was described thus: "The carriages look like broadened omnibuses and are drawn by tiny locomotives combine engine and tender in one, which are manufactured in Paris, and driven by natives of India. The line follows for the most part the undulations of the country. Down hill the train runs merrily but as the little engine toils up the gradient the passengers may and sometimes do jump out and walk alongside getting in again when the head of the ascent is reached. The average speed is only eleven miles an hour." Though there has been some improvement in the mechanism and the running, the position is very much the same to-day.

The utility of this type of Railway is very much doubted and except as a relic of an ancient age it is almost out

of place in the modern time as a means of communication or method of transport. Its utility even in 1872-73 was doubted. The Collector reported in the Administration Report of 1873 thus "Cotton and jute are consigned in large quantities to the Azimganj traders, are landed at Bhagawangola and thence sent in carts via Kandi to Sainthia and then by Railway to Calcutta. Although Azimganj is so near to Bhagawangola a small quantity of these goods finds its way to Calcutta by means of the branch Railway to Nalhati."

It has, however, managed to carry on though its importance was still further reduced by the new lines opened by the Eastern Bengal Railway and the East Indian Railway on either side of the Bhagirathi ensuring a more direct, a more rapid and a more convenient approach to Calcutta. The purpose it serves is of connecting the district of Murshidabad with the district of Birbhum with which it is both socially and economically connected.

Ranaghat-Murshidabad-Lalgola branch of the Eastern Bengal Railway.—This has been a real boon to the district. It started with a Resolution published in the Supplement to the "Calcutta Gazette" of 1st March 1876 stating that Rai Dhanpat Sing Bahadur of Azimganj had offered to construct at his own expense a branch line from Ranaghat on the Eastern Bengal Railway to Bhagawangola on the Ganges. The actual construction of the line was, however, deferred till so late as 1905. The length is about 44½ miles. It has been a great help in opening markets for mangoes of Murshidabad, *Patals* (a kind of vegetable, *Lat. Tricha santhes Disica*) along the Gangetic areas, milk and preparations thereof in the region about Beldanga and Jute, etc., from Lalgola, Bhagawangola, Murshidabad, Bhabta and other places.

The last line to be opened was the *Barharwa-Azimganj-Katwa branch of the East Indian Railway*. The line branches off from Katwa and passing through a number of important places runs almost parallel to the Bhagirathi for the major part of its length and ends in Barharwa, a station on the loop line

of the East Indian Railway. In length it is about 100 miles of which over ninety miles pass through the district of Murshidabad.

There was a proposal to connect Jalangi in this district with the town of Krishnagar. Though it was mooted in about 1911-12 no appreciable progress has been made.

It does seem that Azimganj-Nalhati Railway line might probably be given up. The present road along the line, if improved, might be used for efficient motor traffic.

On the other hand, the present Katwa-Azimganj-Barharwa line may be linked up at least by one, if not two, branch with the district of Sonthal Parganas and Birbhum. The latter should tap the resources of Kandi subdivision and help that area to develop. It has large potentialities. It is not only inhabited by a large section of virile people but is richer than any corresponding area in the districts of Birbhum and Murshidabad.

7. Hats and markets.—This district is strewn over with villages of old habitations where daily market is the rule though on particular days in a week the supply is larger than usual. A list of the *hats* and markets is given in Appendix X to this report. The important *hat* which may be specially referred to is the cattle market at Beldanga which is rapidly getting into importance.

Except the *hat* at Beldanga there has been no recent addition to the *melas* and *hats* of the district.

8. Melas.—The principal *melas* held are—

(a) *Tulsi-bihar Mela* which is held at Jangipore in the month of May is the most important *mela* in the subdivision. It is very largely attended by the people from the interior. Shops are started and though much of very flimsy nature and generally consist of shops for the sale of sweetmeats, etc., the handicrafts of the subdivision and the neighbouring areas are well represented.

(b) At Nashipore, in Lalbagh a similar *mela* is held at the time though on a much smaller scale. During *Jhulan*, a small *mela* is held here, too, in about the month of July.

The most important *mela* of the subdivision of Lalbagh is held at the temple of *Kiriteswar* which is about 4 miles from Lalbagh to the west of the river. There is a temple of goddess Kali there of ancient fame. In the month of *Magh* on every Tuesday a *mela* is held which attracts considerable number of people.

(c) The Keshubpore *mela* is the most important *mela* in the subdivision of Kandi, which has less important *melas* at Puranhat and Kalitola.

(d) The Sadar subdivision has the important *mela* at Manganpara on the first day of *Magh* of each year when a bath in the Ganges is considered an important part of the rituals.

Over and above these, small *melas* are held at Banerwar in police-station Mirzapore during the *Sapitri* and *Chaitra Sankranti*, at Lalgola during the *Rath Jatra* festival, at Chaltia-Maktia off Berhampore on the 9th day of *Chaitra*, *Sarreswar Mela* at Dhulian in April, *Jaydeb Thakur's mela* in Sagardighi in January, *Kapilesvar mela* at Saktipore, in May, *Ananta Barua's mela* at Manjalpore in December and *Ramnavami* at Mirzapore in March.

The utility of the market days in the interior and the *melas* can be effectively increased by demonstration on agriculture, public health and lectures on the methods of economic reconstruction.

CHAPTER II.

History.

9. **Introductory.**—As observed before, the district has two main divisions—the *Rarh* or the West Ganges tract and the *Bogri* or the East Ganges area.

The history up to a certain period must have been different. It is obvious that the *Rarh* area is a much older formation than the *Bogri*. The latter lying in the region between the Bhagirathi to the west and the Padma to the east with numerous *bils* and channels flowing from the direction of the Ganges to the north and the Bay of Bengal to the south was unquestionably a later formation.

A connected history of neither region is available nor has it been the subject yet of any systematic study. It is obviously not the function of a Settlement Officer to write a history. An attempt will be made only to put down the main links so far discovered. Such additions to the mass of traditions as could be gathered or such help as topography might in certain instances render or could be found in course of the present operations would be attempted.

10. **The Rarh.**—The history of the *Rarh* area in the pre-Muhammadan period is the same as that given for the district of Birbhum which is reproduced for reference.

The earliest record of the tract known as *Rarh* is said to be the description in *Avaranga Sutta* by Mahavira, the last great Tirthankar of the Jaina Sect who refers in his description to "*Vajjabhumi*" the country of the thunder bolts and "*Ladh*" (*Rarh*). Mahavira wandered about the tract that he named as stated above in the 5th Century B.C. His description contains little of value about the social and the political conditions of the country. He merely refers to the dogs that apparently startled at the unfamiliar garment of a monk with a stick—ran at him and bit him. There is nothing on record after that so far traced till the 4th Century B.C. when Alexander the Great crossed over the Indus to India. In McCrindle's Ancient India it is stated that Alexander came to know that to the east of *Arjyavarta* there lay two powerful independent Kingdoms known by the name of "*Prasy*" and "*Gangrirkh*".

In one of the portions left of the record of Megasthenes—the Greek Ambassador in the Court of Chandra Gupta Maurya—the independent kingdom of "*Gangrirkh*" is referred to and is described as bounded on the east by the Ganges. It appears thus that till the beginning of the Maurya ascendancy there existed a powerful independent kingdom to the east of *Arjyavarta* and west of the Ganges and it was not subject to the rule of the king of Magadha.

It is probable that as the Mauryan kingdom grew in power "*Gangrirkh*" or *Rarh* and Bengal were absorbed in it.

This finds support from the fact that in none of the inscriptions so far discovered of the time of Asoka is there any reference to any kingdom of *Rarh*, *Banga* or *Gour*. It is almost certain that during his reign there was no independent kingdom to the east of Magadha. The system of minting coins as the prerogative of royalty had not yet matured at the time of Asoka. A square piece of silver prepared by the silversmiths and known as "*Purana*" was current. In various districts of Bengal such "*Puranas*" were discovered from time to time. At the time when these silver "*Puranas*" were used there were two kinds of copper coins in use, too. Many of these copper coins were discovered in different parts of Bengal and are now deposited in the museum of the *Bangiya Sahitya Parishad*.

The Mauryan family came to an end in about 185 B.C. and was followed by the kings of *Sunga* and *Kanya* dynasties. None of their inscriptions have been discovered and it is not known whether Bengal and *Rarh* continued to be a part of their kingdom. So also there is nothing on record as to whether Bengal or *Rarh* formed part of the *Kushan* kingdom or ever were annexed by Kanishka and we come down to the end of the 3rd century A.D. Passing over to the 4th century, we get to the reign of Chandra Gupta—the son-in-law of the *Lichyabiraj* dynasty. It seems probable that Bengal and *Rarh* were included in the Gupta kingdom of about that time. One of the coins of this Chandra Gupta was discovered in village Mosa in the district of Burdwan to the immediate west of the district of Birbhum, while Cunningham discovered a gold coin of the same period in the district of Gaya. That Chandra Gupta's son Samudra Gupta held sway over Bengal and *Rarh* in particular is evident from the discovery of his coins at various places of this tract.

The historical materials are insufficient to draw positive conclusions from for the period that followed. It is tentatively suggested that Kumar Gupta the first was the last to reign of Chandra Gupta's direct descendants. In the district of Barabanki in the present United Provinces a stone inscription was discovered in village Haraha. From that inscription which

is dated 554 A.D. it appears that one "*Ishan Varma*"—probably Raja *Ishan Varma* of the *Marikhari* dynasty—came into conflict with the *Gouriya* people on the bank of the Ganges.

Whereas from an inscription of Aditya Sen, a descendant of a younger son of Chandra Gupta, it appears that he defeated one king by the name of *Ishan Varma*, it is clear that Bengal and *Rarh* included were at that time holding a sovereign power and not subject to any suzerain outside.

It is on record that in about the end of the sixth century one king Sasanka held the sway over *Rarh*, *Gour* and Magadha. To which family Sasanka belonged none as yet can say. He figures as a great king in the *Harsha Charita* of Banabhatta, in the record of travels of the Chinese traveller Yuan Chuang or Hiuen Tsang, in two inscriptions so far discovered and in various coins found bearing his name.

Sasanka—who probably belonged to the Gupta dynasty to which Aditya Sen belonged—appears to have fought with valour against the combined forces of Vashkaravarma—the Raja of Kamrup to the east and of the Raja of Sthanisvar to the west. He appears to have subsequently been defeated, for, a copper inscription of Raja Vashkaravarma now discovered in village Nidhanpur appears to have been issued from *Karna Subarna*—the capital of Raja Sasanka—and lying on the west of the Bhagirathi in the *Rarh* area in the district of Murshidabad. Traveller Yuan Chuang or Hiuen Tsang appears to have visited *Karna Subarna* sometime between 636 to 639 A.D. and king Sasanka was found to have died just before that. There is no mention in the Chinese traveller's accounts of a successor of Sasanka and it is probable that the kingdom was absorbed in the kingdom of Harshavardhan immediately after the death of Sasanka.

After the dismemberment of Harshavardhan's kingdom it is probable that these tracts had no one king to rule over them. Tibetan Lama Taranath in his history of Buddhism narrates about this period "In Orissa, in Bengal and other 5 provinces of the east each *Kshatriya*, *Brahman* and a merchant constituted himself a king of his surroundings but there was no king ruling the country."

There was chaos and to get rid of it the tenantry seemed to have marked out one Gopal Deb as the king of *Gour*, *Banga* and *Magadha* and acknowledged him as such.

With him started the Pal dynasty of rulers. Nothing has yet been discovered to show the nature of his rule. According to the late Mr. Vincent Smith Gopal Deb appears to have ascended the throne in between 730 to 740 A.D. and died in about 800 A.D. This seems to be supported more or less by a reference by Taranath that Gopal Deb ruled for about 45 years, though others seem to think that he must have died a few years earlier. Gopal Deb was followed by his son Dharma Pal Deb, who again was succeeded by his son Deva Pal. From a copper inscription discovered in Monghyr this Deva Pal appears to have organised a great military power for it is stated therein—no doubt with some poetic exaggeration—that when his forces went along the road, the dust raised was so thick that birds could walk over that. It appears from the description in the copper plate that he led his victorious army far to the west along the Vindhya range. With the death of Deva Pal started the decadence of the rule of the first Pal dynasty and an independent Chief Khargodyan took over the sovereign power. Dharma Pal and Deva Pal were extremely successful as rulers. Trade and Industry flourished; work in stone almost reached the zenith of its perfection and gained the supreme position in Art in India. Hindu and Buddhist figures of both metal and stone in large numbers were made. Deva Pal was a great patron of religion as well as learning. From a copper inscription discovered in Monghyr it appears that he made large grants of villages at the time for the upkeep and maintenance of the *Vihara* at Nalanda.

After the death of Khargodyan, his son Jata Kharga and then his grandson Deva-Kharga ascended the throne of Bengal. This dynasty continued in its rule right up to the 9th century A. D. It was followed by a dynasty of Buddhist faith which had Rhotas (Rohitasya) as its capital. Nothing has been found in *Rarh* of this period though a number of inscriptions were discovered in East Bengal. As Rhotas is in the area to the west of the *Rarh* area the existence of the capital there and tokens of

rule found in East Bengal lead to a fairly reasonable conclusion that in the intervening period *Rarh* along with greater part of Bengal was under the authority of this kingship. The last king of this dynasty was Govinda Chandra who acknowledged the supremacy of Mahi Pal Deb, the first king of the second Pal dynasty to get the control of powers in Bengal. The family of the first Pal Kings largely denuded of powers and properties must have been living as common landholder and Mahi Pal towards the second half of the 10th century appears to have stepped into this inheritance. It subsequently must have been included in the kingdom of Bihar Sen, father of Ballal Sen, and shared the political vicissitudes with the rest of the Province till the defeat of Lakshman Sen by Bukhtiyar Khilji.

11. **Villages or places with old historic associations.**—The only traditions that exist centre round the following places:—

Sagardighi—is a very large reservoir of water now in gradual process of silting up. This was said to have been excavated by Mahi Pal who was in the chain of the Pal kings and is said to have lived at about the second half of the 10th century. There is no family alive now that claims the descent in the immediate neighbourhood nor is there any other proof in support of the tradition save the fact that this was traditionally included in the domain of the dynasty of the Pal kings.

Baduhat—is on the western bank of the Bhagirathi a few miles to the north of Azimganj in about 24° 17' 3" north latitude and 88° 16' 41" east longitude. It had the ruins of an old city, which looked like the remains of a fort or palace of carved stones and pillars engraved in *Pali* character. Gold coins and broken pottery were found which were removed to be preserved in the museum of the Asiatic Society. The exact period to which they belonged has not been traced as yet with certainty but it is clear that it must have been centuries before the Muhammadan rule started. Even at the time of Revenue Survey in 1853 it is shown to have temples, etc. To-day it is in complete ruin. Its present name is Ganja-Singhesvari, J. L. No. 184 of police-station Sagardighi.

Rangamati.—It is on the right bank of the Ganges, four miles to the south of the town of Berhampore on 24° 1' 10"

north latitude and $88^{\circ} 13' 11''$ east longitude. It looks like a red mound of the remains of extensive buildings. But what they were are still matters of conjecture.

Captain F. Wilford in the Transactions of the Asiatic Society (Volume IX, page 89) wrote "*Rangamati* was formerly called *Oresphonta Hararpana*, that is ground consecrated to *Hara* or *Siva*. Here was once a place dedicated to *Mahadeva* or *Hara* with an extensive tract of ground appropriated to the worship of the God; but the Ganges having destroyed the place of worship and the holy ground having been resumed during the invasions of the Mussalmans, it is now entirely neglected, and the emblem of God has been removed to a great distance from the river. The poets have called the town '*Kusumpuri*', an epithet applied to other favourite cities."

Captain Layard in the Asiatic Society's Journal No. 3 of 1853 wrote "*Rangamati*, anciently named the city of *Kansonapuri*, is said to have been built many hundreds of years ago by a famous Maharaja of Bengal named Karna Sen who resided chiefly at *Gour*..... The remains of the greater part of the *Rajbari* are distinctly traceable on three sides, although now under cultivation; the fourth has disappeared in the river."

Mr. Long in his Essay on "The Banks of the Bhagirathi" says that *Rangamati* formed one of the ten *Fouzdaries* into which Bengal was divided under the Mussalman rulers. Its Hindu *Zemindar* was a considerable person; and on the occasion of the great *Punyah* at *Motijhil* in 1767 received a *Khelat* worth Rs. 7,278, or as much as the Raja of *Nadiya*."

Late Mr. Beveridge, I.C.S., in his paper on "The site of *Karna Subarna*" in 1898 suggested that *Rangamati* was the capital of the king and kingdom of that name. He suggested that this was "*Lo-to-wei-chin*" (the phonetic equivalent of *Raktamitti*) referred to by Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese Pilgrim, who visited Bengal in the first half of the seventh century. This view was not accepted by the other scholars. The reasons given so far against it are that *Rangamati* was a common name in Bengal and this is true; that though in *Radhakanta Deb's Sabda-Kalpa-druma* the village was referred to as *Kansonagar* mere similarity of the name was not sufficient;

thirdly, the village was not referred to in any Hindu or Mussalman works; and fourthly, that it did not appear in any map older than Valentyn's which was published in 1726 A.D.

Recently, excavations were carried on by the "Archæological Department but nothing was discovered which might lead to any definite conclusion on the question. The report will be quoted in *extenso* later and the problem discussed.

12. **Pundarika-Kula-Panjika.** — A short paper was written by that eminent scholar late Professor Ramendra Sundar Trivedi on the history of the *Fatesing Zemindars*. It appears in the main to be a mere editing of a metrical composition, about two hundred and fifty years old (Bengali year 1107 corresponding to about 1685 A.D.), written on old paper and discovered among the ruins of the *Jemua Rajbati* after the earthquake of 1897. There are certain verses in this which are quoted here:—

*Kamalārāya tanayow,
Kanso Goureeti Bistrutow,
Jwesthah Santānakritprokta
Goureerāyocnaptiyaka.**

(Part II, Sl. 7.)

"Kamala Rai had two sons Kanso and Gouri, of whom Kanso had children but Gouri died without any."

It appears from the genealogical table attached that Kamala Ray was the grandson of Sabita Ray who was the first ancestor of the *Jemua* family of *Pargana Fatesing* known locally as *Jemua Raj*. Kanso thus was the great grandson of Sabita Ray who inherited the ancestral property of *Pargana Fatesing*. Kanso's son Mukut died without a child but Kanso had a nephew called Jayram.

Of Jayram the verse says thus—

*Jenākāri Jagat pabitra tatinitirē
Sivasthāpanam,
Soudham Kārutaraiḥ susatwamatina
nirmāya merohsamam,
Ghattanchāpi Kṛāsyā tārana bidhow
Goloka sopānakam,
Soyam Shrijāyrama sanjñā nripatir-
jatkirtiretādrishi."†*

(Part III, Sl. 2.)

* কলারায়নরো কংসো গৌরীত বিস্রুতো ।

মোটঃ সন্তানকৃত প্রোক্তো গৌরী রায়োহনপত্যকঃ ।

† যেনাকারিজনপবিত্র তটিনীতীরে শিবস্থাপন

সৌখ্য কারুতারৈঃ সুসত্বমতিভা নির্মাণ যেরোঃ সন্মঃ ।

ঘটকালি কুলস্য তারণবিধৌ যোসোকসোপানকঃ

• সৌখ্যঃ শ্রীজয়রামঃ সন্জ্ঞাপতিব্যঃ নরপতিত্বিনী ।

"Jayram constructed a temple as huge as the sky and dedicated it to *Siva* and a palace of wonders, while he constructed a flight of steps to the Ganges on the beautiful banks of which all these stood."

Later on, in the composition it is stated that in the family and descendants of Sabita Ray there never was born a male heir who had not established a *village after his own name*, who had been either irreligious, a miser, or a coward (a).

If it be remembered then that the village *Rangamati* or *Kansonagar* is still in Pargana Fatesing though on the bank of the Ganges, that the verse shows that it had a Chieftain by the name of Kanso, that his nephew built a palace and a temple on the bank of the Ganges, that Sabita Ray's descendants were in the habit of establishing villages after their own names, that it was not mentioned in any work save and except Valentyn's map of 1726 A.D., one is constrained to conclude that it is more than probable that *Kansonagar* or *Rangamati* was the village established after the name of Kanso—an earlier Chieftain of Pargana Fatesing—that the present ruins are the ruins of the palace and the temples built by him and his successors, who apparently, with diluvion endangering the safety of the site, migrated to the interior where they established themselves in Jemua and the neighbourhood. The fact that excavations brought out nothing to support the theory of the place having been the capital of *Karna-Subarna* seems further to support this tentative conclusion which I leave on record that it was not the site of the capital of the kingdom of *Karna-Subarna* referred to by the Chinese Pilgrim Hsien Tsang as contended by late Mr. Beveridge but is the site of the palace and the temple built by Kanso—an earlier ancestor of the *Zemindars* of Pargana Fatesing. Whether before that it was also the site of an ancient monastery is not established and the discoveries during recent excavations almost negative the contention that it was the site of the palace of a powerful king like that of *Karna-Subarna*.

Panchthupi, J. L. No. 149, police-station Burwan.—Its name is supposed to be a corruption of *Pancha Stupa* or five mounds. It is believed to have

been one of the monasteries of Buddhist period which the word *Stupa* certainly seems to suggest. No excavation here, however, has been done and its origin is yet shrouded in mystery.

13. Result of the excavations of the Archaeological Department.—I would like to note here an extract from the report of the Archaeological Department for the years 1928-29 and 1929-30 for students of history and persons interested in the past of this district:—

"1928-29.—The antiquities of the Northern *Radha* country, which embraces the western half of the district of Murshidabad on the right bank of the Bhagirathi and the adjoining parts of Birbhum district, have not so far received the attention they deserved. Several inscriptions, stone and bronze images representing Brahmanical and Buddhist deities and architectural remains such as that of the *Siva* temple with the colossal *linga* at Chandanbati brought to light during recent years, serve to illustrate the important part played by this tract during the last *Pala* period (10th and 11th centuries A.D.). This year, a site named Gitagram in the Kandi subdivision of Murshidabad was brought to the notice of scholars by the discovery of a number of antiquities of the Gupta and earlier periods, including clay seals, stone beads, terracottas and rectangular cast coins. On personal inspection the Gitagram mound was found to be unsuitable for protection under the Act but the closer investigation of the problem raised by the finds revealed the existence of a continuous chain of ancient sites now represented by mounds in the Kandi subdivision of the Murshidabad district, extending from Salar and Gitagram in the south through Panchthupi to Mahipal in the north. The extension of cultivation in these localities is gradually reducing some of the low mounds to the level of the fields, but the occasional finds made by the cultivators serve to indicate the antiquity of the sites. All such finds are generally thrown away or consigned to oblivion, but the stone beads of variegated colours and designs appear to catch the fancy of the Muhammadan cultivators, who string them into rosaries for religious use. Several such collections of beads were obtained for inspection at different villages. A typical rosary of such beads obtained

from Chunsar, 2 miles from Salar and said to have been found in an ancient mound now almost indistinguishable from the fields, contains 60 stone beads of a variety of shapes, colours and designs, undoubtedly indicative of an early age.

"The site of *Rangamati*, situated picturesquely on the west bank of the Bhagirathi, six miles below Berhampore, was one of the first in the *Rádha* country to attract the attention of scholars. Its huge red bluffs raising 40' to 50' high above the ordinary level of the river, form a conspicuous landmark for miles around and the occasional finds of pottery, stones, even gold coins of the late Gupta period exposed among the remains of the walls and floors on the battered edges of the cliffs, have made the place familiar to the treasure hunter. A large portion of the ancient city spread along the banks of the river for at least half a mile has been washed away, but sufficient traces are available to show that it extended for a mile to the west. The two conspicuous mounds in the locality are the *Rakshasi Danga* or Devils' mound and *Raja Karnu's* palace, the former being higher and the latter more extensive of the two. The excavation of this site was suggested by Mr. Beveridge, who first proposed the identification of the place with ancient *Karnasubarna*, close to which was the *Rakta-mrittika-vihara*, referred to in Hiuen Tsang's account. The trial excavations conducted late in the season at the Devil's mound brought to light the remains of structures of at least three periods, the lowest of which appears to be a Buddhist establishment of the 6th to 7th century A.D., but no definite confirmation is available about its identity with the *Karnasubarna Vihara*. The mound has a circumference of about 700' and rises to the height of about 25' above the level of the surrounding rice fields. The eastern part of the mound is occupied by the tomb and *ard-ghar* of a Muhammadan saint around whom local tradition, as usual, weaves a web of fantastic legends. A number of trenches were sunk across the rest of the mound in all directions, some being carried to the depth of 18'. The remains in the superficial strata exposed within the first 6' were isolated fragments of pavements and brick walls apparently of a late age and quite unconnected with a number of earlier stucco and terracotta

and other ornamental pieces, which were found at the same level. The disturbance of the site by brick-diggers and treasure-seekers who must have long prosecuted a systematic campaign of vandalism, has rendered the sequence of strata somewhat obscure. The filling up of the trenches after the bricks had been quarried is evident from the narrow funnel-shaped lines of *debris* in the sides of the new trenches, which in most cases correctly pointed out the position of the walls underneath. The more important structures at the site were uncovered at the depth of 9' to 13' from the top of the mound. The building, which from the solid masonry and the size of the bricks ($15\frac{1}{2}'' \times 10'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$) must be attributed to the 6th to 7th century A.D., has not been fully excavated, but the general plan seems to provide for a number of large chambers ranged on either side of a central thick wall. On the north-east, the remains of a long hall with a verandah have been exposed and in the south-west a complex of walls which it has not yet been found possible to connect together. The floor level of this period is at a depth of about 12' 13'' from the top of the mound and the foundations of certain walls go down to a depth of 23'. Another season's work will be necessary to elucidate the connection between the different parts of the main structures exposed this year, although the importance of this site has been established by the finds of terracotta and stucco heads which unmistakably point to the existence of a Buddhist establishment. The finds recovered during the excavations number 292, of which stucco fragments accounts for as many as 95. A distinctively *Mahayanist* find is the fragment of crown of a *Bodhisattwa* in which the figure of a *Dhyani-Buddha Amitabha* can be made out. The stucco heads, of which at least 5 to 6 must be representations of Buddha, exhibit a striking variety of facial expressions which was lacking in the stucco examples from Paharpur. The repose and finish of all terracotta heads leave no doubt that they must be attributed to the late Gupta period. A number of terracotta toys and pottery are among the other noteworthy finds from *Rangamati*. It is remarkable that a majority of the antiquities were found in the loose *debris* within 6 feet from the top of the mound, and several feet higher than the buildings with which they appear to be connected—a fact for which the vandalism of the

brick-diggers and the disturbance of the soil during the later fillings must be held responsible.

"To summarize briefly, the trial excavations at *Rangamati* have proved (1) that the site of the Devil's mound was occupied by a Buddhist establishment, most probably a monastery in the 6th to 7th century A.D., (2) that after the destruction of the earlier building, the site was considerably raised before occupation during the mediæval period, and (3) that the mound was the scene of extensive brick-carrying activities, probably during modern times."

It is for the student of history to consider whether the second conclusion of the Archæological Department runs counter to, or is in support of, the theory stated before on the basis of the recital in *Pundarika-Kula-Panjika*. My tentative conclusion is that it supports rather than contradicts the theory.

14. I would further quote from the report of the department for the year 1929-30 to show that there is much to be done to gather the scattered relics of the past of the district :—

"1929-30—*Murshidabad*.—At Kandi which is the headquarters of a subdivision in the Murshidabad district there is a temple dedicated to *Rudradera* in which an old Buddhist image is being worshipped as Hindu deity. Two single-cell *Siva* temples of the Bengali curved cornice type of the 16th-17th century A.D. flank the passage leading to the more modern shrine where the image is worshipped. Another instance of a Buddha *stèle* being similarly worshipped as *Siva* at Sibpur in Khulna district has already been recorded in the Annual Report for 1921-22, page 77. The Kandi image is one of the typical Buddha figures with the eight great scenes from the life of Buddha exhibited in the style prevalent in the Eastern School of Culture. As in other examples of this style the central figure is that of Buddha in *Bhumisparsamudra* or the attitude in which he attained enlightenment. On the proper right the scenes from bottom to top are the birth of Buddha, the descent from *trayastrinsa* (thirty-three) heavens indicated by the *Varada-mudra* and the first sermon at *Sarnath*; the corresponding scenes depicted on the proper left are the offering of the cup by the guardians of the

four porters, the subduing of the elephant *Nalagiri* at Rajgir and the *Sravasti* miracle; while on the top occurs the scenes of Buddha's death. On the grounds of style the sculpture can be attributed to the 9-10th century A.D.

Panchthupi, a large village in the Kandi subdivision, was visited during the year for examining a mound known as *Barkona deul* at the place. The mound extends to about 170 feet in length from east to west, and about half the distance in breadth and is 15 feet high above the surrounding level. There seem to be several structures distinctly visible in the mound and there is no doubt that they belong to the Pál period. The mound has been recommended for protection under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act. In the *Kalibari* at this place an interesting black basalt image of Durga 2' 6" in height is fixed in a pucca platform. The image is seated in the *Lalitasana* posture and the hands hold the distinctive attributes, rosary, vase and *trisula* (trident)."

15. **Relics common.**—Over and above these relics have been found at different places and one moving about the country has seen them lying about. For example, in a recent re-excavation of a tank in village Salar—*Dah Pushkarini*—stone pillars and images were found. It is time that the people should bestir themselves and start something of the nature of a research society to collect together, tabulate, and analyse them to see how far the links in the history of the past may be discovered.

16. **Pargana Fatesing.**—The pargana is the largest in the district and its history as far as can be traced is worth mentioning. From the Fifth Report of the Select Committee and Grant's Historical and Comparative Analysis of the Finances of Bengal (page 390, Volume 2, Firminger's edition) the following extract is made :—

"Futtehsing, in its actual dimensions in 1172, being only 259 square miles, forming comparatively little more than a point of connexion between Rajeshahy, Beerbhoom, Burdwan, with Kistnagur, on the western border of the Bhagiretty, and conferred successively on Herryper-saud, the son of Surajanum and Neel Kaunt, the present occupant of the Brahmin race (both of them servants of their predecessors in office, respectively)

was comprised in the following pergunnah divisions on the *Chucklah* of Moorshedabad, viz.:—

Pergunnahs and Circars.	Ausil Jumma 1135.	Disbursements Teshkhussy or effective Bundobust.	Remaining Ausil Jumma 1172.	Teshkhussy, or effective Bundobust Jumma on the Ausil, at different periods.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.*	
Futtehsing Perg Circar Shereefabad Ausil.	1,32,708	11,932	1,20,776	In 1149 the Teshkhees jumma on the total ausil of 1135, was 1,41,826. In 1169 after the disbursements stated, continuing the same to 1172.
Eslampoor .. Audimber ..	19,524	1,036	18,488	
Keerutpoor .. Shereefabad ..	15,470	4,440	11,030	
Gadla .. Ditto ..	8,348	787	7,561	
Chunakahly .. Audimber ..	2,483	..	2,483	
Ketgur Joar Ditto ..	1,446	..	1,446	The Teshkeessy on the whole of the ausil remaining was sicca rupees 1,37,294, on account of the khalssa.
Mhola.* Bhirole .. Shereefabad ..	814	87	727	
Kashypore .. Audimber ..	3,009	..	3,009	
Barbechring* .. Shereefabad ..	874	..	874	
Koolberiah* .. Mahmoodabad ..	1,668	..	1,668	
Kootubpoor .. Shereefabad ..	72	..	72	
11 Perg. Total of the Zemindary and Talook ..	1,86,416	18,282	1,68,134	

* These three Pergunnahs contain the talook of Herrypersaud, the son of Surajnum.

Talook of Futtehsing.—Various causes, the separate effects of which I do not think necessary on the present occasion minutely to examine, may have influenced the extraordinary reduction of the original standard assessment, now for the first time occurring in the *Zemindary* detail of the *Soubah* of Bengal, in the compendious form of a *Teshkhussy Jumma* on the total of the *ausil*: First, it may involve part of the general small remission of Sujah Khan, under the same technical denomination on the *Ausil Toomary* of his predecessor, secondly, it may in part, and possibly altogether, have been in consequence of the destructive war commenced with the Mahrattas in 1184, and waged for years in and about this little territory, to the certain diminution of its annual funds of revenue; thirdly, as near one half of the district is a morass, partially capable perhaps of producing only a scanty crop of rice, after an original outlay in the mode of *tuckary* for the purpose of melioration, usually made by the sovereign proprietor alone, enabled with the will to encourage or perform the greater agricultural improvements in

Hindustan; so when the constant smaller expense and labour necessary to maintain works of permanent utility in husbandry were for a long time discontinued, these may have fallen more quickly into decay, than they could again be gradually restored, through the miserably feeble efforts of a needy despotic Government; fourthly, Herrypersaud the former landholder, dying without issue, in the time of Aliverdi Khan, Bydenaut his servant, procured a *Zemindary* sunnud for the whole possession, in the name of his own son Neelkaunt the present occupant. Parbutty, wife of the deceased, claimed a subsistence; and it seems likely, that a temporary allowance was made to her, forming part of the *Teshkhussy* reduction; but it was reserved for an English administration, after a lapse of nearly 30 years to espouse her father pretensions; to decree in her favour a moiety of the chartered rights of Neelkaunt, which had been otherwise considerably lessened by new alienations to *Khalsu Mutseddy Talookdars*; and in her behalf even countenance the novel system of female adoption, in a country where hitherto the natives of that sex are held

always either in legal or virtual slavery. However this may be, on the basis of the *Ausil Jumma Teshkhees* of 1169, the revenue then recovered its ancient original standard in the establishment of *abwabs*, viz. :—

Jumma Teshkheeskool of Futteh-	1,169	1,37,294	
sing in Muscoorat :			
Nankar to the Zemindar	1,584	} 2,525	
Neem Tucky Canongoe	941		
	Net	1,34,769	
<i>Abwabs:</i>			
1. Khasnoveesy	2,784		
2. Feelkhaneh	6,187		
3. Zer Mathoot	6,246		
4. Ahuk	1,446	50,124	
5. Chout Marhattah	14,367		
6. Nuzzer Munsoorgunge	3,641		
7. Serf Sicca 1½ Annas	16,063		
Total Malgoozary of the district in 1170		1,84,893	

The exact extent of Pargana Fatesing at the time it was created is not known. *Ain-i-Akbari* includes Parganas Fatesing and Mahalandi in Circar Sarifabad. In Rennell's Atlas the Pargana Fatesing is separately marked out. Its boundary at the time was shown thus :—

North.—The District of Rajshahi.

South.—The District of Burdwan.

East.—The Bhagirathi.

West.—The District of Birbhum.

A number of Parganas was created out of old Pargana and it is believed that Pargana Gopinath, Radhaballavpore, Kantonagar, Munadihi were carved out of old Fatesing.

The origin of the name is shrouded in obscurity. Various conjectures are made. Mr. Blochman believes that the place owes its origin to its Pathan king Fateh Shah. Sir W. Hunter presumes that the place was owned by Fatesing—a Rajput adventurer—who with Birsing came from upper India to establish two kingdoms of Fatesing and Birbhum.

The local traditions, however, attribute the name to a very powerful king of the *Hánri* caste named Fatesing. In view of the fact that this indigenous sect had once war-like and martial traditions, that it held a powerful hold on various tracts, the local traditions seems to furnish a truer index of the origin of

the name than the other two. It is specially so as neither the Pathan king seemed to have any particular connection with the place, nor is there any descendant so far traced of any Rajput claiming descent from Fatesing of Sir

M. R. Khan in 1172 reducing the *ausil* to Rupees 1,11,225, concluded a net bundobust for that and nearly the afore-said *abwabs*, amounting to 1,60,637. In 1183, notwithstanding large and repeated alienations of territory to make up the new talooks of Radabullubpore, etc., even the *aumcens* find sources of revenue, including a small *plateka* of 1,62,633 rupees, besides 55,032 *bighas* of Baze Zemeen and Chakeran lands. Yet in 1190 the gross jumma was no more than Rupees 1,02,036; from which, deducting 5,833 for mofussil serinjammy charges only, such a clear income will remain as must leave at least a recoverable defalcation of eighty-five thousand rupees, inclusive of irregular Talookdary dismemberments.

W. Hunter, who to-day asserts as having had ancestors, who were the earlier owners of this tract of country. On the other hand, in the chronology of the *Pundarikas*—the *Zemindars* of Fatesing as given in a composition of about the year 1685 A.D., the following description appears :—

“*Káyasthábanipalashura Sayidan
Juddhe tathá Haddipán
Fattesingha mukhakshitábadhikrīto
Jatohi jityaiba tan*”*.

Pundarika Kula Panjika.

(Part I, Sl. 10.)

“Having defeated the *Kayastha* Rajas, the *Saiyads* and *Hánri* kings [Sabita Ray] acquired the property of Fatesing.”

It is not known who this *Kayastha* Raja was but Sabita Ray, who was the first of the *Pundarikas* to own Fatesing, was given it for his successful help to Raja Man Sinha. Man Sinha fought with Raja Protapaditya and it is not improbable that this king was referred to as the “*Kayastha*” king while Fatesing had a number of small holders who claimed to be *Saiyads*. One of the villages of Fatesing is named “*Saiyad Kulat*.” The tradition runs that the name of the *Hánri* king defeated by

*কায়স্থবানিপালশুরা সায়িদান্ যুদ্ধে তথা হৃদ্বিপান্ ।
জত্বসিংহমুকখিতাবধিকৃতো জাত হি জিত্যৈবা তান্ ॥

Sabita Ray was Fatesing. There is still a village called Fatepore about six miles off from the subdivisional headquarters of Kandi which is pointed out as the old capital of *Hanri* Raja Fatesing.

These seem to corroborate the local traditions that the vast tract was once owned by a now depressed caste king who was defeated in war by Sabita Ray.

Sabita Ray is claimed to have been a *Jijhotiya Brahmin*—a branch of the *Kanauj Brahmin*—who according to Dr. Cunningham (*Ancient Geography of India*) and Mr. Cooke (*Tribes and Castes of the North Western Provinces and Oudh*) inhabited a region near Bundelkand.

It is said that Sabita Ray accompanied Raja Man Sinha when the latter was sent to Bengal to bring the refractory chief there under control. Sabita Ray fought valiantly and defeated the chief of "Kochar, Koch-Bihar, and Khargpore (in Mongyr)." Pleased with his achievements Raja Man Sinha took him to the Emperor of Delhi from whom he obtained the *sanand* for Pargana Fatesing (and according to some also of Pargana Plassey). He returned, defeated the *Hanri* king, *Saiyads* and *Kayastha* Raja and consolidated his power.

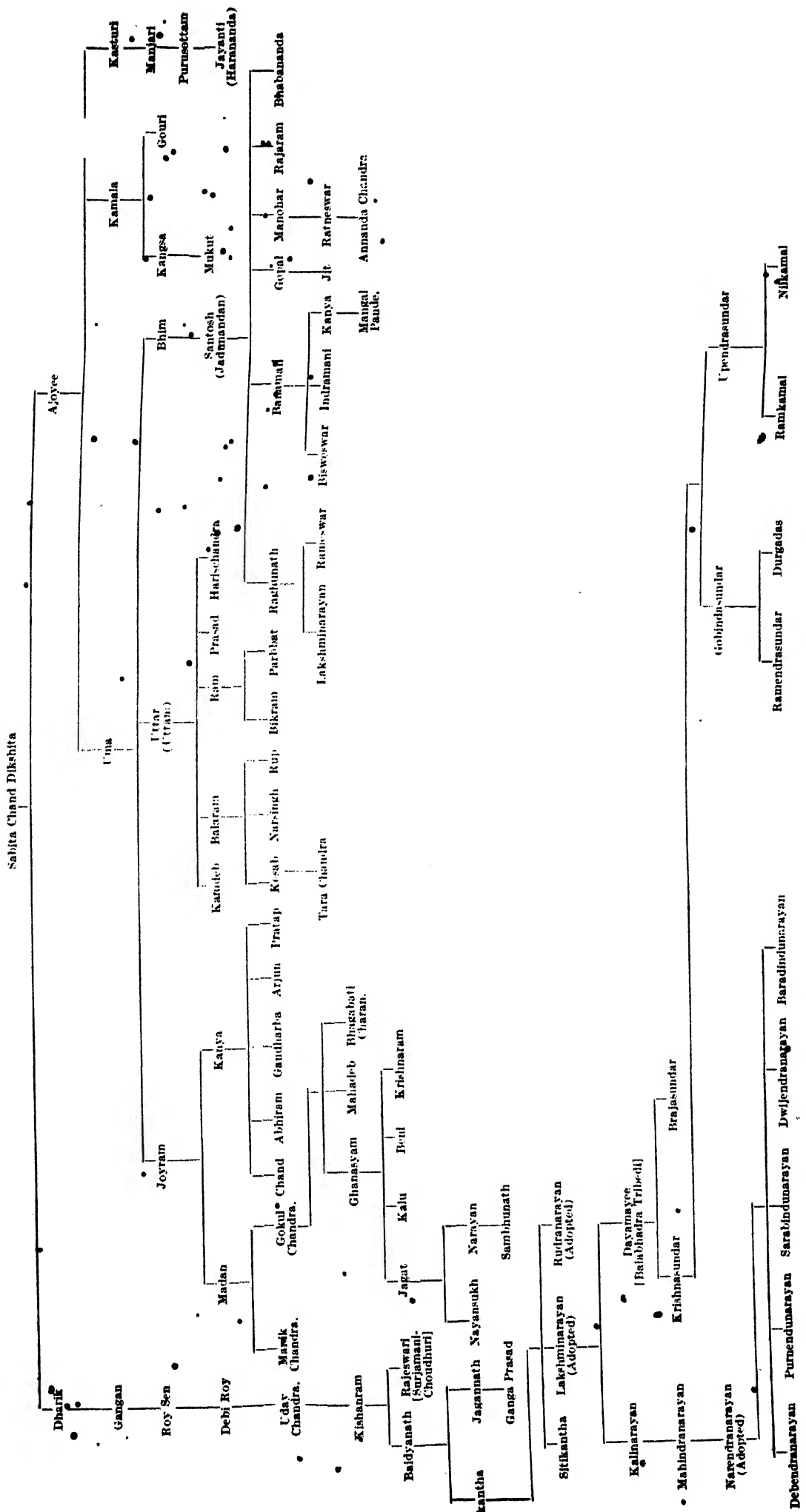
17. The genealogical table quoted later would show that Sabita Ray had numerous descendants. Most of the branches became extinct and the property ultimately devolved on Babu Ananda Chandra Ray of Jemua who was a contemporary of Murshid Kuli Khan. The estate was settled with the former by the latter at a revenue of Rs. 1,08,000 (Rupees one lakh eight thousand). In about the year 1718 Ananda Chandra Ray died and the Pargana, i.e., the estate was usurped by Surjamoni Choudhuri of *Goutama Gotra* of village Bagdanga who had married in the Jemua family. This was in 1720 and the property continued to be with the Bagdanga family till the year 1741. Surya Moni Choudhuri was succeeded by her son Hari Prasad Ray. This latter died without an issue. His maternal uncle Baidya Nath Ray of Jemua family managed to get a *sanand* for the property made out in the name of Nilkanta Ray

during the reign of Nawab Aliverdi Khan. The property thus came back to the Jemua family in about the year 1742. Litigation followed between Nilkanta and the widow of Hari Prasad Ray named Parbati Devi. The British administrators who had come to power arbitrated. Half the Pargana went to Nilkanta Ray of Jemua and the other half to Parbati Devi of Bagdanga. In this arbitration held during the *regime* of Warren Hastings his two advisers Dewan Ganga Govinda Sing of Kandi and Paikpara Raj family and Kanto Babu, the ancestor of the Cossimbazar Raj, played important part and as reward got big pieces out of the Pargana. When the Permanent Settlement was effected the Bagdanga share was allotted Tauzi No. 253, the revenue fixed was Rs. 46,305-5 and the Jemua share was given Tauzi No. 254, the revenue fixed was Rs. 46,347-14-11. The estate continued in the two families in fact since the partition in 1770 till the year 1898 when in execution of a mortgage decree in favour of Mr. David Yule the Tauzi No. 253 of the Bagdanga family was sold and purchased by the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad and his two sons—the share of the former being thirteen annas and of the latter three annas. The Nawab Bahadur again took *Patni* lease of the three annas share of his sons. The proprietary right of the Nawab Bahadur is "State property" under Act XV of 1891, under notification of the Government of India No. 10771B of 2nd March 1900. The lands of the two Tausis were often amalgamated but a partition was effected under the Estates Partition Act in 1910. The preparation of the record-of-rights of these estates was done by Khan Bahadur M. Chohnuddin in 1902-1909 and subsequently again revised by the Rajshahi Settlement Party immediately before the District Operation started and hence for this area no fresh record-of-rights was prepared by this Settlement.

A genealogy of the main branch of the family is noted below. As far as can be gathered this is the oldest aristocratic family in the district of Murshidabad to hold landed property on the *Sanand* of the Emperor of Delhi and enjoying the identical tract of land though much

reduced in size. The family has several branches:—

GENEALOGY OF SABITA ROY'S DESCENDANTS.



18. **The Bogri.**—The history of *Bogri* is the history of the deltaic plain through which the Ganges with its tributaries flowed. As it lies within the great tract of area lying to the south of the great Ganges, west of the Padma, east of the Bhagirathi and is bounded by the sea to the south one must presume that it was a later formation. The tract to be dealt with in this report is that segment of it, which lies to the east of the Bhagirathi and west of the Jellanghi and now included within the administrative boundary of the district of Murshidabad.

Ptolemy's map of the second century showed the southern portion of the Gangetic Delta within which this area is situated as cut up by a succession of rivers to such an extent as to convert it into a group of isolated islands. The islands were not for very natural reasons well-inhabited and were occupied by tribes who lived by fishing. It was certainly not included in the kingdom of *Gangriri* referred to in the history of *Rarh*, for even in the record of Megasthenes—the Greek ambassador in the Court of Chandra Gupta—the boundary is shown to be the Ganges (or the Bhagirathi) to the east. From the references in the *Raghuvaransam* it seems that the area was presumably in the kingdom of *Banga* which then lay to the east of the Padma. When the Chinese Traveller Hiuen Tsang came to Bengal in the seventh century he found two powerful kingdoms in the lower delta—*Samatata* and *Tamralipta*. It is probable that the former included this area. From the details already recorded about *Rarh* it seems that this formed part of the kingdom of Sasanka who had his capital at *Karna-Subarna*, in the seventh century after Christ. It must have followed the destiny of the *Rarh* country after Gopal Deb founded the Pal dynasty. Its later history after Bukhtiyar Khiliji is included in the history of Bengal.

19. **The district under Muhammadan kings.**—The history of the district since then followed the history of Bengal. It is enough here to note down the names of the Nazims of Bengal and the Emperors of Delhi:—

A.D.	Nazim.	Emperors.
1203	Muhammad Bukhtiyar Khiliji. (The capital was at Ghor.)	Kutub-ud-din Albak.
1205	Muhammad Shirin <i>alias</i> Alzud-din Khiliji.	Ditto.
1208	Ali Murdan Khan Khiliji ..	Ditto.

A.D.	Nazim.	Emperors.
1212	Hasamuddin Hossen <i>alias</i> Sultan Gasuddin Khiliji. Gasuddin caused coins to be struck in his own name in the territory of Lucknawti.	Arcon Shah, son of Kutubuddin Albak.
1227	Nasiruddin Shah, son of Sultan Shamsuddin Altamash.	Shamsuddin Altamash.
1229	Ilut-ul-mulk Malik Alaaddin Khan.	Ditto.
1237	Azizuddin Togra Khan ..	Sultana Razia, daughter of Shamsuddin Altamash.
1244	Malik Kafa Beg Timur Khan ..	Bahram Shah, son of Shamsuddin Altamash.
1246	Malik Saifuddin ..	Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud, son of Shamsuddin Altamash.
1253	Malik Uzbek ..	Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud, son of Shamsuddin Altamash.
1257	Malik Jalaluddin ..	Ditto.
1258	Arsalan Khan ..	Ditto.
1260	Tatar Khan, son of Arsalan Khan.	Ditto.
1277	Tugral ..	Syed Giasuddin Balban.

As the Emperor Syed Giasuddin was exhausted in counteracting the invasion of the Mughals under Chenghiz Khan Tughrul declared himself independent. Emperor Giasuddin after he had dealt with the Mughals came to Bengal, defeated Tughrul, killed him and put his son Boghra Khan to the charge of Bengal. He instructed the son that—

- (1) the Ruler of *Lucknawti* should never rebel against the Emperor of Delhi. If the Emperor came to Bengal the ruler should leave the territory and return only after the Emperor retired;
- (2) he should observe moderation and justice in dealing with subjects;
- (3) no public measures should be taken without consulting loyal and wise Councillors;
- (4) militia ought not to be neglected;
- (5) advice should be taken from persons who had retired from worldly pursuits and are given to divine service.

The Emperor died later at Delhi and there was confusion and a succession of Emperors till Sultan Mahmud Tughlak ascended the throne. Boghra Khan ruled in Bengal for about 44 years:—

A.D.	Nazim.	Emperors.
1282	Boghra Khan, son of Sultan Nasiruddin, son of Sultan Giasuddin Balban.	Sultan Giasuddin Balban and Mahmud Tughlak (Shah).
1325	Malik Bedad Khiliji <i>alias</i> Kadr Khan.	Sultan Mahmud Tughlak, son of Sultan Giasuddin.
1340	Sultan Fakhruddin ..	Sultan Mahmud Tughlak.

He came to the rulership after killing Kadr Khan and. then finally declared himself independent of Delhi:—

A.D.	Nazim.	Emperors.
1343	Haji Ilyas or Sultan Shamsuddin Bhanga.	Sultan Mahmud Tughlak.
	Fakhruddin was killed by Ali Mobarak, who in his turn was killed by Haji Ilyas.	
1358	Sultan Sekandar, son of Shamsuddin Bhanga.	Sultan Feroze Shah Barbak, nephew of Sultan Giasuddin.
1367	Sultan Giasuddin, son of Sultan Sekandar.	Ditto.
1373	Saifuddin alias Sultan-us-Salatin, son of Giasuddin.	Ditto.
1383	Sultan Shamsuddin, son of Sultan-us-Salatin.	Ditto.
	Murdered by Raja Kans who seized the throne.	
1385	Raja Kans.	Ditto.
1392	Raja Sultan Jalaluddin, son of Raja Kans who was converted to Islam to please the Moslem subjects.	Sultan Nadiruddin Mahmud, son of Sultan Feroze Shah.

His capital was at Pandua which during this regime reached such power and prosperity as to outdo all other cities in India in splendour:—

A.D.	Nazim.	Emperors.
1400	Sultan Ahmad Shah, son of Jalaluddin Shah.	Sultan Mahmud Shah, son of Sultan Nasiruddin Shah.

He was murdered by Shadi Khan and Nasir Khan, who were nobles in the court and the latter ascended the throne. He was murdered by the nobles who searched out a descendant of Sultan Shamsuddin Bhanga who was living as an agriculturist in a village:—

A.D.	Nazim.	Emperors.
1426	Sultan Nasiruddin Shah	Sultan Mahmud Shah, son of Sultan Nasiruddin Shah.
1457	Barbak Shah, son of Nasiruddin Shah.	Sultan Bahadur Lodi.
1474	Sultan Yusuf Shah, son of Barbak Shah.	Ditto.
1482	Sultan Fatahsah, son of Yusuf Shah.	Sultan Bahadur Lodi.

He was killed by a eunuch slave who ascended the throne:—

A.D.	Nazim.	Emperors.
1491	Sultan Shahzade alias Sultan Barbak.	Sultan Sekandar, son of Bahadur Lodi.
1492	Malek Ambar alias Feroz Shah	Ditto.
1494	Sultan Mahmud Shah	Ditto.
1495	Sedi Badas alias Muzaffar Shah	Ditto.

He was murdered by Syed Shariff Makki, an Ameer of the Court, who ascended the throne:—

A.D.	Nazim.	Emperors.
1498	Syed Shariff Makki alias Sultan Alauddin known as Hossehr Shah Badshah.	Sultan Sekandar, son of Bahadur Lodi.

One version is that Syed Shariff Makki with his brother Syed Yusuff and father Asraf Makki came to Bengal from the West and settled in village Chandpara in the district of Murshidabad. He married the daughter of a Kazi under whom he was studying and he presented himself to the Court of Sultan Muzaffar Shah who made him Wazir. Later on, he murdered him and ascended the throne.

The other tradition is that he was of indigenous stock who lived in village Chandpara in Mirzapore police-station and was herdsman to a Brahmin. Later he grew in power and came to court, was appointed Wazir and then ascended the throne. He was therefore known as *Rakhal Badshah* (the cowherd king). A place to the east of Sheikerdighi on the Jangipore Road is shown as the place where he was born:—

A.D.	Nazim.	Emperors.
1521	Sultan Nasrat Shah, son of Sultan Alauddin Hossein Shah.	Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, son of Sikander Lodi.
1534	Sultan Mahmood Shah Bengali, son of Alauddin Hossein Shah	Humayun Badshah.
1541	Khizir Khan	Sher Shah Badshah.

Sher Shah drove Humayun from Delhi and became the Emperor of India. He defeated Sultan Mahmud Bengali and appointed Khizir as its ruler:—

A.D.	Nazim.	Emperors.
1545	Muhammad Khan Sur	Salim Badshah.
1555	Bahadur Shah Salim Khan	Muhammad Shah Adil.
1560	Jalaluddin Shah	Ditto.
1564	Soleman Shah Karani Afghani	Ditto.

The Capital of Bengal was removed from Gour to Pandua during his reign:—

A.D.	Nazim.	Emperors.
1573	Daud Shah, son of Soleman Shah.	Jalaluddin Badshah. Akbar.

He was put to death by Khan Jahan and he took over the administration of Bengal. Bengal and Behar came under the suzerainty of Akbar Shah at the time and the Capital was transferred from *Pandua* to *Gour* again :—

A.D.	Nazim.	Emperors.
1576	Nawab Khan Jahan ..	Jahangir Badshah. Akbar
1597	Muzafar Khan	Ditto.
1596	Raja Todar Mull	Ditto.
1582	Khan-i-Azam	Ditto.
1582	Shahbaz Khan	Ditto.
1584	Raja Man Sinha	Ditto.

During his *regime* the Capital was transferred to Rajmahal. During this period the Afghans from Orissa made themselves masters. A great battle was fought at Sherpore Atai—in the Kandi subdivision—in which Raja Man Sinha completely defeated the rebellious Afghans of Orissa. The place is still pointed out and is now in *mouza Nagar, J.L. No. 85 of police-station Khargram.*

A.D.	Nazim.	Emperors.
1606	Kutubuddin Khan ..	Jehangir Badshah.
1607	Jehangir Kooli Khan ..	Ditto.
1608	Sheekh Islam Khan ..	Ditto.
	He removed the capital from Rajmahal to Dacca.	
1613	Kasem Khan, son of Islam Khan	Ditto.
1618	Ibrahim Khan Fatch Jang ..	Ditto.
1622	Shah Jahan	Ditto.
1625	Khan Nawaj Khan	Ditto.
1626	Nawab Mukarrom Khan ..	Ditto.
1627	Nawab Fidal Khan	Ditto.
1628	Nawab Kasim Khan	Shah Jahan Badshah
1632	Nawab Azam Khan	Ditto.
1637	Nawab Jolam K. Mashaddi	Ditto.
1659	Shahzada Shuja, son of Shah Jahan.	Ditto.
1660	Nawab Meer Jumla	Aurangzeb Badshah.
1664	Nawab Shaista Khan	Ditto.
1667	Nawab Fedai Khan	Ditto.
1678	Shah Zadah Sultan Mahmud Azam.	Ditto.
1680	Nawab Shaista Khan	Ditto.
1689	Nawab Ibrahim Khan	Ditto.

It was at this time in 1695-96 that a rebellion of great force was started in the main by the Afghans with Sobha Sing—a *Zemindar* of Chetobandar in the district of Burdwan—as leader. The rebellious hordes carried all before them from Rajmahal to Midnapore, sacked the town of Burdwan and killed the

Maharaja. They occupied and plundered the city of Hughli. It was then that the French, the Portuguese and the British asked and were given permission to construct forts for their protection and the Fort William at Calcutta was the result. Sobha Sing was aided by Rahim Khan—an Afghan—who was deputed by him to sack Nadia and Murshidabad. Rahim Khan was killed in an encounter off Rajnagar in the district of Birbhum while Sobha Sing was murdered at Burdwan by a daughter of the family of the Burdwan Raj. The rebellious forces, however, sacked Murshidabad and went to Maldah. There was an encounter at Bhagawangola with the Nawab's army under Zahardast Khan and the rebels were routed:—

A.D.	Nazim.	Emperors.
1697	Prince Azimushan	Aurangzeb Badshah.
1704	Nawab Murshid Kuli Khan ..	Ditto.

Murshid Kuli Khan was a Brahmin convert to Muhammadanism. It is from here that the connection of the district starts more intimately with the destiny of Bengal. Murshid Kuli Khan removed the capital from Dacca to Murshidabad. It must, however, be remembered that Murshidabad appears to have existed by the name of Makhshudabad—a name often used in the old documents and largely used even now by the gentry specially the Muhammadans—long before the capital was transferred here. A rupee still preserved in Lahore Museum shows that Makhshudabad was a mint town in 1679 A.D. The following extracts from Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley's District Gazetteer would be interesting:—

“The profits of the Murshidabad mint are stated in the rent-roll of 1728 to amount to Rs. 3,04,103. In 1706 the English at Cossimbazar were induced to pay Rs. 25,000 for the convenience of having bullion, which they imported from Europe, coined into rupees at the Murshidabad mint. One of the chief articles in the petition presented by the English Embassy at the Court of Delhi in 1716 was ‘that the officers of the mint at Murshidabad should at all times when required, allow three days in the week for the coinage of the English Company's money.’ It was not till nearly half a century afterwards, in 1757, as one of the results of the battle of Plassey, that the English first struck coins of their own;

but still in the name of the Emperor of Hindusthan. In 1758, the Council at Calcutta complained, in a letter to the Court, that their mint was of but little use to them, partly because no bullion was arriving from Europe, but more especially because the command of specie possessed by the Setas of Murshidabad was used to force down the exchange value of their *siccās*. In 1760, on the occasion of the accession of Mir Kasim, a *Parwana* was received from the Nawab, awarding full privileges to the Calcutta mint. From this date the mint of Murshidabad began to decline, and, indeed, was soon abolished. The manuscript Records of the Board of Revenue show that in 1785 it was proposed to 're-establish the mint at Murshidabad.' This proposal was apparently carried out, though only for a short time. In 1796, all provincial mints were abolished, but some respite seems to have been granted to that at Murshidabad. It was not till 1799 that the Collector of Murshidabad despatched the mint utensils to the Presidency, and disposed of the buildings used as the mint office by public auction' :—

A.D.	Nazim.	Emperors.
1725	Nawab Shuja-ud-din Muham-mad Khan.	Muhammad Badshah. Shah

Nawab Shuja-ud-din declared himself independent and assumed complete powers and from his time Bengal became an independent State to all intents and purposes :—

A.D.	Nazim.	Emperors.
1739	Nawab Sarfaraz Khan, son of Shujauddin Khan.	Muhammad Badshah. Shah
1740	Nawab Aliverdi Khan ..	Ditto.
1756	Nawab Soraj-ud-dowla ..	Alangir II
1757	Nawab Mirjafar ..	Ditto.
1764	Nawab Najimod-dowla ..	Shah Alam.

The year 1757 is the year of the Battle of Plassey and may be taken as the year when the destiny of Bengal and that of India passed into the hands of the British people though the process of transfer naturally took years thereafter. The last step may be taken to be that of Lord Cornwallis in 1790 when he "resolved to accept the superintendence of Criminal Justice throughout the Provinces." The *Nizamat Adalat* was transferred from Murshidabad to Calcutta. The

city and the district of Murshidabad ceased to be the capital of the country and the seat of the Government. The descendants of Mir Jafar continued to reside there. But the position was what could be gathered from the words of Lord Macaulay. "The heir of Mir Jafar still resides at Murshidabad, the ancient capital of his house, still bears the title of Nawab, is still accosted by the English as, 'Your Highness' and is still suffered to retain a position of the regal State which surrounded his ancestors. A pension of one hundred sixty thousand pounds a year is annually paid to him by the Government. His carriage is surrounded by the guards, each preceded by attendants with silver maces. His person and dwelling are exempted from the ordinary authority of the ministers of justice. But he has not the smallest share of political power and is in fact only a noble and wealthy subject."

The position of the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad was determined later by the Murshidabad Act, XV of 1891, and recently again by Act XXIII of 1933.

Macaulay's description no longer represents the state of affairs to-day. The Palace is in decay and the heir of the house lives mostly at Calcutta as a private citizen and Murshidabad has the look of a city of decaying and decayed buildings in spite of the shimmer of life near about the Civil Station of Lalbagh.

After the rebellion of Sobha Sing and the Battle of Plassey the exact site of which, though outside, lies in the outskirts of the present district of Murshidabad, the district figured thrice in military activities. First, at the beautiful reach of the Bhagirathi, half way between Murshidabad and Cossimbazar, a small British troop under Mr. Amyatt was met by the forces of Mir Kasim and massacred; secondly, Mir Kasim's forces were routed at Gheria at the junction of the Bhagirathi with the Padma on July 24, 1763, by the British forces and Bengal was conquered for the second time; thirdly, when Berhampore was the centre of the rebellion that started with the Sepoys in 1857, a description of which was given in the Red Pamphlet that appeared under the title "The Mutiny of the Bengal Army. A historical narrative by one who has served under Sir Charles Napier." This is quoted elsewhere.

20. Character of the preceding rule.—There is nothing on the record to show the exact nature of the administration that ended with the battle of Plassey. From the list of Governors quoted it will appear that it was not often a semitic or foreign rule in which the indigenous or the Indian element had no place. Bengal had had Hindu Viceroy in Todar Mull and Raja Man Sinha for a fairly considerable time. It was not impossible for a Hindu to be the ruler of the Province as was evidenced by the rise of Raja Kans and though his son was a convert to Muhammadanism and took the name of Raja Sultan Jalaluddin he was certainly not a foreigner to Bengal. For 23 long years Bengal was ruled by Hossain Shah Badshah (1498-1521) who at least rose from the ranks purely in Bengal, while even in comparatively recent times a *Brahmin* convert to Muhammadanism Murshid Kuli Khan held the reins of Government for 21 years from 1704 to 1725.

The Government was largely autocracy and autocracy had its advantages and disadvantages. Much depended upon the character of the autocrats and that character in that period of human history can't all be judged by the standard of the last quarter of the 19th and the present quarter of the 20th century, assuming that even that standard can meet all the criticisms of a cynical critic. Religious intolerance was there but probably no more than in other parts of the world at that period when burning of heretics and persecution of the heterodox was still considered a great part of religion. On the other hand the contribution of Hossain Shah Badshah for the religious susceptibilities of his Hindu Chief minister has not many parallels in history. Rewards to Hindu Chiefs were not uncommon as are evidenced from the history of Pargana Fatesing in this district, of the rise of the present family of Nadia Raj in the adjoining one. The part played by the family of Jagat Sett—a brief history of which will be noted later—for over a century, the position held by the Chief in the Counsels of the Nawab including the position held in the military service (for example, Mohan Lal in the Battle of Plassey) indicate when all the factors are taken into consideration that the autocracy was neither largely malevolent in operation nor niggardly in the appreciation of merit or distribution of

largesses, powers and privileges to the people of communities of other faiths in the country. Much has been said against the private life of these rulers. Much in that certainly is to be strongly condemned but not many kings or rulers from ancient to modern times have set the standard of high ethical types in any part of the world. Seraj-ud-dowla came in for a considerable amount of criticism. That he was impulsive and indiscreet can hardly be doubted. But he was very young without a counsellor. Judged by the conduct of the officers of the East India Company which still then had been only a trading concern probably a future historian would like to judge him with greater charity and placing himself in Seraj-ud-dowla's position with a full knowledge of all the circumstances of the situation would probably hold that he was not altogether as black as he was painted. He was probably neither an unredeemed tyrant as the old historians seem to suggest nor the great nationalist ruler who made a final though belated attempt against the expanding power and aggressive attitude of the East India Company as some of the modernist writers wish to make out. It is, however, certain that he was surrounded by self-seeking intriguing individuals who owed loyalty neither to the Ruler nor to the country and the masses over whom he ruled had no political sense. Probably all that was the normal sequel to such an autocracy.

21. Fiscal administration of the Muhammadan Rulers.—It is interesting, however, to quote from Stewart what had been gathered about the routine and details of administration of Murshid Kuli Khan who died only about thirty years before the Battle of Plassey.

Murshid Kuli Khan discharged the united functions of Nazim and Diwan. He not only ruled over Bengal and Orissa but had the Government of Behar added to his charge. As was observed before he was not a foreigner to India but a *Brahmin* who had changed his religion.

From Stewart's History of Bengal it appears that "he always provided against famine, and severely prohibited all monopolies of grain. If the importation of grain to the cities and towns fell short of what had been usual; he sent officers into the country, who broke open the hoards of individuals, and

compelled them to carry their grain to the public markets. Rice was then commonly sold in Murshidabad at 4 maunds for a rupee (or about a hundredweight and a half for one shilling), and the prices of other provisions were in proportion. He always strictly prohibited the exportation of grain. The *faujdar* of Hugli had express orders to see that no ship, whether European or other, carried away more grain than was sufficient for the victualling of the crew during the intended voyage; neither were any (foreign) merchants allowed to have stores of grain"..... "The Nawab was indefatigable in the extirpation of robbers, and erected guard-houses at Katwa and Murshidganj. Whenever a robbery was committed, he compelled the *faujdar* or the *Zemindar* either to find out the thief or to recover the property. The goods or their equivalent in money, were always restored to the person who had been robbed; and the thief, whenever caught, was impaled alive. By these severe means, travellers were protected on the roads, and every man slept securely in his own house."..... "He devoted two days in a week to the administration of justice, presiding in court in his own person. So impartial was he in his decisions, and so rigid in the execution of the sentence of the law, that he put his own son to death for an infraction of its regulations". In the collection of the revenue his severity was still more to be dreaded. "In order to make a full investigation of the value of the lands, he placed the principal *Zemindars* in close confinement, and gave the collection into the hands of expert *amils* or collectors, who received the assessments from the farmers, and paid the amount into the public treasury. He also ordered the whole lands to be re-measured. Having thus ascertained the quantity of fallow land belonging to every village, he caused a considerable proportion of it to be brought into cultivation. For this purpose the collectors were authorised to make advances of money to the lower orders of husbandmen. To the dispossessed *Zemindars* he assigned an allowance for the subsistence of themselves and their families, called *nankar*, payable either in land or money; to which were added *bankar* or *jalkar*, which comprise the privileges of hunting, cutting wood in the forests, and fishing. The only persons exempted from these despotic regulations were the *Zemindars* of Birbhum, and Bishnupur, who retained their old

character of feudatory chiefs. Many stories of the exquisite devices of cruelty which he adopted to extract arrears from *Zemindars* in default are to this day current in Bengal. By these various means he raised the imperial revenues to one *kror* and fifty *lakhs* of rupees or more than £1,500,000 sterling. Apart from the enormous sums which were retained for his own private fisc, and in the coffers of Jagat Seth at Murshidabad, the above amount was annually transmitted to Delhi, the greater part in specie, usually in the beginning of Baisakh, the second month of the year. 'The boxes of treasure were laden upon 200 or more carts drawn by bullocks, and escorted by 300 cavalry and 500 infantry, accompanied by one of the sub-treasurers. Together with the revenue he sent presents to the Emperor and his ministers elephants, hill-horses, antelopes, hawks, shields made of rhinoceros hide, sword-blades, Sylhet mats, flagree-work of gold and silver, wrought ivory, Dacca muslins and Kasimbazar silks also a number of European articles procured at the royal port of Hughli.' 'He admitted no charges for troops, except for those paid and mustered by himself. Two thousand cavalry and four thousand infantry were found sufficient to enforce the payment of all the revenues of Bengal.' With this small force, which hardly deserves the name of army, and was not raised primarily for military purposes, Murshid Kuli Khan maintained order in Bengal during a period of twenty years. On more than one occasion he had to contend against rebels in the field; but he was not ambitious of distinction in arms, and did not attempt to extend the boundaries of his Government. During his time the independent Rajas of Tipperah, Kuch Behar, and Assam, whose countries had been overrun but never subdued by the Muhammadans, sent presents of submission to Murshidabad and acknowledged the nominal superiority of the Nawab."

It is alleged that with the characteristic spirit of a renegade he often was indiscreet enough to show his intolerance of Hindu ideas and was alleged to have procured the site for his own tomb in future by the destruction of Hindu temples. He like rulers better educated and more developed than he under-estimated the consequences and the psychological effect of such conduct which in spite

of the brilliant achievements in administration must have stirred up feelings fatal to the continuance of the very administration which he did so much to build up.

The results of Murshid Kuli Khan's Financial Reforms are thus summarised by Professor Blochman :—

"The financial reforms consisted chiefly in the abolition of the Bengal contingent of household troops (3,000 horse) and in a *hastabud* investigation set on foot throughout the interior district and chiefly in Satgaon for the purposes of ascertaining or equalising the established *proportional* assessment which carried a perpetual increase to the old rent-roll. These reforms were embodied in the *Jama-i-kamil-tumari* or perfect rent-roll. According to it Bengal was from 1722 or thirty-five years prior to the British conquest, newly arranged in thirteen *Chaklas* or large divisions of territory which composed by smaller subdivisions of old mahals, the number of 1,660 Parganas and paid a revenue now fixed at Rs. 1,42,88,186. Two of the *Chaklas* were annexations from Orissa, viz., Bandar Balusai, and Hijli, five lay west of the Ganges, viz., Satgaon, Burdwan, Murshidabad, Jessore, Bhusna; six lay north and east of the Ganges, viz., Akbarnagar, Ghoraghat, Karaibari, Jahangirnagar, Sylhet and Islamabad. The *Fouzdaries*, or Magisterial jurisdictions, coincided in area with the Revenue *Chaklas*. To the above rental further sums were added arising from taxes called *abwabs* levied over and above the *Asli-Jama*. Under Murshid Kuli Khan, the *abwab* carried to the account amounted to little more than 2½ lakhs but he collected much more which did not appear in the Imperial accounts".

The description quoted above does not seem to corroborate the contention that the country was passing through a long period of chaos and anarchy when the Battle of Plassey was fought. The supremacy of Delhi might have been meagre and the imperial throne might have been in tottering hands but the administration in Bengal thirty years before the Battle of Plassey had no marked signs of weakness.

Shuja-ud-dowla, the son-in-law of Murshid Kuli Khan, came in after him. His collection of revenue was not less

exact than his predecessors while he had neither religious bigotry nor reproach of cruelty in the exaction of revenue. He is said to have "commenced his rule by releasing the unhappy *Zemindars* from the rigorous confinement in which they had long been languishing and by permitting them to resume the management of their estates upon giving security for good conduct. Despite the leniency there was no falling in the revenues. For the year 1728 one crore and forty-eight lakhs of rupees (£1,480,000) were remitted to Delhi by the agents of the Imperial Banker Jagat Sett without any difficulty or oppression."

During his rule the Province of Tipperah which had from time immemorial been an independent Kingdom was annexed to the Mughal Empire. Dinajpore and Cooch-Behar were also invaded and the Rajas of those countries were plundered. Sir W. Hunter writes "His most trusted advisers were the two brothers Haji Alimaddi and Aliverdi Khan, who were his near relatives, and Jagat Sett. His justice has become proverbial." Till this period, therefore, the internal administration does not appear to have been bad and this reign ended in 1739. But after this signs of decadence set in. His son Sarfaraj Khan had to meet the revolt of Aliverdi Khan and was killed at Gheria. There was confusion at Delhi. During the *regime* of Aliverdi Khan who succeeded Sarfaraj Khan Bengal passed through most troubled times. There was revolt in Orissa and the Marhattas began their invasions on Bengal and on several occasions plundered the suburbs of Murshidabad. The European Settlement on the Hughli was growing in power. Aliverdi Khan had been to Orissa to quell the rebellion but on his way back at Burdwan was attacked by 40,000 cavalry of the Marhatta Chief. He had a narrow escape and though Jagat Sett was plundered the next year the Nawab sent off his treasure to Godagari on the other side of the Padma. In the year following he attacked the Marhattas and is said to have defeated them at Katwa and at Midnapore. But they appeared next year in two separate armies, put the country to plunder and the Nawab had to pay an enormous sum to buy off his immunity. These depredations continued with reverses on one side or the other till his death in 1756 though the concluding five years

had comparative peace through heavy sums paid to the Marhattas. One can thus say that Nawab Aliverdi Khan's rule was a period of unsettlement and turmoil and the attacks by the Marhattas had been very unsettling for the rulers as well as for the people at large. It was during this period that fortifications of European settlers were strengthened and the Marhatta ditch was dug in Calcutta.

The rest of the history of the future rulers is merely a history of the rise of the British power and will be dealt with later.

22. European Settlement and rise of the British power.—Cossimbazar and its neighbourhood had been developing as an emporium of trade. Its position in the river system as was there then must have been the greatest contributory factor to this rise. When Murshidabad ultimately became the capital of Bengal the development was still more expedited. Before the capital came up to here it appears from a letter dated 12th July 1620 that two English Agents Hughes and Parker who were sent from Agra to Patna to set up a trading station there invested in the purchase of "Serbandy silk, the best of Mucksoude and Sidebunde (i.e., Murshidabad and Saidabad) from whence these sortes were wound". It shows that before the capital was removed to Murshidabad or European traders established themselves, the present suburb of Cossimbazar it is only a suburb now of the Civil town of Berhampore was a centre of commerce with reputation well known to foreign traders. In the earlier records the whole area between the Padma, the Bhagirathi and the Jellanghi is referred to as Cossimbazar and in the records of the East India Company even the Bhagirathi was referred to as the Cossimbazar river.

British Settlement.—In 1658 Cossimbazar along with Hughli, Balasore, and Patna was selected as the site for one of the "four factories which the Court of directors determined to settle in the Bay of Bengal". It is believed that the actual occupation was not made before 1659. The first representatives of the Company at Cossimbazar were (1) John Ken who was the Chief and was appointed at £40 a year; (2) John Priddy who was appointed on £20 a year; (3) Job Charnock who left for a time for Patna but returned as Chief in 1680 and continued till 1686; (4) Daniel Sheldon who

was the second member on £ 30 a year. The British traders were not the only Europeans who flocked about Cossimbazar.

Dutch Settlement.—Close to what was the cemetery for the Residency was the village locally known as Kalikapore and now included in village Kalikapore J. L. 99 P. S. Berhampore Town. It was referred to by Bernier in 1666 as having a Dutch Factory with seven to eight hundred men working. Teiffenthaler refers to magnificent Dutch buildings. Nothing of these remain except a cemetery with tombs—22 in number. The cemetery must have been started later in the day for the oldest inscription seems to date in 1721 (Daniel van der Muyl). Some tombs are without inscription. Some scattered homestead of weavers still remain; probably their forefathers were drawn to the place for work in the factories.

French Settlement.—On almost the bank of the present course of the Bhagirathi near about the north end of the municipal town of Berhampore is Saidabad. There was a French Settlement with a factory. The part occupied by the factory is still known as *Farasdanga* or the land of the French. It is now partly occupied by the pumping station of the water works and is at the northern extremity of Saidabad. Part of the old French site is believed to be in the river. The great French General Dupleix was said to have been here for some time. From a letter of the year 1781 from the Governor General to Mr. Pott, the Resident of Murshidabad, to the effect that the French should be restored to all their rights and privileges it must be evident that the French still were there at the time. None of the French have any concern there now.

Armenian Settlement.—In the year 1665 Emperor Aurangzeb granted a *farman* to the Armenians to have a Settlement at Saidabad. A Church which still exists and is cared for was constructed in 1758. It was probably constructed on the strength of the Charter of the East India Company which promised to provide the site for a Church. An anonymous writer—"Artemus", contributed an article to the Historical Bengal—An ancient Church—which might be quoted here:—

"Times have changed in Berhampore as well as everywhere else, and the Armenians have given place to others in

the local commercial world. The places where they lived are levelled to the ground, and down in Saidabad, where their residents were, one only finds grass and moss-grown ruins. The very roads over which they walked have disappeared, and all that remains of this ancient colony is an occasional walled-in-plot of land. To the question "What place was this?" the guide invariably replies. "A rich merchant lived here. He was ruined and the house fell." The crumbling decay of ages, however, has spared to some extent the old church. Time has dealt more gently with it than with the old town, and it stands a grim and time-stained monument of an almost forgotten prosperous community of merchants.

"The sacred building is now only a dilapidated barn. Its walls are bare and crumbling. The inscriptions mostly in the Armenian tongue, on the upper stones of the flat graves are slowly being obliterated, and the little niches and stoups that once marked the spot where the faithful were wont to bless and sprinkle themselves are almost invisible by the accumulation of the dust and dirt of fifty years of cruel neglect. The font, in the sacristy, where the ancestors of many of Calcutta's prominent Armenian citizens of to-day were admitted into Holy Church, is now a receptacle for rags, whilst on the other side of the building in another vestry, wherein the registers and vessels of the altar were once carefully guarded, was found a specimen of faded millinery probably cast on one side as useless by one of the caretaker's children. The main body of the Church is absolutely a dreary waste: a place of desolation, the evidences of a former grandeur on the inner roof and walls but accentuating the impression of that condition.

"But this is not all. For in the east end of the building towers a tall structure that was once the centre of devotion and worship of the old time Armenian community of the district. Aloft stands a huge picture frame from which the ragged edges of canvas still flutter, and one is told that from here at one time looked down on the worshippers a beautiful picture of Christ. It is satisfactory to know that this beautiful work has been removed to Calcutta and duly preserved. Underneath this great frame-redos are three rows, one on top of the other, of quaintly painted panels,

all in a fair state of preservation, representing incidents in the life of Christ and the ministry of the apostles. From the point of view of artistic merit these are perhaps unimportant, but they have a history contemporary with that of the Church itself, and are or should be of far too great interest to those who love the memories of the time when their ancestors knelt beneath them to be allowed to be the perching places of the caretaker's poultry which, alas, appears to be their only present use. Little or none of the altar furniture has been left in the Church. In one of the vestries is a tangled mass of lampware and old chains, and on the masonry altar-table were seen two old candlesticks and an ancient wooden book-rest. The verandah surrounding the building, and the tiny compound in which it stands, are covered with the gravestones of Armenians, who lived and flourished in the district between the year 1758, when the Church was built, and 1858, when the last burial is believed to have taken place. The last date appears to be the 17th December, 1858, the grave, inscribed in English, being that of "S. M. Vardon, Esquire."

The Church is now rarely visited save by the inquisitive, and according to the caretaker, himself an Armenian with an imperfect knowledge of English, each year produces two or, at the most, three faithful persons who linger within the once sacred precincts to offer a prayer for the souls of the faithful departed whose last resting places are within the shadow of the historic old building."

23. The East India Company—1658-

1757.—The early establishment of the British merchants has already been noted. The Cossimbazar Factory was in working order from 1659. The trade was carried on, however, not without serious impediments. Every day there were fresh imposts and fresh restrictions. During the period of 1680 to 1686 when Job Charnock was the Chief of Cossimbazar Factory the Company was subjected to imposts levied not merely by Nawab Shaista Khan but imposed by *Fouzdar* or Governor Bolai Chand Roy. In 1686 Company's boats were held up and the sale of commodities specially of silver was prohibited. Some Indian merchants complained that the Company's people had sunk their boats and interfered with them. Job Charnock was made responsible for this and not

only ordered to pay Rs. 43,000 as compensation to the Indian merchants, but according to Orme, scourged by Nawab's orders. The Cossimbazar Factory was ordered to be seized but Charnock managed to escape through the cordon in about April, 1686. Nawab Shaista Khan directed the factory at Cossimbazar and at Calcutta to be pulled down. Heavy payments, however, had to be made to get the order rescinded. This is but one of many examples. Cossimbazar was close to the Capital and had to stand the whims of the rulers and the Chief of the factory had to be not merely an expert business-man but also an astute diplomat. It was with tact alternated with bribes and presents that not merely the ruler at Murshidabad but also the powers at Delhi had to be handled to keep the trade going. On the other hand the English merchants at the time could not be held up as types of innocent and harmless traders. The records of the period are not without details of incidents depicting their depredations suggesting that the conduct of each party was probably in the nature of reprisal. In 1749, an English Man-of-war caught hold of a number of boats with goods owned by Muhammadan and Armenian merchants of Hughli, and some containing goods alleged to be belonging to the Nawab. Nawab Aliverdi Khan sent a letter immediately to Fort William which ended thus: "As you are not permitted to commit piracies, therefore, I now write to you that, on receipt of this you deliver up all the merchants' goods and effects to them, as also what appertains unto me, otherwise you may be assured a due chastisement in such manner as you least expect". It was thought that the Nawab might be approached with the presentation of an Arab horse but this proved ineffective for the Nawab directed the stoppage of all provisions to the English merchants at Dacca and stopped all their boats and ultimately surrounded the factory at Cossimbazar. The Nawab ultimately relented on being paid twelve lakhs of rupees through the Setts.

In 1751 a Muhammadan died intestate. The Company's servants at Calcutta appropriated his estate. The Nawab was annoyed. The Company's servants attempted to put him off on some excuse or another. Ultimately they had to pay not only the value of the estate but almost an equal sum by way of interest and compensation.

24. Serajuddowla and the East India Company.—Nawab Aliverdi Khan was succeeded by his grandson Serajuddowla, a youth of about nineteen years of age. His feelings against the British merchants were strong. Immediately on accession to the throne he started on his anti-British campaign against the British whom he wanted to drive out of the country. In June 1756, he marched on to capture the residency at Cossimbazar.

The description of the confines of Cossimbazar at the time was noted by Warren Hastings and Captain Grant, acting Adjutant-General and is noted below.

25. Warren Hastings' description of Cossimbazar Factory in 1756.—"The factory is situated close to the riverside, and consists of four bastions mounting each ten guns, nine and six pounds, also two eighteen pounders to defend the gateway, and a line of 22 guns, mostly field-pieces, towards the water side. Sometime before Cossimbazar was attacked (but preparations only making for it), Mr. Watts acquainted the Governor and Council that he was told from the *Durbar*, by order of the Nawab, that he had great reason to be dissatisfied with the late conduct of the English in general. Besides, he had heard they were building new fortifications near Calcutta without ever applying to him or consulting him about it, which he by no means approved of, for he looked upon us only as a set of merchants, and therefore if we chose to reside in his dominions under that denomination we were extremely welcome, but as Prince of the country he forthwith insisted on the demolition of all those new buildings we had made. The Nawab at the same time sent, to the President and Council, Fucker Tougur with a message much to the same purport, which as they did not intend to comply with, looking upon it as a most unprecedented demand, treated the messenger with a great deal of ignominy and turned him out of their bounds without any answer at all; upon which a second messenger was sent to Mr. Drake to this effect, that unless upon receipt of that order he did not immediately begin and pull down those fortifications, he would come down himself and throw him in the river. This messenger was treated as ridiculously as the other, and an answer sent agreeable thereto, as

likewise by a messenger that was sent some time before to demand the delivery up of Kissendasseat. In the meantime we received intelligence that Cossimbazar Factory was surrounded with a large body of forces and a great quantity of cannon, but the Council were determined not to submit to the terms proposed, accordingly directed the Chief at Cossimbazar to make the best defence he could, and promised him succour as soon as the season would admit of it."

"On Monday, 24th May 1756, in the afternoon, Omar Beg, a *Jamadar*, with his forces, about 3,000 horse, came to Cossimbazar by order of the Nawab. On the 25th, 200 horse and some *barkandazes* reinforced him in the morning, and in the evening he was joined by two elephants and another body of forces, when he endeavoured to force his way in at the factory gate. But he was prevented by the Sergeant of the Guard calling the soldiers to arms, who fixing their bayonets, kept the gateway. The *Jamadar*, finding that he could not get in by surprise, told them he was not come to fight. The Chief (Mr. Watts) did his utmost to provide a quantity of provisions and water, during which he met with frequent obstructions. Upon more forces advancing, orders were given to load all the great guns with grape and round shot, and to keep a good look-out the whole night.

"27th May.—The drums and 8-o'clock gun silenced, and the gate kept shut, which before were always kept open the whole day, and upon the enemy's forces daily increasing, Dr. Forth was sent to the *Jamadar* to know the Nawab's intention, which he informed them, were to attack the factory unless Mr. Watts went to him and signed such articles as he required. The *Munshi*, or Persian interpreter, brought Mr. Watts the same intelligence. At this time all provisions and water were entirely stopped, of which there was a great want, particularly of the former, as there were a great number of women, children, slaves and unnecessary persons in the factory, our complement of men consisting of 35 Europeans and as many black soldiers, with a few lascars, Messrs. William Watts, Collet and Batson of Council and Messrs. Sykes, H. Watts and Chambers, writers. Lieutenant Elliot commanded the artillery, as likewise the

military, having his son under him as a volunteer.

"As it was apprehended, that the Nawab had no other intent than which the former Nawabs had had, viz., to stop the Company's business till his demands were complied with by extorting a sum of money, letters were addressed him, written in the most submissive terms, to desire to know in what particulars the English had given him offence. But no other reply was sent than that they must pull down their fortifications, newly built at Perrin's and the octagon summer house of Mr. Kelsall (which he had also taken for a fortification by a parcel of shells having been provided there from time to time), both places adjoining and within a league of Calcutta. By this time there was near 50,000 men round the factory, and 70 or 80 pieces of cannon planted against it on the opposite side, the river, but not near enough to do any execution.

"1st June.—Radhaballav came to speak with Mr. Watts, and brought with him three *Jamadars*, who all advised him to go to the Nawab himself, and that everything might be very easily accommodated. Upon which he was weak enough to inform them, that if the Nawab would send him a Beetle as a token for his safety and security, he would very willingly, and with pleasure, wait on him. Whereupon Radhaballav took leave and went away, and soon after brought him a Beetle on a silver dish from the Nawab (at least as he informed him), and in the evening (of) 2nd June, Mr. Watts and Dr. Forth went to the Nawab in company with Hakim Beg's son, though the Military for a long time endeavoured to persuade him to the contrary, nay, even refused to let him go out of the factory. Upon Mr. Watts going before the Nawab with his hands across, and a handkerchief wrapt round his wrists, signifying himself his slave and prisoner (this he was persuaded to do by Hakim Beg, Radhaballav and others, who assured him that it might be a means of pacifying the Nawab, his appearing before him in abject submissive manner), he abused him very much and ordered him to be taken out of sight. But Hakim Beg's son telling the Nawab he was good sort of a man and intending, on hearing of his arrival from Rajmahal, to have come and embraced his footsteps (*hāth bāndh ke sāhib ka qadāmbos karnā*), he

ordered him to Hakim Beg's tent, where he signed a *Mochalka* and (was made to send for Messrs. Collet and Batson for the same purpose. But on their arrival they were all three confined. The purport of the *Mochalka* was nearly as follows: (1) to destroy the Redoubt, etc., newly built at Perrin's near Calcutta; (2) to deliver up any of his subjects that should fly to us for protection (to evade justice) on his demanding such subject; (3) to give an account of the *dastaks* for several years past, and to pay a sum of money that should be agreed on, for the bad use made of them, to the great prejudice of his revenues; and to put a stop to the *Zemindar's* extensive power, to the great prejudice of his subjects.

"4th June.—Mr. Collet was sent back to Cossimbazar to deliver up the factory to the Nawab, which was punctually put in execution, with all the guns, arms and ammunition, notwithstanding the soldiers were against it, and congratulated his return with the respect due only to a chief drawing up in two lines for him to pass through.

"5th June.—Mr. Batson was sent back to Cossimbazar, and Mr. Collet demanded, when Mr. Watts and he were informed they must get ready to go with the Nawab to Calcutta. This morning, upon opening the factory gates, the enemy immediately entered in great numbers and demanded the keys of the godowns, both public and private. They no sooner took possession of the arms and ammunition, but they behaved in a most insolent manner, threatening the gentlemen to cut off their ears, slit their noses, *chabuck* them, with other punishments, in order to extort confession and compliance from them. This behaviour of theirs lasted till 8th, when Lieutenant Elliot, having secreted a pair of pistols, shot himself through the head. The gentlemen's surprise was so great that they instantly sent and informed the *Diwan* of what had passed, thinking by that means to procure themselves better treatment. He was then searching and examining the soldiers' boxes and chests in order to return to them their clothes and apparel. But on hearing this news, he ordered all the Europeans out of the factory, and put them under a strong guard at Mr. Collet's house, where they all remained that night, except Messrs. Sykes and Batson who happily found

means to make their escape and get to the French factory.

"The 9th.—All the prisoners were sent to Muxadavad Cutcherry and put in irons, where they remained; except (that), after 15 days' confinement, Messrs. H. Watts and Chambers were permitted to go to either the French or Dutch factories, provided those gentlemen would give a receipt for them, to be responsible for their appearance when demanded by the Nawab.

"10th July.—The military were set at liberty. As for the two gentlemen who were sent to the Aurangs from Cossimbazar, they were also released about the same time but plundered, as these at the factory were of everything they had."

26. **Captain Grant's description of the defence of Cossimbazar.**—"The surrender of Cossimbazar on the 4th June by the Chief's being decoyed under many specious pretences to visit the Nawab in the camp before that place, and on his being made prisoner, induced to deliver it up, you must be informed of ere now, we having despatched Patamars (couriers) as soon as we received the news on the 7th. We may justly impute all our misfortunes to the loss of that place, as it not only supplied our enemies with artillery and ammunition of all kinds, but flushed them with hopes of making as easy a conquest of our chief settlement, not near so defensible in its then circumstances. Cossimbazar is an irregular square with solid bastions, each mounting 10 guns, mostly nine and six lbs., with a saluting battery on the curtain to the riverside of 24 guns, from 2 to 4 lbs., and their carriages, when I left the place in October last in pretty good order. Besides, eight Cohorn mortars, four and five inches, with a store of shells and grenades, their garrison consisted of 50 military under the command of Lieutenant Elliot, a Sergeant Corporal and 3 Matrossy (sic) of the artillery and 20 good lascars. The ramparts are seen by two houses which lay within 20 yards of the walls; but as each is commanded by 5 guns from the bastions, the enemy could hardly keep possession of them."

The capture was followed by a capture of the fortifications at Calcutta with the tragedy of Black Hole—the history of which is well-known.

27. **The Battle of Plassey.**—After the incident a confederacy was formed. The English Council was on one side

while Mir Jafar, a very near relative but a dismissed Pay-Master-General of Nawab Seraj-ud-dowla, Jagat Sett, the State Banker, and Rai Dulub, dismissed *Diwan*, on the other. It was decided, that Seraj-ud-dowla should be deposed, that Mir Jafar should be helped on the throne, the English would get valuable privileges and large sums of money was to be distributed among them. One of the intermediaries to this conspiracy was Umichand. He had a claim of thirty lakhs of rupees as compensation for the losses alleged to have been suffered during the sack of Calcutta. He wanted to have this from the parties to this arrangement and grew insistent threatening "that the conspiracy would be divulged to the Nawab unless the payment was made or guaranteed. Here it was that Clive behaved in a way which statecraft might approve but Ethics, more or less, would condemn. He prepared two treaties on two papers of different colours. In one, this compensation was guaranteed, in the other it was omitted. The former was a sham, the latter was the real treaty. The former alone was shown to Umichand and he was satisfied. The conspiracy was completed—though one Englishman (Admiral Watson) refused to put his signature on the sham treaty and his signature was fabricated.

The battle of Plassey was fought. In accordance with the terms secretly entered into there was defection in Nawab's army. The battle was lost in spite of the valour of Mir Madan and of the Hindu General Mohan Lal who fought to the last and died in the attempt to win a victory. Seraj-ud-dowla escaped to Rajmahal through Bhagawangola. He was, however, brought back to Murshidabad and was stabbed to death by order of Miran, son of Mir Jafar. His dead body was paraded through the streets and even taken past his unfortunate mother's house and buried at Khusbagh in the cemetery with his grandfather Aliverdi Khan.

28. Mir Jafar Khan—1757-61.—Mir Jafar according to the treaty come to was put to the vacant place of Seraj-ud-dowla. It is better to describe the details from a short quotation from Lord Macaulay:—

"In a few days Clive arrived at Murshidabad escorted by two hundred English soldiers and three hundred Sepoys. For his residence had been assigned a palace which was surrounded

by a garden so spacious that all troops who accompanied him could conveniently encamp within it. The ceremony of the installation of Mir Jafar was instantly performed. Clive led the new Nawab to the seat of honour, placed him on it, presented to him, after the immemorial fashion of the East, an offering of gold and then turning to the natives who filled the hall congratulated them on the good fortune which had freed them from a tyrant. He was compelled on this occasion to use the services of an interpreter."

"The new Sovereign was now called upon to fulfil engagements which he had entered into with the allies. A conference was held at the house of Jagat Sett". There, under instructions from Clive, one of the servants of the Company Mr. Sraffton turned to Umichand who had come there in high-hope and said "Umichand, the red treaty is a trick. You are to have nothing." Umichand, from the moment of that sudden shock, sank gradually into idiocy and then died. Others, however, fared better and shower of wealth fell copiously on them.

29. Mir Jafar in the dispensation of rewards emptied the exchequer. It is said "the treasury, which contained 1½ crores was unequal to the drain upon it, and the English had to be content with the payment of half of the stipulated sums and a promise of the remainder in three equal instalments". To an empty exchequer he added a weak character and preferred the pleasures of the Zenana to the cares of Government. The State was in chaos and the troops even were unpaid. In 1761 there was a mutiny among the troops and the English directed him to proceed to Calcutta and set up Mir Kasim Ali Khan, his son-in-law, on the throne. The causes which led to his dethronement are contained in the proceedings of the Board of Directors dated November 10, 1760.

"A Memorial setting forth the causes of the late change in the *Subahship*:—

The Nawab Jaffer Ali Khan was of a temper extremely tyrannical and avaricious, at the same time very indolent; and the people about him being either abject slaves and flatterers or else the base instruments of his vices, there was no chance of having the affairs of the Government properly conducted but by their removal. He attributed all the ill success of his affairs to imaginary plots

and contrivances, and sacrificed lives without mercy to the excess of his jealousy. Numberless are the instances of men of all degrees whose blood he has spilt without the least assigned reason; to learn the names and circumstances of all these sufferers would be work of time but some of the most striking examples are these following:—*Coja* Haddee, the first *Buxey*, was first banished for a pretended conspiracy against the Nabob's life, and afterwards cut off at Shahabad in his march out of the province; Mir Cazim, the second *Buxey*, was invited by the *Chuta* Nabob to his house, and after having received from him unusual marks of affection assassinated at the gates of the palace. Yar Mahomed, formerly in great favour with the Nabob Suraja Dowla, and since *Daroga* of the Emarut, slain in presence of the *Chuta* Nabob, in the month of April, 1760.—

Gasseta Begum, widow of the Nabob
Shehamut Jung.

Emna Begum, mother to the Nabob
Suraja Dowla.

Murada Dowla, the son of Padsha
Chouli Khan adopted by
Shehamut Jung.

Suffen Nisa Begum, widow of the
Nabob Suraja Dowla.

Her infant daughters by Suraja
Dowla.

The five unhappy sufferers mentioned last perished all in one night at Dacca about the month of June 1760, where they had been detained prisoners since the accession of Jaffer Ali Khan to the *Subahship*. A *perwana* was sent to Jessant Khan, the Nabob of Dacca, to put to death all the survivors of the family of Nabobs Aliverdi Khan, Shehamut Jung and Suraja Dowla, but upon his declining to obey so cruel an order, the messenger who had private instructions to execute this tragedy in case of the other's refusal took them from the place of their confinement and carried them out at midnight upon the river massacred and drowned them with about seventy women of inferior note and attendants. What became of Aliverdi Khan's widow is uncertain it being reported by many that she escaped the fate of the rest of her family.

Executions of this kind made the Nabob the dread or the detestation of all good men, and he necessarily became a

prey to people of mean extraction and abject dispositions, who, knowing that a Government so managed could not stand long, sought only to make themselves rich by oppressions of all sorts upon the country and inhabitants. To the heavy taxes laid by them on the markets is ascribed the present unusual scarcity and dearness of provisions at the city, the capital of a country once esteemed the most plentiful in the world. The persons who have had the chief share in this bad management are Keenooram, Momilol and Cheeon, all of low birth, and the two first the menial servants of Jaffer Ally Khan before he came to the *Subahship*. These managed so as to engage him continually in idle or vicious amusements, keeping him in utter ignorance of his affairs, and in a state of indifference as to their success. No money came into his treasury, at the same time nothing was paid to his army, insomuch that his troops mutinied and surrounded his Palace in a tumultuous manner, threatening to take away his life, which they would certainly have done, had not his son-in-law, the present Nabob Cossim Ally Khan, become answerable and paid them a very large sum of money out of his own treasury. This happened last June, and if imminent danger with which his person was threatened on this occasion awakened him for a moment, no sooner was it removed again to a distance than he fell back into the lethargy, which had so long possessed him."

30. **The condition of affairs.**—It must be said to the discredit of the people in power at the time that dishonesty was rampant. King-making was altogether not an unremunerative affair, quite apart from the profits out of honest and dishonest trade. Mill furnishes the figures of rewards to the important persons at the time as "disclosed by the Committee of the House of Commons in 1773" on the two occasions.

They stand thus:—

	1757.	£
Governor Drake	31,500
Lord Clive	211,500
Mr. Watts	117,000
Major Killpatrick	60,750
Mr. Walsh	56,250
Mr. Manningham	27,000
Mr. Becher	27,000
Mr. Sraffton	22,500
Mr. Boddam	11,367
Mr. Frankland	11,367
Mr. Major Grant	11,250
Mr. Mackett	11,367
Mr. Collet	11,367
Mr. Amyatt	11,366
Mr. Parkes	11,366
Mr. Lushington	5,625

1760.			£
Governor Vansittart	..	..	58,333
Mr. Holwell	..	..	30,937
Mr. Sumner	..	..	28,000
Gen. Cailland	..	..	22,916
Mr. Mc'Gwire	..	..	29,375
Mr. Smith	..	..	15,354
Mr. Yorke	..	..	15,354

1764.			£
Major Munro (King's Army)	..	..	13,000
His staff and attendants	..	..	3,000

1765.			£
Governor Spencer	..	..	23,333
Mr. Johnstone	..	..	27,650
Mr. Middleton	..	..	14,291
Mr. Senior	..	..	20,125
Mr. Leycester	..	..	13,125
Mr. Pleydell	..	..	11,667
Mr. Bindell	..	..	11,667
Mr. Gray	..	..	11,667
General Carnac	..	..	32,666
Lord Clive	..	..	58,333
Mrs G. Johnstone	..	..	5,833

It is no use discussing the merits and demerits of these perquisites. Of Lord Clive, it has been said in extenuation that "there was no limit to his acquisitions but his own moderation". Judged, however, by the ethical standard of to-day this explanation is hardly convincing. The facts are worth remembering, however, to measure the great change that has taken place in the *morale* of the services and of men, both English and Indian, during all these years.

31. Mir Kasim—1761-63.—On accession to the throne, purely through intrigue, Mir Kasim distributed 20 lakhs of rupees among members of the Council and assigned to the Company the revenues of the districts of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong. He, however, removed his seat of Government to Monghyr.

There he remodelled his army on European lines and started intriguing with the Nawab of Oudh.

He introduced order and system in the administration and effected reforms in the finances of the State. The reforms were so effective that within 18 months he not only discharged all his pecuniary obligations to the English but paid off the troops including the arrears left by Mir Jafar.

32. War with Mir Kasim.—The trade and the trading rights of the English always furnished occasions for dispute.

The English merchants claimed complete exemption from the liabilities to pay the duties imposed by the Nawab on them as well as others. The English

traders sought exemption not only for goods owned by the Company but for those they had in private trade. The assertion of this claim went to scandalous proportions.

Mr. Verelst thus described the position in his view of Bengal:—

"At this time many black merchants found it expedient to purchase the name of any young writer in the Company's service by loans of money and under this sanction harassed and oppressed the natives.

"A trade was carried on without payment of duties in the prosecution of which infinite oppressions were committed. English agents or *Gomostas*, not content with injuring the people, tramped on the authority of Government, binding and punishing the Nawab's Officers whenever they presumed to interfere."

Mir Kasim protested and then agreed to a convention accepted by Governor Mr. Vansittart that the Englishmen would have to pay only 9 per cent. as duty. This was considerably less than what others had to pay. The Council, however, declined to agree. The Nawab in anger abolished all duties on the transport of goods. To this, too, the Council would not agree. A deputation was sent but it was of no avail.

Mr. Ellis went and captured the city of Patna and Amyatt on his way to Cossimbazar was waylaid and murdered near about the Bhagirathi loop to Cossimbazar. There was often war and the Nawab dashed out and succeeded in capturing Patna and Cossimbazar. But he was defeated by Major Adams first at Giria near Suti and then at Uday Nala. His final exit was after the defeat in the battle of Buxar in 1777. He escaped with his life and died in indigence.

33. That Mir Kasim had enough provocations and challenge to his authority can hardly be doubted.

The Public Advertiser of 1772 to 1782—the paper of a strong political party in England at the time—passed strong strictures. It was evident from a perusal thereof that the Company had long possessed the privilege of transporting goods into and out of the country free of the numerous local tolls. Their servants now illegally enforced a little exemption for their own private trade (a).

The Indian merchants were placed at a disastrous disadvantage and the revenue subjected to heavy loss. Moreover, the *hanians* or native agents by whom the servants carried on trade were often guilty of gross tyranny (a). Mir Kasim's attempts to suppress these practices resulted in his ruin. But it can hardly be doubted that Mir Kasim helped to be Nawab purely by the British attempted to reform the state of affairs in a tactless and high-handed way. The feeling and the spirit with which the parties to the tragedy acted at the time can be gathered from the correspondence that was exchanged which in brief is quoted here.

34. Mir Kasim's correspondence with Major Adams.—The letter of the Nawab, dated 9th September 1763 runs thus:—

"That for these three months you have been lying waste the king's country with your Forces, what authority have you? If you are in possession of any Royal *Sunnud* for my dismissal you ought to send me either the original or a copy of it, that having seen it and shown it to my army I may quit this country and repair to the presence of His Majesty. Although I have in no respect intended any breach of public faith, yet Mr. Ellis regarding not treaties or engagements, in violation of public faith, proceeded against me with treachery and night assaults. All my people then believed that no peace or terms now remained with the English, and that wherever they could be found it was their duty to kill them. With this opinion it was that the *Aumils* of Moorshedabad killed Mr. Amyatt. But it was by no means agreeable to me that that gentleman should be killed. On this account I write, that if you are resolved on your own authority to proceed in this business, know for a certainty that I will cut off the heads of Mr. Ellis and the rest of your Chiefs and send them to you."

To this the President sent a reply which is quoted thus:—

"Mr. Amyatt and Mr. Hay were sent to you as ambassadors, a title sacred among all nations, yet in violation to that title you caused Mr. Amyatt to be attacked and killed on his return, after having given him your passports, and Mr. Hay you unjustly kept as a prisoner with you. You surrounded and attacked our factory at Cossimbazar and

carried away our gentlemen from thence prisoners in a most disgraceful manner to Monghyr; although they had no concern in the war nor resisted your people, in like manner, in all other parts, you attacked the English Agents, who were carrying on their trade quietly, some you killed and some were carried away prisoners and their effects were everywhere plundered. After these proceedings do you ask for what reason Major Adams was sent with an army? You know the laws of God and Man; as you had declared you would turn the English out of the country and had proceeded as far as you could towards it, it became necessary for us to take measures for our own defence and for the care of our own reputation.

To put the prisoners of war to death is an act which will appear shocking and unlawful not only to Christians and Mussalmans, but to the most barbarous Pagans; such sentiments are nowhere to be met with, but among the beasts of the forest. After the battle of Ouda Nullah above a thousand of your officers and men were prisoners in the hands of Major Adams, who released them without the least hurt or injury."

Major Adams wrote to Mir Kasim and Monsieur Gentil thus:—

To Cossim Ally Khan—

"I received your letter and understood the contents. The English having always had in view the articles of the treaty endeavoured by pacific measures to reconcile all differences with you, till the perfidious massacre of Mr. Amyatt compelled them contrary to their inclination to declare war against you. You say it was not your intention to murder Mr. Amyatt, why then did you not punish the aggressors with the utmost severity? There are three months elapsed and nothing done, we have now by the assistance of Providence brought your affairs to a very low ebb. It is true you have Mr. Ellis and many other gentlemen in your power; if a hair of their heads is hurt you can have no title to mercy from the English and you may depend upon the utmost fury of their resentment, and that they will pursue you to the utmost extremity of the earth. Should we unfortunately not lay hold of you the vengeance of the Almighty cannot fail overtaking you, if you perpetrate so horrid an act as the murder of the gentlemen in your custody.

To Mr. Gentil—

Sir, we cannot doubt that being a gentleman and a soldier there must have been some unlucky circumstances, which have led you into a conduct so unworthy of both, as that of having forfeited your parole of honour, and which may contribute in some measure to exculpate you. We are persuaded also that it must have been the most absolute necessity only which could have engaged you in so dishonourable a service to a Christian as that of the Moors, who always treat with the grossest brutality those of our religion and Europeans, when it is in their power to do it with impunity. A favourable opportunity now offers to enable you to rid yourself of so irksome a slavery and to reconcile yourself with our nation, towards which you cannot deny but you have acted very improperly (and which is now at peace with yours). If you can contrive means for the delivery of our gentlemen from the power of Cossim Ally Khan and will convey them to us, you may place a firm reliance on the gratitude of the English; and we promise you fifty thousand rupees immediately."

35. **Massacre of Patna.**—A description of the massacre at Patna is to be found in the Board's proceedings of October 1763 and is noted below:—

"We yesterday received the following letter from Major Adams, dated 18th instant:—

Gentlemen, the accounts which I have communicated to the President relative to the fate of our gentlemen at Patna are now confirmed by the arrival of several of their servants in camp. One Assuck, *consumah* to Mr. Albright, who gives the most distinct account, I intend to send down to Calcutta for your examination. He says that 12 days ago, at 7 O'clock in the evening, our gentlemen having drank tea, were acquainted by Mr. Ellis' servant, that Someroo was arrived with some Sepoys, on which Mr. Ellis immediately ordered a chair to be brought for him, but instead of going to the gentlemen, he sent away the *Mogul* who had the charge of them, and went into the back room and gave orders to the servants who were getting supper ready to be gone. He then sent for Messrs. Ellis and Lushington, who being acquainted he had private business with them, immediately went to him and were instantly cut down; afterwards Messrs. Hay,

Lyon and Jones were sent for and despatched in the same manner, as were likewise Messrs. Chambers, Amphlett and Gulston who were next sent for with Mr. Smith, but he receiving a cut on the shoulder escaped into the room, and acquainted the rest of the gentlemen who defended themselves with bottles and plates (their knives and forks being taken from them after dinner) and obliged the Sepoys to retire, who immediately loaded their pieces and shot them, 25 were in irons, the above-mentioned gentlemen with others amounting to 24 more were not in irons. He adds that Captain Wilson, Ensign Mackay, Doctor Campbell and five or six others were murdered at Chalisatoon, where they were confined, with Doctor Fullarton, who was the only gentleman that was not put to death. But that all the English soldiers were yet alive. The horrid massacre was perpetrated the night that Cossim Ally Khan received the President's and my letters.

All accounts likewise agree that Futta Sing, Ramnarain's brother, with 8 or 9 more of Ramnarain's relations were about the same time put to death, and that the Seats were put to death near Baur and their bodies were not permitted to be burnt, but exposed under a Guard of Sepoys; the bodies of our gentlemen were most of them thrown into a well in the compound of the house they were confined in.

They likewise say that immediately on receipt of the news of our storming Ouda Nulla, Cossim Ally ordered all the English to be sent out on the river and sunk there, but was prevented by *Coja* Gregory who, had he lived, they say, would have prevented this horrid affair."

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

THOS. ADAMS.

CAMP AT BURRIE,

18th October 1763.

The Board's Resolution regarding the Massacre—

"After reflecting with the most unfeigned sorrow and regret on this act of

unparalleled and barbarous cruelty, which we have now, no room left to doubt has been perpetrated at Patna by the emissaries of Cossim Ally Khan on the lives of our countrymen who were prisoners in his hands; although in the ordinary and usual calamities of war it becomes the business of the heads of a Government to avoid showing any marks of public concern which may be attended with the bad effects of depressing the spirit of a Colony, yet as the situation of our affairs is such as to give no occasion for apprehending any ill consequences to our public operations from a contrary conduct at this time, and the present calamity being in itself of so singular and heavy a nature, we think it highly proper to enter upon some public methods of manifesting to the world our concern on this occasion, as well because it is a necessary tribute to the memory of the unfortunate gentlemen who have thus fallen the victims of a horrid cruelty, as that it will serve to testify to the natives of the country the sentiments we feel for the loss of our friends and imply our resolution of revenging their untimely fate.

It is, therefore, agreed and ordered that a general deep mourning shall be observed in the settlement for the space of fourteen days to commence next Wednesday, the 2nd of November.

That the morning of that day shall be set apart and observed as a public fast and humiliation, and that intimation be accordingly given to the chaplains to be prepared with a sermon and forms of prayer suitable to the occasion.

That the evening before, immediately after firing the 8 O'clock gun, Minute guns shall be fired from the ships and the Fort which Commodore Tinker having been so obliging as to join us in the marks of our concern will begin from His Majesty's ship *Liverpool*, to be taken up first from the old, and next from the new Fort, and then to be succeeded by the *Osterley* and *Boscawen*, the Company's ships, which lay at anchor off town, and as Captain Tinker also mentions that he will send orders to the same effect to His Majesty's ships *Medway* and *York* at Kedgree, that the Company's ships *Deptford*, *Lord Clive*, and *Pigot* which are lying at Culpee be directed to follow their example.

The better to answer the end proposed by adding to the solemnity of

this ceremony, it is strictly ordered that the old Fort do not begin to fire till the *Liverpool* has ceased firing, the new Fort to take up the fire from the old Fort in the same manner, and so the ships according to the order they are here mentioned in.

After paying this necessary duty to the memory of our countrymen we are further agreed and determined to use all means in our power for taking an ample revenge on the persons who may have been concerned in this horrid execution and with a view of deterring in future all ranks and degrees of people from ordering or executing such act of barbarity.

Resolved therefore that a Manifesto of the action be published throughout all the country, with a proclamation promising an immediate reward of a lakh of rupees to any person or persons who shall seize and deliver up to us Cossim Ally Khan, and that he or they shall further receive such other marks of favour and encouragements as may be in our power to shew in return for this act of public justice.

That an immediate reward of Rs. 40,000 shall be given to any person or persons who shall apprehend the Chief named Summureau and bring him a prisoner to us."

36. The massacre and Shitab Roy.—The dismal days had at least one bright spot. The Government of Bihar at the time was entrusted to a chief named Shitab Roy. Macaulay says—

"His valour and his attachment to the English had more than once been signally proved. On the memorable day on which the people of Patna saw from their walls the whole army of the *Mogul* scattered by the little band of Captain Knox, the voice of the British conquerors assigned the palm of gallantry to the brave Asiatic." "I never," said Knox, when he introduced Shitab Roy covered with blood and dust to the English functionaries assembled in the factory. "I never saw a native fight so before."

Unfortunately, when Muhammad Reza Khan was arrested Shitab Roy was arrested, too, and marched to Calcutta. He was brought before a Committee over which the Governor presided. "Shitab Roy was speedily acquitted with honour. A formal apology was made to him for the restraint to which he had been subjected. All

the Eastern marks of respect was bestowed on him. He was clothed in a robe of State, presented with jewels and with a richly harnessed Elephant and sent back to his Government at Patna. But his health had suffered from confinement; his high spirit had been cruelly wounded; and soon after his liberation he died of a broken heart." (Macaulay on Warren Hastings).

37. The English merchants' view—It must be put down that then, as now, there were always two parties among the English residents. One stood for fair play, honest and straight dealing according to the best traditions of England, while another held the view that principles must be subordinated to exigencies of the situation and possibilities of private gain.

Both Governor Vansittart and Warren Hastings were for reasonable dealings and fair play and against abuses. But the other side had the majority, so much so, that in a minute delivered by Mr. Batson—a brother councillor—he expressed the feelings against Hastings thus "he acted the part rather of a retained solicitor of the Nawab than of a servant of the Company or a British Subject." This led to an altercation which ended in Batson's striking Warren Hastings in the presence of the Board. Vansittart and Hastings stood against any declaration of war that followed but were outvoted. Hastings changed his attitude after the massacre of Patna as is evidenced from his minute where he recorded "It was my resolution, as soon as a war should be declared, to resign the Company's service, being unwilling to join in giving authority to past measures of which I disapproved. But since our late melancholy advices, it is my intention to join my endeavour for the good of the service as long as the war shall last."

38. Return of Mir Jafar.—Mir Jafar was approached to agree to be Nawab. He was only too willing to agree to the terms offered. He was installed in 1763. The new change cost the country £1,700,000 and the Company's servants were exempted from the payment of all duties and charges to which other traders were subject.

Mir Jafar, however, was not spared to enjoy his new position and died in January 1765. He left a legacy of five

lakhs to Lord Clive with which the latter started the fund for officers and soldiers invalidated in the service of the East India Company.

39. Nawab Najmuddowla.—Mir Jafar's son succeeded him but lived only for three months. The period, short though it was, was not without events. Lord Clive who came to Calcutta in May 1765 as Commander-in-Chief, President and Governor in Bengal effected a Settlement with the Nawab. The Nawab agreed to make over the *Subahdari* to the Company in lieu of an annual sum of Rs. 53,86,131 for the expenses of the Court and the administration of justice. The revenue handed over in exchange is estimated by Grant in his Analysis of the Finances of Bengal at Rs. 2,56,24,223 per year together with sixty-five lakhs from Bihar, and eleven lakhs from Midnapore. The Nawab was further asked to agree to a Resident at the Durbar to be stationed at Murshidabad to conform to the control of a Board of advisers which included Raja Durlav Ram, Jagat Sett, and Muhammad Reza Khan. The young Nawab was pleased and said to have expressed his great satisfaction in a contented ejaculation "Thank God, I shall now have as many dancing girls as I like"—an expression which would indicate the stature of the individual then occupying the throne of Bengal.

40. Further transference of powers.—Lord Clive received from Emperor Shah Alam the grant which is known as the *Dewani* or the Revenue administration of the country—the *Nizamat* or the administration of justice, etc., continuing with the Nawab. The reasons for obtaining the *Dewani* are contained in the letter to the Court of Directors dated 3rd September, 1765 and 31st January 1766.—

"The time now approaches when we may be able to determine with some degree of certainty, whether our remaining as merchants, subjected to the jurisdiction, encroachments and insults of the country Government, or the supporting your privileges and possession by the sword, are likely to prove most beneficial to the Company. Whatever be the consequence, certain it is, that after having once begun, and proceeded to such length, we have been forced to go on from step to step until your whole possessions were put to the risk by every resolution effected and by every battle fought. To apply a remedy to these

evils by giving stability and permanency to your Government is now, and has been, the constant object of the serious attention of your select committee.

"The perpetual struggles for superiority between the Nabobs and your agents, together with the recent proofs before us, of notorious and avowed corruption, has rendered us unanimously of opinion, after the most mature deliberation, that no other method can be suggested of laying the axe to the root of all those evils, than that of obtaining the *Dewanny* of Bengal, Behar and Orissa for the company. By establishing the power of the Great Mogul, we have likewise established his rights, and His Majesty, from principles of gratitude, of equity and of policy, has thought proper to bestow this important employment on the Company, the nature of which is the collecting of all revenues, and after defraying the expenses of the army, and allowing a sufficient fund for the support of the *Nizamut*; to remit the remainder to Delhi, or wherever the king shall reside or direct.

"31st January 1766.—While the Nabob acted in quality of Collector for the *Mogul*, the means of supporting our Military establishment depended upon his pleasure. In the most critical situations, whilst we stood balancing on the extreme border of destruction, his stipulated payments were slow and deficient. The revenues were often withheld by disaffected Rajas and turbulent *Zemindars*, who despised the weakness of his Government, or they were squandered in profusion and dissipated in corruption, the never-failing symptoms of a declining constitution and feeble administration. Hence we were frequently disappointed of those supplies upon punctual receipt of which depended the very existence of the Company in Bengal.

"We cannot indeed look back without horror upon the desperate crisis to which your affairs were reduced when a mutinous spirit prevailed among your troops, when dissensions distracted your consultations and a powerful enemy was invading the province, to seize and desolate your possessions and probably to extirpate your servants. To us it evidently appears there remained but the alternative to advance as we have done, and grasp at the whole power, or to shrink back into our primitive condition of simple merchants.

to abandon our possessions, disband our Forces, and rest our future hopes in the clemency of princes, who will not easily forget or forgive the superiority we have so long maintained.

"In a word, this last measure was in itself impracticable, for we must observe, although with much regret, that the misconduct of individuals hath rendered the English name so odious that we are no longer secure than whilst our hands are armed for the defence of our lives and property."

The Court of Directors sent in their approval which is quoted thus:—

"When we consider that the Barrier of the Country Government was entirely broken down, and every Englishman throughout the country armed with an authority that owned no superior, and exercising his power to the oppression of the helpless Natives, who know not whom to obey at such a crisis, we cannot hesitate to approve your obtaining the *Diwani* for the Company.

"We observe the account you give of the office and power of the King's *Dewan* in former times was "the collecting of all the revenue, and after defraying the expenses of the army and allowing a sufficient fund for the support of the *Nizamut* to remit the remaining to Delhi." This description of it is not the office we wish to execute. The experience we have already had in the Province of Burdwan convinces us how unfit an Englishman is to conduct the collection of the revenue, and follow the subtle Native through all his arts to conceal the real value of the country, to perplex and to elude the payments. We therefore entirely approve of your preserving the ancient form of Government in the upholding the dignity of the *Soubah*.

We conceive the office of the *Dewan* should be exercised only in superintending the collection and disposal of the revenues, which office, though vested in the Company, should officially be executed by our Resident at the *Durbar*, under the control of the Governor and Select Committee, the ordinary bounds of which control should extend to nothing beyond the superintending the collection of the revenues and the receiving of the money from the Nabob's treasury to that of the *Dewannah* or the Company. And this we conceive to be neither difficult nor complicated,

for at the annual *Poonah*, the Government settles with each *Zemindar* his monthly payments for the ensuing year, so the monthly payments of the whole from the Nabob's *Dewan* is but the total of the monthly payments of each *Zemindar*, which must be strictly kept up, and if deficient, the Company must trace what particular province, *Rajah* or *Zemindar* has fallen short in his monthly payments, or if it is necessary to extend the power further, let the annual *Poonah*, by which we mean the time when every landholder makes his agreement for the ensuing year, be made with the consent of the *Dewan* or the Company. This we conceive to be the whole office of the *Dewanny*. The administration of justice, the appointment of officers, *Zemindaries*, in short, whatever comes under the denomination of Civil administration, we understand, is to remain in the hands of the Nabob or his Ministers."

41. **The first Punyah.**—In the following year in Motijhil mid-way between the present town of Berhampore and Murshidabad now a ruined place over a practically dried up water course the first *Punyah* on behalf of the British Administration was made by Lord Clive. A record is kept of the ceremony in the proceedings which stand as follows:—

"*Proceedings—May 5.*—Letter from Lord Clive, General Carnac and Mr. Sykes at Mootehyl, dated the 30th of last month, acquainting us that on the 29th they held the *Puneah* agreeably to the custom of the country and to those ideas which they entertain of the Company's honour and interest. That His Excellency the Nabob sat in quality of Nazim and the Right Hon'ble the President took his place as Collector of the revenue for His Majesty—that they thought it by no means advisable to deviate upon slight occasions from the established forms and customs of this anniversary, and therefore accepted for themselves and for us the usual present of a dress and elephant to each." That the *Zemindars* and other Public officers have consented to pay to the amount of five lakhs and twenty thousand rupees as first fruits of the ensuing collections—of this sum four lakhs are already received and the remainder they have reason to expect will be paid in a few days into the Treasury. That all possible despatch will be used in closing the

balances of the present year so as to complete for the province of Bengal a collection of 140 lakhs—a revenue that must far exceed expectation when it is considered that six months were elapsed before we took charge of the collections, and that the more weighty and considerable balances were actually incurred before we received the investiture of the *Dewanny*."

Nawab Najmuddolwa died suddenly in 1766 and was succeeded by his brother who died of small pox in 1769. He was succeeded by another son of Mir Jafar who was only a child of a few years. The Court of Directors now resolved on a new policy to "stand forth as *Dewan* and by the agency of the Company's servants to take upon themselves the entire care and management of the revenues." Hastings arrived and immediately set out to give effect to the reforms. Muhammad Reza Khan, Naib *Dewan* and Raja Shitab Roy of Patna were arrested and put in prison. These functionaries were done away with. A board of Revenue was constituted with Hastings as its head and an Indian was appointed to assist with the Designation of Rai Rayan.

The exchequer, treasury, *Nizamut Sadar Adalat* were all removed to Calcutta. In 1775, however, the Court of *Nizamut Adalat* was removed back to Murshidabad and Nawab Reza Khan was re-appointed as Naib Nazim and directed to control. This continued till 1790 when Lord Cornwallis announced that he had "resolved to accept the superintendence of criminal justice throughout the provinces." The *Nizamut* was retransferred from Murshidabad to Calcutta. Thereafter Murshidabad ceased to have any connection as the Capital of the Province. To-day it is almost a deserted and decaying town with ruined buildings and unhealthy atmosphere. One has to trace out from the heaps of ruins the spots which played historic parts in the political evolution of the country. A poet or a philosopher views them as inevitable incidents in the evolution of events but a common man views them not without emotion. In Appendix XI is given a list of these plots to help the inquisitive in future when time will have still more obliterated the outward signs.

42. **The Mutiny of 1857.**—Murshidabad slipped out of the political history.

of the country till 1857 when Berham-pore first started the mutiny of Sepoys with the 19th Regiment of Native infantry.

The description was given in a contemporary publication—The Mutiny of the Bengal Army—a historical narrative by one, who served under Sir Charles Napier and is quoted here.

"On the 25th February, Colonel Mitchell, commanding the 19th, ordered a parade for exercise with blank ammunition for the following morning. In the evening, the blank cartridges were served out to the men. They were of the very same description as those, which for a century past had been used by the Bengal Army. These particular cartridges had, in fact, been made up before even an Enfield rifle had reached India, and had been made over to the 19th magazine by the 7th Regiment, Native Infantry, on the latter leaving the station. In ordinary circumstances no objection whatever would have been made by any Sepoy to use similar cartridges. But the passion of the men had been roused; their feelings had been so excited that they could no longer control them; they were beyond the power of reason; they felt satisfied that their caste was to be taken away by means of cartridges and their excitement persuaded them that these were the fatal messengers. They at first refused to receive them, and it was only when their commanding officer threatened all recusants with court-martial that they took them in gloomy silence. That night they held a consultation. The "multitude of counsellors" gave new energy to their fears, and in a moment of fanatical frenzy the regiment rose as one man, and took possession of their arms shouting defiance.

"Intelligence of these facts was promptly conveyed to the commanding officer Colonel Mitchell. Two courses were open to him. The only troops at the station besides the 19th were a detachment of native cavalry and a battery of native artillery. The night was pitch dark, and no movement could be made with any certainty. He might either, therefore, have despatched the cavalry and artillery to guard the public buildings, the treasury, etc., and await the early dawn for ulterior operations, or he might at once march down on the lines and endeavour to coerce the mutineers.

The first course seemed to be most prudent, and was urged upon him; however, he adopted the other, and moved as quickly as possible on his mutinous regiment. The night was so dark that he was compelled to use torches to enable him to find the way; in this manner, and with great difficulty, he moved on. In the meanwhile, the 19th, having seized their arms, remained drawn up in front of their lines, waiting apparently for their European officers to take the initiative. The ground near their lines was interspersed here and there with tanks, and on these, by the light of their torches, they beheld the artillery and cavalry advancing. Had they been thoroughly evil disposed, it would have been easy for them, in darkness as they were to have picked off their officers and the artillery-men, whilst the nature of the ground and the darkness of the night would have prevented all idea of danger from the cavalry. They were, however, more excited than ill-disposed, and with arms in their hands they waited the first movement of their officers.

"On his part Colonel Mitchell could not have been insensible to the insecurity of his own position: he was marching at the head of natives against natives. Could he depend upon them? It was at all events doubtful. Were he to give the order to charge or to fire, was he certain that he would be obeyed? And if he were not obeyed, not only would there be three regiments in revolt instead of one, but the lives of the residents of that and surrounding stations would be jeopardised. Besides which, he found, as had been pointed out to him, that the nature of the ground and the darkness of the night would prevent the possibility of his acting efficiently against the mutineers. Something, however, must be done; he felt that. After deliberately weighing every circumstances of his position, he deemed it most prudent to try in the first instance the effect of conciliatory measures. He accordingly addressed the men of the 19th; he pointed out to them the absurdity of their fears and the enormity of their offence, and conjured them to give up their arms and return peaceably to their lines. The 19th on their part were not over-anxious to push matters to extremities; their excitement was beginning to wear off, and many of them felt a little ashamed of themselves. Still they were sensible of the advantage of their position, and seemed resolved

not to act under coercion. In reply, therefore, to their Colonel, they expressed their readiness to return to their lines, and to restore their arms to the proper place, provided only the artillery and cavalry were first moved away. To this unmilitary concession, Colonel Mitchell felt averse to accede. However, for the reasons above stated, he was powerless: he did not wish to provoke the 19th into a more open demonstration; he consented then to the proposal, and moved off the artillery and cavalry. The 19th gave up their arms, returned to their lines, and the *emeute* was at an end."

European troops were stationed at Berhampore thereafter and it was a Cantonment till 1870.

43. Formation of the District.—The earliest date when the district was formed cannot naturally be traced. Till 1787 it included the *Zemindaries* of Birbhum and Bishnupore which were in that year separated from it. A state of confusion followed as to the exact limits of the administrative unit.

So late as the year 1857 when the Revenue Survey was made this confusion persisted. Nothing appears to have been done till 1872 when efforts were made to rehabilitate the state of affairs. By a notification of 24th February 1875 the boundaries definitely fixed were notified. By a further notification of 10th November 1875 no fewer than 170 villages were transferred from this district to the district of Birbhum. The last important re-adjustment was made in 1879 when Police Station Burwan was transferred to the district of Murshidabad while Rampurhat and Nalhati (including Murarai) were transferred to the district of Birbhum.

During the course of the present operation jurisdiction as exercised over certain villages was found contrary to that justified by the notification. The matter was enquired into and referred to Government; a re-adjustment in consultation with the Government of Bihar and Orissa was approved in Revenue Department's letter No. 12301Jur. of the 21st September 1929.

Murshidabad was included in the Rajshahi Division till 1875. It was the headquarter of the Division. It was transferred that year to the Presidency Division and has continued in it since then.

44. Bhadrapore and Maharaja Nund Coomar.—The village Bhadrapore, J. L. No. 90, P. S. Nalhati, District Birbhum, about five miles to the south of Nawada Station on the Azimganj-Nalhati line is the birth place of Maharaja Nund Coomar where he is still remembered with veneration. It is unnecessary to go into and discuss the details of the circumstances which led to his execution on a charge of forgery. Contrary opinions have been held on the justice of the action—to some, like Mr. Beveridge of the Indian Civil Service it was a judicial murder. To others it was right punishment. That it created a deep impression at the time can hardly be gainsaid. "Memory helped by traditional exaggeration still persists.

The family is not in affluence now but is still held in respect and the principal member resides in Kunjaghata—a suburb of the town of Berhampore.

CHAPTER III.

The people and the Social customs.

45. The Population.—The growth of population in the district of Murshidabad may be shown from the figures stated below :—

1872	...	1,214,104
1881	...	1,226,790
1891	...	1,250,946
1901	...	1,334,142*
1911	...	1,345,073*
1921	...	1,224,161*
1931	...	1,370,677*

It appears that between 1872 to 1931, i.e., in course of the last sixty years or about three-fifths of a century the population has increased by only about 13 per cent.

It is stated that the slow progress in the first decade was due to the ravages of the Burdwan fever which made its appearance in the district in about 1881 and was responsible for very heavy mortality.

In the next decade there was a partial recovery but it must be noted that the recovery was not uniform—the *Rarh* or the west Bhagirathi *thanas* got an average increase of about 13 per cent. while the *Bogri* or the east Bhagirathi could get only 3 per cent.

In the third decade the growth was checked—epidemics of Small-pox and

* Figures taken from the District Census Gazetteers of 1931.

Cholera carried away a large number while floods in some parts and the inundation caused by the breach in the embankment at Lalitakuri affected crops, intensified poverty and accentuated the death rate.

The decade following 1911 put back the population. The Influenza epidemic with heavy mortality due to the other epidemic diseases led to a heavy reduction. It is only in the last Census where there was comparative freedom from any untoward visitation of nature that there has been an increase of 12 per cent. over that of the previous decade.

The fact, however, that within a period of sixty years the population could grow only by 13 per cent. suggests that the population is almost stationary. In a normally growing country one could expect a rise of about 60 per cent. in six decades. In Great Britain during the last 50 years the population has gone up by 53·8 per cent.

46. Castes and sexes.—Of the total population in 1931, of 1,370,677 there are 683,483 males and 687,194 females. The sexes thus almost balance each other. The earliest decade in which the population was very much the same was that ending in 1901 when the Census reported the population to be 1,334,142. It is interesting to compare the figures of these two periods which cover a lapse of thirty years:—

	1901.	1931.
Total population	1,334,142	1,370,677
Males	654,254	683,483
Females \	679,888	687,194
Hindu	643,474	589,551
Muhammadans	676,899	761,582
Christians	391	398
Animists	11,396	18,107
Others	1,024	1,027

It will appear that the difference between the sexes has remained practically constant. But the difference in religious groups is wider in 1931 than in 1901. In the latter year there was a difference of about 34,000 in population of the two religions, which worked out at little less than 4 per cent. In 1931 this difference is about 72,000 or more than 10 per cent.

If one goes to still earlier dates one finds that in 1881 the population of those respective communities stood thus:—

Hindus ..	634,796
Muhammadans ..	589,957

In other words the Hindus had an excess of 44,839.

47. The Hindus.—The Hindus generally are of the *Vaisnavite* type but *Sáktas* are not rare.

Though to strangers to Indian socio-religious life the *Vaisnavas* and *Sáktas* appear as warring elements—in actual life they live in amity and peace. A girl of the *Sáкта* family marries a boy of *Vaisnava* convictions and *vice versa* often enough. A visit to Barangar—the place where Raneé Bhabani lived tells the same tale. That the life of Shree Chaitanya left an abiding influence on the minds of the Hindu population is apparent from the *Sankirtans* perpetually held in the villages in which often the highest and the best join with the humblest and the lowest. The *Gossains* of Sijgram still hold in their possession in original a writing attributed to Shree Chaitanya explaining the text of a *Shastra*, which shows that he must have been to the area or had been in direct personal touch with people of this district.

In the interior numerous temples exist and the family deity is almost always present. Some worship in the extravagant style of the Paikpara Rajas already mentioned, while others do it in their own humbler ways. Fastings and prayers, rituals and ceremonials are largely observed. The rigours of widowhood among the upper classes are strong, while among the lower classes the idea is spreading that it is a sign of higher culture and spiritual life and should be adopted.

More important of the *Sáкта* temples is the one of *Kiriteswari* about three miles from the town of Murshidabad. A yearly *mela* is held which is attended to by large groups of people and the *mela* lasts for a month.

Castes and sub-castes.—The main groups are as noted below:—

	Population in 1931.
Mahisyas ..	75,082
Sadgope ..	52,350
Bagdi ..	40,275
Brahmin ..	35,519
Goalas ..	28,193
Rajbanshi ..	24,354
Muchi ..	22,448
Konai ..	18,755
Vaisnavas ..	15,787
Kayasthas ..	14,508
Sonthals ..	22,725
including—	
Animists ..	16,575
Christians ..	95

The *Mahisyas* and *Sadgopes* are well known sub-castes in Bengal and need no detailed description. They are good cultivators, hard-working, abstemious in their habits, quiet and peaceful in their avocations and higher education is almost unknown to them. Since 1881 it seems that the *Mahisyas* (formerly known as *Chasi Kaibartas*) have gone down by 25 per cent. while the *Sadgopes* have gone up by 41.7 per cent. The difference is not readily explained and may be due to the one group being mixed up with the other in the Census.

Bagdis.—They seem to be a very important sub-caste. They are virile, illiterate almost to a man, with certain capacity for strenuous physical feats and not unoften in older days contributed a substantial percentage to the corps of *paiks* and *lathials*.

A. Its sub-castes so far gathered are: (1) *Tentulia*, (2) *Kshetri*, (3) *Mete*, (4) *Kshetu Santan*, (5) *Kushasavy*, (6) *Kushmete*, and (7) *Dule*. Three other sub-castes, viz., *Beisha*, *Noda* and *Trayodas* are said to be there, but are not met with here. The *Lets* also are claimed by the *Bagdis* to form one of their sub-castes but the *Lets* do not admit this. There is a folk-tale connecting these two castes (see below in history of the *Lets*). Inter-marriage is not allowed between *Bagdis* of different sub-castes. A *Bagdi* of one sub-caste does not take rice cooked by a *Bagdi* of a different sub-caste. The vocations of the *Bagdis* are generally fishing, labour and cultivation. *Tentulia* and *Kushmete Bagdis* are besides masons and the *Dules* bear palanquins; in some places again the *Bagdis* are found engaged in weaving.

B. *Social customs*.—These are like those of upper class Hindus with, however, a smaller number of religious ceremonies which again are performed in rather crude forms. Widow re-marriage is permitted, the second husband being almost always a widower. The priests for marriage and other religious ceremonies are *Brahmins*. *Brahmins* who serve them are a class by themselves. *Bagdis* generally worship *Kali* and *Durga*. They observe abstinence (*Asau*) for ten days after the death of their kinsmen closely related. They do not take any food forbidden to Hindus of higher castes, beef, ham or fowls.

C. *History*.—*Bagdis* appear to be a very old caste. It is probable that they

are the "*Bágátita*" of the *Brahma Vairata Purána* and *Aitareya Aranyaka* which are believed to have been written before the Christian Era. From *Brahma Vairata Purána* it appears that the *Bágdi* came of a *Kshatriya* father and a *Vaishya* mother: it reads—

"*Kshatrabiryena Vaishyayam
Rito prathama vásare,
Játpütro Mahádashyü
Walawánshcha Dhhánürdharah.
Chakára wágatitancha.
Kshatriyáá Waritastu yah,
Tena Jatya sa putrascha,
Wágatitah prakeertitah.*"

In *Aitareya Aranyaka* mention of three castes are found: *Banga Bagadha* and *Chera*. "তানি ইমানি বয়ংসি রক্তবগাশ্চেরপাদাঃ।"

Bágadhá is believed to be the same as *Bágdi*. The conclusion gets considerable support from the fact that the *Bágdis* call themselves *Byágra Kshatriyas*. The description that the progeny was strong and powerful does also support the idea. It is a well-known fact that till recently they supplied the main *lathials* of warring landlords. The *Chuar* revolt was believed to have been led by them, while even now there is a very masculine and warlike dance common among them known as *Raibeshi*. This dance has now drawn public attention through the keen efforts of Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S. It is probable that it may be transformed into a very refreshing and enthusiastic folk dance. The fact that it still was there in the caste does show that it must have been associated with some kind of warlike activities.

It has already been noted that Fatesing to which the well-known pargana owes its name was the *Bagdi* king of the tract. It is not improbable that once they wielded substantial powers and fortune and actually ruled. They still retain the Caste Council which determines the fate of social delinquents. Though the rigidity of the rules of the Caste Councils is slackening they still are in life much stronger than what is in the other castes. The total increase of *Bagdis* since 1881 comes to 31.7 per cent.

*কর্তব্যার্থেণ বৈশ্যায়নোঃ প্রথমবাসরে।

জাতো পুত্রো মহাদশ্য বলবান্চ ধনুর্ধরঃ॥

চকার বাগতীতঞ্চ কত্রিয়াৎ বারিতস্ত যঃ।

তেন জাত্য স পুত্রশ্চ বাগতীতঃ প্রকীৰ্তিতঃ।

Brāhmins.—The bulk of the Brahmins is of the *Rārhi* sect. There are some of the *Vārendra* type while still fewer are *Vaidik Brāhmins*. The prominent of the *Rārhi Brāhmin* families are those of Kumar Kamala Ranjan Roy of Cossimbazar and of Kunjaghata *Zemindars*. The former maintains a large amount of rigidity of the orthodox type though representing one of the best types in modern culture and education. There are smaller *zemindars* and quite a large number of *pātnidars* and tenure-holders.

The *Vārendra* group has certain definite localities—such as Mohulla, off Sargachhi. The *Bagchis* own landed interests of some value. The *Vaidik Brahmins* generally are not connected with higher landed interests. Of the later immigrants of *Brahmins* the history of the *Jijhotiya* clans has already been given. The oldest of the clans is the Jemo Raj family while the most prominent is Maharaja Jogendra Narayan Roy of Palgola. This community has the proud distinction of having produced one of the most erudite and universally respected scholar of modern time in the person of late Principal Ramendra Sundar Trivedi.

The increase in population of the *Brahmin* group, however, is small since 1881; the total increase comes to only 4.6 per cent.

Kayasthas.—The main group is of the *Uttar Rārhi variety*. It was strong, virile and at one time quite advanced in ideas, and culture. The Rajas of Paikpara, the *zemindars* of Jajan and Panchthupi are the more prominent of the group. In the present generation there seems to be a decadence as much as in the *Brahmins*. They have ceased to lead and are stagnating.

Vaidya.—They are rare. The main family being the Mazumdars of Islampur. Late Rai Baikuntha Nath Sen Bahadur though he made Berhampore his domicile during his long professional career was in fact an exile from Burdwan.

Jains and Oswals.—This group which lives almost exclusively in Azimganj and Jiaganj must have settled in this district before the time the capital was established in Mūrshidabad. Rev. Long in his essay on "The Banks of the Bhagirathi" states "We find that in 1860 the Setts were a great family and

employed in supplying piece goods to the English merchants." The exact date of the first settlement cannot be traced but it is evident that it could not be later than the third quarter of the seventeenth century and probably much earlier. They exclusively built themselves up on trade, commerce and banking. They acquired landed interests, too, and figure largely in the district as *Zemindars* and *Pātnidars* though as *raiyat* they do not exist. The famous banker's family—Jagat Sett—belonged to this group though the last one became a *Vaisnavā*. They live in gregarious crowds with an amazing intermixture of dirt, filth and aesthetics. It is remarkable that neither to the Bar nor to the professions and never to the Public services of the district they send their children. Such of them as have taken to such careers have generally migrated to Calcutta. Their contribution to building temples is great. The temples of Pāreshnath Hills being constructed at the expense of *Jains* and Jagat Sett. The Sanskrit inscriptions thereon show that they were constructed between the years 1765 and 1816 A.D. by them. They had large humanitarian interests and they often went to the length of leasing the fishery of the Bhagirathi with the definite idea of stopping catching of fish. Their charity is well-known, but the old standards and types are getting rare and degeneration and luxury are making rapid inroads.

Goalas.—They inhabit different parts of the district but congregate mostly in and near about Beldanga. They are rare in Jangipore and Kandi sub-divisions but commoner in Lalbagh and Sadar sub-divisions—the last having the largest number. Over and above cultivation they deal in milk. They are physically active though by nature quiet and law-abiding. Since 1881 it seems that their number has declined. Between these two years the decrease amounted to about 20.3 per cent. The exact reasons cannot be traced. It is probable that there was economic adverse effect due to depression in milk trade brought about by the migration of the best and richest from the village. Later, however, there has been an improvement in the economic position inasmuch as milk and its products are being exported through East Bengal and East Indian Railways on either side of the Bhagirathi. Another probable cause seems to be the decrease in the

number of women. In 1881 out of a total number of 35,411 the men numbered 17,601 and the women numbered 17,810. In the Census of 1931, however, the balance was reversed and out of a total of 28,193 the men now number 14,699 and the women number 13,494. It has been found on enquiry that considerable difficulties arise to get a suitable groom. Widow re-marriage is interdicted.

Mals and Rajbanshis seem to be allied but yet keep themselves in watertight compartments. The *Rajbanshis* seem to differ from those of North Bengal. It is almost certain that they are different in types. The word "*Rajbanshi*" literally means "of the family of kings". It is probable that this was not a distinct tribal name but one used by a clan which had the ruling power. History of north Bengal *Rajbanshis* is clear and definite on the point but it is not clear to what kingship each group of *Rajbanshis* in West Bengal belonged. The *Mals* are divided into four sub-castes—

1. *Mallik mals.*
2. *Rajbanshi or Chatri Mals.*
3. *Mechua Mals.*
4. *Gheto or Ghatwal Mals.*

Agriculture is the main occupation though *Mallik Mals* take up fishing, too, as an additional occupation. The *Gheto Mals* seem to be few and are exclusive. There is no intermarriage between the sub-castes. Widow re-marriage as well as divorce are prevalent though *Mallik Mals* assert that neither prevails among them. They are married through special *Brahmin* priests—known as *Bara Brahmins* and take neither beef nor ham.

Muchis.—The *Muchis* in the district generally consist of four sub-classes—

1. *Ram Dass.*
2. *Rui Dass.*
3. *Rabi Dass.*
4. *Gahi Dass.*

They work in hides, make and repair shoes and musical instruments such as *Dhol, Dhak, Tabla*. Some of them do a crude form of tanning of the hides mostly with vegetable ingredients. They also work as cultivators and day-labourers but in neither are they efficient or hard-working. Some of them work as masons in which they attain a fair proficiency.

The women work as mid-wives and nurses. The sub-castes do not intermarry but widow re-marriage and divorce are prevalent. They get *Brahmin* priests for marriage and social ceremonies. They do not slaughter cattle for beef but take flesh of dead cattle. Partly for this and partly for hides they were often accused of poisoning cattle. Some years ago there was a movement among them to stop this as a social evil. This movement had had a very great effect. There is a certain urge to better the social condition but there is no active organised movement. The population of the *Muchis* is on the increase since 1881.

Bauris.—The *Bauris* form a small but a separate group and can be found in most villages of the *Rarh* tract. They are of the same type as described in the Final Report of Birbhum.

Konai.—The *Konai* caste provides a large percentage of the population. Locally it is also known as *Kurur* (কুরুর). There are two sub-castes—

- (a) *Chasi Konai or Bara-Kurur.*
- (b) *Choto Konai or Choto-Kurur.*

Marriage.—Among this *Konai* or *Kurur* caste widow marriage prevails. It is called marriage in *Senga* form (সেঙ্গা). The women have the option of dissolving marriage and then re-marry. There is no intermarriage between the two sub-castes. It is said that three or four generations ago the custom of intermarriage between these two sub-castes did exist. Now it is discouraged and normally does not take place. They do not inter-dine, nor would they sit next to each other in one line in a social dinner. They do not smoke in the same hubble-bubble (*Hukka*). In marriages and *Sradh* ceremonies they are separate. Their priests are separate and generally come from *Brahmins* called *Baran Brahmins* (বরন ব্রাহ্মণ) but their spiritual guides (গুরু) are *Vaisnavas* and *Brahmins*. They perform their *Sradh* ceremony after 10 days. The barbers of Bengal do not shave them or serve them. They shave themselves or the up-country barbers, if available, shave them. The *Chasi Konai* or *Kurur* live by agriculture, those of the other by fishing or labour though there are agriculturists, too. The women-folk of the lower class (হেটি কুরুর) take *Pachwai* (Rice beer) (পাচুই মদ). Those of the other sub-caste (*Chasi*

Kururs) are giving up the practice of taking *Pachwai*. Higher class Hindus, even *Sadgopes* do not use their water. They are illiterate in the main though literacy is making a slow head-way.

Origin.—The origin as usual, is in mystery. It is alleged that once there was a *Sadhu* named Muchiram Das who had a large number of disciples who were called *Muchis* (মুচি) after the name of their spiritual guide. The present *Konais* are said to be their descendants but they followed the customs prevalent among higher classes of Hindus, viz., *Sadgopes*, etc., and gave up taking beef of dead cows which the *Muchis* generally do. There is a reform movement among the *Muchis*, too—giving up beef eating and calling themselves *Konai*.

It is more than probable that they are a group of non-Aryans in a certain stage of Aryanisation who gave up certain habits and occupied a higher status. They apparently came under *Vaisnavic* influence as their *Vaisnava* religious preceptor still indicates though the fact that they draw upon *Brahmins* as their priest indicates that they are out to follow the more rigid systems of caste-Hindus.

Nabasakhas.—Of the people—some of whom were described above—inhabiting the area there is a definite grouping to indicate the castes of which water is accepted by the higher castes. They are called *Nabasakhas*. It is said of some that after Buddhism had done away with caste the reconstruction of Hindu Society that followed admitted some of them as pure Hindus and these were called “*Naba-Sakhas*” or “*New Branches*” of Hindu Society. Other interpret this to mean “*nine lower castes*” which were declared good and admitted to privileges by the acceptance of purer habits and ways of life. Generally in this district there are nine of this type—

ভিলি, মর্দলি, তামুলি।

গোপ (সদগোপ), নাপিত, গোহালি (বারুই)।

কাম্বার, কুমার, পাটালি (ময়রা) ॥

These nine classes inter-dine but there is no inter-marriage amongst them. Their water is taken and used by all high class Hindus, viz., *Brahmins*, *Kayasthas*, *Vaidyas*, etc. Ordinary *Brahmins* are their priests (পুরোহিত) and spiritual guides (সকর). Both *Sadgopes*.

and *Mahisyas* observe thirty days as unclean days (অশুচি) Higher class Hindus, such as, *Brahmins*, *Kayasthas* and *Vaidyas* and even *Sadgopes* and their nine sub-classes (নব শাখা) do not generally use water of the *Mahisyas*. But where there are influential and well-to-do persons amongst *Mahisyas* men of higher castes use their water. The rigidity thus disappears. *Mahisyas* are believed locally to be a branch of the *Kaibartas*. Among the *Kaibartas* there are two classes, (a) *Jele Kaibarta* and (b) *Hele Kaibarta*. *Jele Kaibartas* are those who generally live by catching fish and *Hele* or *Chasi-Kaibartas* or *Mahisyas* are those who live by agriculture. Low class *Brahmins* known as *Barner-Brahmins* (বর্ণের ব্রাহ্মণ) work as priest for *Mahisyas* whereas high class *Brahmins* work as priests for *Sadgopes*.

Bagdis.—The *Bagdis* are considered to be superior to the *Konais* or *Kururs*. They observe 30 days as their unclean days like *Sadgopes* and *Mahisyas*. The Bengal barber shaves them. The water of the Ganges brought by the *Bagdis* is used by the high class Hindus. These *Bagdis* have widow marriage in *Senga* form. *Patit Brahmins* or *Baran Brahmins* work as their priest and *Vaisnavas* are their spiritual guides.

Thus it appears that in this district *Mahisyas* or *Kaibartas* are superior to the *Bagdis* and *Bagdis* are superior to the *Konais* or *Kururs* and that *Sadgopes* are superior to *Mahisyas*.

Sadgopes and Mahisyas and Bagdis.—The *Mahisyas* in this area seem to be holding a position somewhat inferior to the *Naba-Sakhas* though in some other parts of Bengal the *Mahisyas* too are considered to be one of the *Naba-Sakhas*. Similarly the *Bagdis* seem to be occupying a status considerably higher than that of *Bauris* and even of *Konai* but lower than that of *Naba-Sakhas*.

Chains.—They are peculiar to this district of West Bengal. The *Chains* are Hindus with a limited geographical distribution, being found chiefly in Malda and Murshidabad districts in Bengal and in a small number in some parts of Bihar. The following villages of Murshidabad have a large number of *Chains*—Petkati, Biswanathapore, Bansmari, Chak Bhojraj, Mewakhana, Labangola, Sikarpore, (Lalgola) Kulgachi, Diar Manikchak, Giridharipore, Ramnagar, Bourbona, Raninagar, Pata-mari, Jashitala, Fatepore, Balutangi,

Kanidhap, Siklirchar, Harinathpore. The *Chains* live in a *Para* (quarter) of their own, a little apart from villagers of other castes and each *Para* has got a headman, whom they call *Pradhan*, and a *Para* is known by its *Pradhan*. For instance the *Para* of Pêtkati is known as that of Bhagbat Mandal, that of Biswanathpore as that of Ganesh Sarkar that of Bansmari as that of Matiram Sarkar and so on. *Chains* take the title of *Mondal* and *Sarkar*, the latter being non-dignified. A *Pradhan* has got considerable influence over the members of his *Para* and among the *Chains* the old system of self-Government has yet considerable vitality. The members of the caste themselves adjudicate upon matters affecting the purity or solidarity of the caste, and inflict punishments upon fellow members who are proved guilty of offences against the caste laws. Every *Pradhan* or local headman has a subordinate called *Barik* or *Paramanik*. When a social matter has to be decided or a culprit to be punished, a *Panchayet* consisting of leading *Chains* of a village is called by the *Pradhan*. The case requiring adjudication is heard by the members of the *Panchayet* and decided by them. A village *Panchayet*'s order is appealable to a *Baisi Panchayet*. This is a *Panchayet* of recognised headmen of 22 villages, while in very important social matter a larger number of village headmen—supposed to be collected from 84 (*Chourashi*) villages is collected. In case of offences fines are inflicted or the offender excommunicated or made to perform some humiliating task, e.g., the *Paramanik* holds him by the ear and makes him run round the assembled meeting or he has to rub his nose on a line drawn on the ground by the *Paramanik*; in some cases *Prayaschitta* (penance) is prescribed for offences against marriage rules, taking forbidden food, etc.

The *Chains* follow the ordinary observances of other Hindus of the subordinate strata and worship Hindu Gods. Their priests are not *Chains* but special *Brahmins*. They take no forbidden food. Widow re-marriage is not forbidden; but a *Chain* cannot take as his first wife a widow nor is a spinster generally married to a widower. A widow may take as her husband a married man, either a widower or one with another wife

living. Polygamy is allowed but is not encouraged.

Chain women do not observe *purdah* but take most of the responsibilities for transaction of business. They go to the market where they sell vegetables. The cultivation of vegetables is the main occupation of the *Chains*. *Chain* women are generally more intelligent than the men. When a *Chain* has to settle up accounts with the landlord's *Gomosta* he generally sends his wife or some other woman of his family as he thinks that she understands accounts better than he does. *Chain* women do not eat meat of any kind. It is thought to have a degrading effect on their nature. The *Chains* are generally a quiet sort of people with good morals.

There are four sub-castes among the *Chains*, viz., *Nagar*, *Dhanuk*, *Bin* and *Kairi* or *Kuri*. There is no inter-marriage among the several sub-castes and a *Chain* of one sub-caste does not take rice cooked by a *Chain* belonging to another sub-caste. They do not even smoke from the same *hookah* (hubble-bubble). There is no special occupation of any sub-caste. The main occupation of *Chains* of all sub-castes are cultivation and labour. They are quite happy with the income they have from these occupations with few requirements.

Chains claim themselves to be *Kshatriyas* being the descendants of *Maharshi Chayaban* and a *Kshatriya* princess *Sukanya*. They have got four *Gotras* among them, viz., *Bharadwaj*, *Sandilya*, *Kashyapa* and *Chandrabangshi*. According to *Viswakosh* (Bengali Encyclopædia) the *Chains* are non-Aryans of Mongolian descent.

They suffered heavily from the Influenza epidemic and their number has gone down from that of the Census of 1910-11.

Animists.—The Sonthals form the bulk of animists. Of the total number of 22,725 Sonthals recorded in the Census of 1931 as many as 16,575 were recorded as animists, 95 as Christians and the rest as Hindus (see Volume B of the Census of 1931). The growth of the Sonthals has been marked but the district being, except to the west of Jangipore, a little way off from Sonthal Parganas they have not as yet formed large aggregations of colonies as in Birbhum. Probably the fact that the district had no forest and little of

pioneering cultivation to do—in which the Sonthals specialise—its areas were not favoured for permanent settlement. Most of the Sonthals here work as labourers. They preponderate in Nabagram police-station of the Lalbagh and in Sagardighi police-station of the Jangipore subdivision..

48. The Christians.—The number of Christians recorded in the Census of 1931 was only 398. To this number the Sonthals contribute 95. Hence non-Sonthal Christians number only 303. Of this number again Europeans and Anglo-Indians total 49. Hence non-Sonthal Indian Christians come up to only 254. Judging by the fact that Murshidabad was one of the earliest of districts to come into contact with Christianity this number is insignificantly small. The work, however, of Christian Missionaries—the London Missionary Society started work in 1824 here—has been markedly good. In the spread of education, and specially in maternity cases the Mission has done incalculable good. It will be long before people forget, if ever they will, the activities of Dr. Miss Hawker, whose life of single-minded devotion to the cause of suffering womanhood has been a source of inspiration to many. Non-Christians see in her the effect of faith in Christ, life and I dare say are admirers of the spirit in consequence.

49. The Muhammadans.—The Muhammadans preponderate in Jangipore and Sadar subdivisions. The two groups are almost equal to each other in Lalbagh while the Hindus are in great majority in the subdivision of Kandi. The reason of this diversity is not easy to find out. The best types of Muhammadans are to be found in Murshidabad and its vicinity which are included in Lalbagh subdivision and in parts of Kandi subdivision specially in the police-station of Bharatpore in about Salar and in other parts of Pargana Fatesing. Thus, where the best Muhammadan types are to be found the percentage of Muhammadans is the smallest, while, where the types are the commoner, the percentage is the highest.

Murshidabad which was the last capital of the Muhammadan rulers had at the time of Plassey far less Muhammadans than Hindus. All these seem to indicate that conversion forcible or otherwise though held out by some as

threat or carried out by others as a punishment in a few cases was not actually resorted to and could not have been the cause. It is contended by some that it is in the alluvial river basins of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra that the Muhammadans in greatest number are to be found. But surely Kandi and Lalbagh are as much parts of the river basins as the Sadar and Jangipore subdivisions. It seems to me that the main reasons lie elsewhere. The number of children born per couple of adults is larger in the Muhammadan group than in the Hindu ones; this is partly due to difference in diet, to the difference in social system such as prohibition of widow re-marriage. The result is what even the earliest census of 1872 shows. The percentage of children not exceeding twelve years of age on the total population of different religious groups was shown thus:—

		Male.	Female.	Of both sexes.
Hindus	..	15.9	13.4	29.3
Muhammadans	..	19.3	16.0	35.5

The ultimate growth in population as a whole is larger among the Muhammadans than among the Hindus though the net resultant adult population shows no large difference in expansion.

The Muhammadans of the district can easily be distinguished to belong to three definite types.

Shia group.—The first and the foremost is the small group of Shia Muhammadans of whom the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad is the head. This group represents the best type to be found in the district in Islamic culture. The Nawab Bahadur sets the example of liberal-minded catholicity towards people of all religions—which at once had been the strength and special trait of the family of *Nawab Nazims*, and the *Shia* community in the district is looked up to with respect and sincere good-will.

Sunni Ashrafs.—Next come groups of *Sunni* sect, who have marked culture. They form the bulk of those who live now in Pargana Sherifabad of this district—in and about Bharatpore police-station. There can hardly be any doubt that they represent with or without admixture the race that came with the kings and settled down. Their long association with the country and more

than three hundred years of domicile make them quite easily the natives of the district but unquestionably they have a leaven of culture, which manifests itself in their conduct, in their spirit of tolerance and attitude of good fellowship which is not always commonly to be met with.

The *Khondkars* of Fatesing for example claim their descent from Abu Bakr the first Caliph of Islam through his son Muhammad (Governor of Egypt) and Gihan Banu, daughter of Yazd Jard, the last of the Sassanian Emperors of Persia. From Arabia to Persia, and thence to Khorasan* came the descendants of Muhammad. Khwaja Ahmed *alias* Khwaja Khorasan was married to a daughter of Ibrahim son of Masood son of Mahmood Gaznavi¹. Their son Khwaja Rustom, ruler of Khorasan, fled to Hindusthan when his country was invaded by Chenghiz Khan. His son Khwaja Ziauddin Zahid settled at Kara Manikpore (District Allahabad). He was regarded as a saint² and was a contemporary of Shah Karak and Khwaja Nizamuddin Awliah. Sultan Giasuddin of Bengal (1367-1373), a great patron of learning³, invited Ziauddin's son Khwaja Sirajuddin to his court, and appointed him Qazi-ul-Quzzat (head of the Civil and Criminal Courts). The well-known story of the Quazi and the Sultan⁴, showing that under Mussalman Law the king was not the fountain of justice and could do a wrong, relates to him. His grandson, Shah Azizullah, was the chief disciple and successor of Nur Qutbal Alam⁵, the celebrated saint of Bengal, who with the help of Sultan Ibrahim of Jaunpore compelled Raja Kans to abdicate in favour of his son, who ascended the throne of Bengal, as Sultan Jalaluddin. The titles of Azizul Millat Walidin, Makhdoom, and the hereditary title of

Khondkar⁶ were conferred on Azizullah. His grandson Maulana Shah Qutubuddin was given the title of Haqqani, and was one of the most learned men of his time. His book on Suffiism known as *Masail-al-Mashaikh* is still preserved in the family. His son Maulana Shah Mansoor was a saint, and his tomb is at Mansoorpur, (district Murshidabad).

It appears that the first settlement of the Khondkars in Fatesing was at Mansoorpur, from where they have spread to the neighbouring villages. They were granted *Aima*⁷ lands, by kings of *Gour*, which enabled them to devote their lives in imparting religious instructions, and to carry on missionary activities. In Pargana Fatesing a few *mouzas* were exclusively the *Aimas* of the Khondkars, namely Mansoorpur, Santoshpur, Haranandpur. After the conquest of Bengal by the Mughals, these *Mahals* were confiscated, and later released as quit-rent tenures. The *patta* of Mansoorpur, given by Shaista Khan in 1096 A.H., is still in the family. It is not known when the property went out of the family's possession.

Besides these big *mahals* there were a large number of free-hold tenures, granted by the Kings of *Gour*. After the conquest of Bengal by Akbar, when the land-settlement of the country was made by Raja Todar Mull, most of these lands were, under the rules of *Sayurghal*⁸, converted to domain lands. During the reign of Jehangir further confiscations were effected. But it

*Sons of a Khondkar were known as Khondkorzadas—see Sanads of Prince Azimushan and Murshidkuli Khan.

⁷*Aima* tenures are peculiar to Bengal. "The verbal meaning of the term '*Aima*' is subsistence or maintenance but technically it signifies a *Jagir* granted by the King to an especially deserving and venerable person." Free-hold tenements bestowed by the Kings of *Gour* on holy persons, learned men and religious guides, were designated *Aimas*, while similar grants made by the Mughal Emperors were termed *Madadimash*.

⁸".....the *chaghtai* word *Sayurghal* is translated by the Arabic *Madad-ul-Ma'ash*, in Persian *Madad-i-ma'ash*, for which we often find *Mss. Madad-o-Ma'ash*. The latter term signifies "assistance of livelihood, and, like its equivalent *milk* or property, it denotes lands given for benevolent purposes, as specified by Abul Fazl. Such lands were hereditary, and differ for this reason from *Jagir* or *Tuzil* lands, which were conferred for a specified time on Mansabdars in lieu of salaries.

This *Ain* proves that Akbar considerably interfered with *Sayurghal* lands arbitrarily, resuming whatever lands he liked, and increasing the domain or *Khalsa* to the ruin of many Mahommedan (Afghan) families. He also completely broke the power of Cadr whose dignity prominence especially before the Mughal dynasty, has been very great. See Prof. Blochman's *Ain-i-Akbari*.

¹In 12th generation. For the history see *Rauzatul Safa* and *Omdatul Talib*.

²See Tariki Firashta, page 48 also Masoor Qutbi.

³See Akbar Namah.

⁴See Masoor Qutbi, also Ain-i-Akbari.

⁵"He invited to his Capital persons of merit and genius from various countries and sent emissaries to bring the celebrated Hafiz of Shiraz to his court at Luckhnawti." The origin of the Mussalmans of Bengal, page 15.

⁶Stewart's History of Bengal; Walsh's History of Murshidabad.

⁷See Sanad of Shaista Khan. The Khondkars are also descended from Nur Qutbal Alam through his daughter—see Tasdi kul Nihad, page 32.

appears that from the time of Shah Jahan, many of these resumed lands were released, or conferred as new grants by the different Governors of Bengal.

Among the large number of *Sanads** that are still in the family, some of the earliest are those granted by Shah Shuja, son of Shah Jahan. One dated 1056 A.H. says that intelligence having been received from Jan Beg, the Paymaster-General, that his Imperial Majesty (Shah Jahan) has commanded to grant three hundred and twenty bighas of cultivable land as *Madad-i-Mash* to Alauddin (Shah Mansoor's great grand son's son) the said lands are granted to him and that whatever lands may be in his possession may not be resumed. Another *Sanad* of Shah Shuja is dated 1066 and confirms an earlier grant of homestead land at Salar.

Shuja governed Bengal from 1639 to 1660 A.D. In 1660 Meer Jumla, Aurangzeb's right hand man, drove Shuja to the wilds of Assam. Meer Jumla was Aurangzeb's first Governor in Bengal and ruled Bengal until his death three years later. He removed the capital from Rajmahal to Dacca. He resumed all *Aima* lands in Bengal, but later, in very rare cases released them. One of his *Sanads* reads as follows:—

"Whereas the good sign of contentment, cream of those who have united (with God) salutations to him Huzrat Shaikh Taibuddin Muhammad who has merged in the bounty of truth (i.e., deceased).....and the *lakhiraj* lands that were offered as *nazar* (offering) to him.....the said lands are allowed to remain in possession of the exalted, the Truth knowing, Shaikh Asadulla, grandson of deceased, as his *Madad-i-Mash*".

Meer Jumla was succeeded by Shaista Khan — the Emperor's maternal uncle. The policy of the Government appears to have changed and many of the resumed lands were released during the next 25 years. There are many *Sanads* of Shaista Khan ranging from 1075 A.H. the year of his appointment till 1098, the year of his retirement, and they give most interesting information. One of the earliest says that whereas according to

the *Parwana* of Abdul Muzaffar Amanat Khan *Faujdar* of Chakla (Circle) Muksudabad (modern Murshidabad) one hundred bighas of cultivable land outside the rent-roll (*kharej jama*) are settled as *Madad-i-Mash*, and the same was not resumed in the time of Khan Khanan, the said grant is hereby confirmed. On the border of this *Sanad* is written that whereas in the matter of *Madad-i-Mash* it has been ordered throughout the Province of Bengal that all those who have got special (*khass*) *sanad* should have them re-sealed, a second seal is hereby fixed. Evidently this second seal, which is illegible, was fixed at a much later period. Another note says that one third of the lands having been resumed the remaining two-thirds were allowed to remain in the possession of the heir of the deceased grantee. Another of his *Sanads* runs as follows:—

"Whereas the shrine of (the usual persian form of address which may be translated in simple English as His Holiness) the Shah Taibuddin Muhammad (this tomb is at Salar at the top of 'Dalanpar') is very holy and dear (to us) accordingly thirty-five bighas of cultivable lands in Salar.....is assigned for its repair, (daily) cleaning and lighting (the place)".

Shaista Khan ruled Bengal from 1664 to 1689 excepting an interval of less than three years 1677-1680. During this period for some months Nawab Fedai Khan governed, and was succeeded by Shahzada Sultan Muhammad Azam, son of the Emperor. There are five *sanads* of this Prince, although he ruled Bengal for about 2 years only. In 1689, at the ripe old age of 85 Shaista Khan was succeeded by Nawab Ibrahim Khan II who was followed by Prince Azimushshan son of Prince Muazzam the eldest surviving son of Aurangzeb, who succeeded the latter as Bahadur Shah. There are two *Sanads* of this Prince. Jaffier Khan Nusari, later known as Murshid Kuli Khan, who proved his genius in Revenue administration of the Deccan was appointed as *Dewan* (Chief Revenue Officer or Deputy Governor) of Bengal. He brought about drastic changes in the revenue administration of the country, and to avoid interference of Prince Azimushshan he left Dacca the capital and established himself at Murshidabad (then known as Muxudabad), where he

*These *Sanads* and other heirlooms of the family are with Mr. K. Ali Afzal, Barrister-at-Law, son of late Khan Bahadur Fazel Rukhbee.

†See *Sanad* of Shahzada Muhammad Azam.

removed all the Revenue officers. He had all the lands remeasured, and having ascertained the quantity of fallow and waste grounds, belonging to every village, he caused a considerable portion of it to be brought under cultivation. Under him the assessment increased considerably. He had the new assessment papers prepared, and the rent-rolls drawn up and sent to the Emperor together with the full account of all the *Jagirs*. He obtained the Emperor's permission to transfer all the *Jagirs* of officers, with the exception of those of the *Nizamat*, to Orissa, and thereby brought all the *Zemindars* of Bengal under his direct control. He also resumed the free-hold *aimas* and re-settled them with their owner as Fermanent (*Mauras*), quit-rent tenures. Since then these *aimas* came to be known as *Bazeapti* (or resumed) *aimas*. In fixing the rents he showed special consideration to the *aimadars* and exempted them from the *abwabs* which the *Zemindars* had to pay. In 1713 Prince Azimushshan's son ascended the Imperial Throne at Delhi as Emperor Furrukh-seyer and the same year he gave the dual function of *Subahdar* (military Governor) and *Dewan* (Revenue Chief) to Murshid Kuli Khan. There are two *sanads* of Murshid Kuli Khan granting free-hold lands as *Madad-i-Mash*. One is dated 1119 B.S., and the other 1131 A.D.

In 1760, Mir Kasim became the *Subâdar* of Bengal with the help of the English arms. "Realising that, in course of time, there must be war to the death the Nawab set himself to husband his resources, and to increase the rigour of the revenue system"—Francis (Minutes, etc., page 23). "Their fear of him (Mir Kasim) who was so great both from his skill in accounts and the rigour of his Government that his orders were punctually obeyed; so that partly from the direct produce of the lands, and partly by fines and confiscations, it is believed that for two years, he drew almost double the ancient revenue from the country." He also confiscated all the *aima* lands. The *Khondkars* whose lands had also been resumed decided to send a deputation to Monghyr, where the Nawab had removed his capital, to pray for the restoration of the resumed lands. When the deputation waited on the *Subâhdar*, he was passing anxious days on account of the strained relations with the English and which eventually

led to open hostilities. Mir Kasim was impressed by the pious faces of the members of the deputation, requested them to pray for him, and granted a *sanad* which after the usual terms of address reads somewhat as follows:—

"The *Aimadars* of Pargana Fatesing have shown that they hold *Parwana* of Mahabat Jung (Aliverdi Khan, 1740-1757) in respect of plots of *Bazeapti aima* lands in the said Pargana, free from *abwab* charges, which were conferred on them by the former Emperors and *Nazims*, and which lands were in their possession until the present time. These lands having been confiscated (*kurk*) they (the *Aimadars*) have raised objections and want them to be released. It is hereby ordered that the said lands be released. It is strictly enjoined that on no account there should be (any further) interference (*Mazahemet*—lit. interruption). This document is dated 4 Jamadius Sani 1176 and the war was declared on 12 Zil Haj of the same year. After the defeat and disappearance of Mir Kasim, Mir Jafar was reinstalled on the *Subâdari* of Bengal in 1763 but died two years later. He was succeeded by his son Najmuddowla in 1765. That very year the Emperor Shah Alam granted the *Diwani* in perpetuity (*al-tamgah*) to the English, thus the two offices that were combined at the time of Murshid Kuli Khan were again separated. Among the *Sanads* of the *Khondkar* family there is one (an *Al-tamgah Sanad*) granted by Shah Alam dated 5th Jaloos (one year before the grant of *Diwani* to East India Company) bearing the Imperial sign in the Togfa form, and the great seal of the Empire, and is attested by the seal of Nawab Vazir Shujauddowla. This *sanad* is mentioned in the *Masnad* of Murshidabad. Last of these interesting documents is a letter addressed by one of the members of this family to Nawab Nazim Babar Jung (1793-1810) and is couched in such affectionate terms as a venerable and esteemed person would use towards a young prince. The letter was preserved in the *Nizamat* archives until 1895 when the son of the last Nawab Nazim presented it to the then head of the family, Khan Bahadur Fazl Rubbee.

Soon after the grant of the *Diwani* the East India Company passed new laws according to which many *lakhiraj* lands were resumed.

Regulation XIX of 1793 enacted that all Lakhiraj tenements exceeding ten bighas, with regard to which the occupiers failed to produce royal *sanads* would be resumed. Under the operation of this Regulation many grants, for which the *sanads* were not forthcoming, were converted to domain lands.

Regulation XXXVII of 1793 was passed for the resumption of life-term and other kinds of *lakhiraj* tenures.

Section 28 of Regulation II of 1819 required that no *farman* of the Emperors of Delhi, nor any *Sanad* or *Parwana* of any *Vazir*, *Nawab*, or *Rajah* shall be considered valid ground for title unless such documents can be verified from official records and their genuineness attested to by living witnesses, and that they shall not be accepted as valid merely because of other attestations which they may contain.

Under the operations of these regulations, the Khondkars in common with other respectable Moslem families lost many of their lands. One of the first to take to service was Maulvi Md. Fasih who was appointed by Sir John Shore, *Mufti* of the *Sudder Dewani Adalat* at Calcutta. During the administration of Marquis of Hastings Moulvi Md. Rashid was one of the *Muftis* of the Supreme Court of Judicature, and courts of *Sudder Diwani* and *Nizamat Adalat*. Afterwards he became *Kazi-ul-Kuzzat* of the *Sudder Diwani Adalat* at Calcutta. He translated the *Hidaya* (Mahomedan Law) from Arabic to Persian, which was re-translated into English by Sir William Jones. Harrington describes him as "one of the most learned Mussulmans in India".* About the same time Khan Bahadur *Mufti* Moez Ali was appointed as a *Mufti* of *Dayeri Sayer* (Circuit) and afterwards was appointed by Government as guardian and tutor to H. H. Nawab Nazim Humayun Jah, during his minority. His position was 5th among the noblemen of Bengal. *Mufti* Serajul Haq was first made *Maulvi Adalat* of Murshidabad and was then promoted to the post of *Mufti* of *Dayeri Sayer* in the time of the same Governor-General. Khan Bahadur Muhammad Mohsin first held the post of a *Meer Munshi* to the Government during the administration of Lord Amherst, and

afterwards became *Dewan* to the Nawab Nazim's grandmother and a member of the Council for the management of *Nizamat* affairs during the minority of H. H. Nawab Feradun. Jah. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Moazzam Hossain, son of Khan Bahadur *Mufti* Md. Moez Ali, was first appointed *Maulvi Adalat* of Murshidabad in 1825 and then from 1842 to 1853 *Sudder Amin* of Maldah and Purneah, and *Sudder-i-Ala* of Bhagalpore. Moulvi Faizulla was *Maulvi Adalat* of Birbhum about the middle of the last century. In 1837 Moulvi Gholam Shah was appointed *Munsif* of Rangpore in place of Mr. Charles McKay.

No account of the Khondkars can be complete without a reference to Khan Bahadur Fazl Rubbee. His position was one of considerable local importance and he was widely known throughout Bengal as a worthy representative of the Muhammadans of the Province. He was born in 1848 in his ancestral home, the land for which was given by Shaista Khan, and was buried in his family cemetery at Salar on the bank of Amardina, which was granted by Prince Azimushshan.

Another very distinguished Muhammadan family is that of Raja Mean of Talibpore.

Sunni Altrap.—The third group—which forms by far the bulk—is not marked by any distinguishing features either physical or mental.

In the social circles of Muhammadans so far the difference was very markedly observed and the *Ashrafs* (the *elite*) which included the first two would not by any means accept a wife from the *Altrap* (the common herd). If unions in any of the secondary forms allowed by the Muhammadan law took place the children had unquestionably an inferior social status. With the growth of modern education this distinction is slowly dying down but yet it is very much in evidence when marriages have to be arranged for. What the common type or the *Altrap* originally represented is a matter of speculation but as they preponderate it is a reasonable presumption that they were not a superior breed of immigrants and as the number would show there could not have been immigration of such numbers.

They are generally designated as *Sheikhs*. But many of them are now

*Remarks upon the authorities of Mussalman Law by J. H. Harrington (*Asiatic Researches*—Vol. 10, p. 502).

getting into affluent circumstances and evolving into Saiyads and inter-marriages between *Altrap* and *Ashraf* are getting commoner to-day than what was even quarter of a century ago.

On the whole except for the political stunt of modern growth the Hindus and the Muhammadans have been living lives of peace and good fellowship. But tendencies to stir up differences more specially among the commoner

types of both communities are manifesting themselves. They originate with the candidates for political election or services through communal claims in the largest majority of cases.

50. Education.—The number of educational institutions of the pupils, and of the percentages of literates is given in Table XXIV of the Census District Gazetteer and is noted below:—

TABLE XXIV.—Education (number of institutions and pupils).

Class and number of institutions with number of pupils.	1921-22.	1922-23.	1923-24.	1924-25.	1925-26.	1926-27.	1927-28.	1928-29.	1929-30.	1930-31.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Grand Total —										
Institutions ..	1,248	1,193	1,215	1,201	1,215	1,233	1,359	1,330	1,354	1,361
Pupils ..	39,286	40,290	41,739	41,926	42,446	43,639	47,602	48,374	48,539	48,202
Total Public Institutions—										
Institutions ..	1,343	1,193	1,215	1,201	1,215	1,233	1,310	1,307	1,328	1,343
Pupils ..	39,061	40,290	41,739	41,926	42,446	43,639	46,696	47,800	47,730	47,601
Colleges—										
Institutions ..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Pupils ..	956	1,040	1,037	1,030	1,066	937	747	694	550	484
High English Schools—										
Institutions ..	26	27	26	27	29	29	26	26	27	27
Pupils ..	5,274	5,538	5,546	5,820	5,958	5,949	5,641	5,703	5,831	5,414
Middle English Schools—										
Institutions ..	35	35	38	35	35	34	37	39	42	43
Pupils ..	2,536	2,671	2,909	2,892	2,730	2,776	2,843	2,902	3,457	3,307
Middle Vernacular Schools—										
Institutions ..	7	7	6	6	6	6	6	4	3	2
Pupils ..	417	456	385	437	425	449	431	205	159	139
Primary Schools—										
Institutions ..	1,223	1,063	1,085	1,072	1,084	1,090	1,170	1,171	1,176	1,189
Pupils ..	28,675	28,914	30,209	30,135	30,648	31,358	34,927	35,949	35,390	35,702
Technical Schools—										
Institutions ..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2
Pupils ..	45	49	51	44	41	40	42	94	75	79
Training Schools—										
Institutions ..	6	6	6	6	6	5	5	5	5	5
Pupils ..	96	87	73	75	71	78	74	81	96	99
Other Schools—										
Institutions ..	44	53	52	53	53	67	64	59	72	73
Pupils ..	1,062	1,535	1,439	1,493	1,507	2,052	1,991	2,082	2,160	2,437
Total Unrecognised Schools—										
Institutions ..	5	..	..	..	..	..	39	23	26	18
Pupils ..	225	..	..	..	..	..	906	574	809	541
Percentage of male scholars to male population of school going age.	34.7	34.8	30.9	37.3	37.9	38.9	42.0	44.5	42.2	41.8
Percentage of female scholars to female population of school going age.	5.8	5.5	6.1	5.9	5.9	6.2	7.5	8.6	8.6	8.5
Number of Muhammadan pupils.	16,257	16,518	17,806	16,996	17,006	19,207	22,289	22,824	22,481	22,531
Percentage of Muhammadan pupils to Muhammadans of school going age.	16.0	16.2	17.5	16.7	17.3	18.9	21.9	22.5	22.1	22.2

It will appear that for the ten years since 1921 there has been all-round progress and this in spite of the fact that in the period there were political upheaval and economic depressions. On the other hand this is the first decade when the portfolio of education was in charge of Indian Ministers. It will appear, however, that there is yet much to be done. The percentage of male scholars to male population of school-going age is still 41·8 per cent. Hence allowing for the physically infirm and disabled there is yet more than 50 per cent. to be brought to educational institutions. The

percentage of scholars to female population of school-going age is still at the very low figure of 8·5 per cent.

The Muhammadan pupils though steadily getting on have yet to make up a lot. The percentage is yet 22·2—in other words, near about a third of the percentage of the Hindu community.

51. **Progress of education.**—To get a still better idea of the progress made one may look back to the earliest figures available. The figures are quoted below :—

Classification of Schools.	Number of schools.			Pupils.											
				Hindus.			Muhammadans.			Others.			Total.		
	1856-57.	1860-61.	1870-71.	1856-57.	1860-61.	1870-71.	1856-57.	1860-61.	1870-71.	1856-57.	1860-61.	1870-71.	1856-57.	1860-61.	1870-71.
Government college ..	1	1	1	14	16	41	..	..	..	..	..	..	14	16	41
Government English schools ..	2	1	1	381	202	164	13	14	11	6	3	2	400	219	177
Government Vernacular schools	1	2	3	80	143	237	3	1	12	..	..	1	83	144	250
Berhampore College Law Class. .	..	..	1	..	..	30	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	31
Berhampore Training School ..	..	..	1	..	..	26	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	26
Aided English schools ..	..	6	23	..	334	821	..	7	58	..	..	..	..	341	917
Aided Vernacular schools ..	2	5	113†	213	269	2,486	7	39	508	..	..	..	220	308	3,164
Aided Girls' schools ..	..	..	3	..	..	76	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	76
Total ..	6	15	146	688	964	3,881	23	61	590	6	3	3	717	1,028	4,682

* No details given of the pupils in one of these schools;—the average (38) is included in the totals.

† No details given of the pupils in eight of these schools;—the average (170) is included in the totals.

It will appear that against six educational institutions of various types in 1856 the district in 1931 had 1,343; as against 717 pupils, the number of pupils in 1931 was 47,661.

Statistics were collected to show the different castes and creeds of the pupils in 1872-73. It is interesting to quote them here :—

Table showing the creed and caste of pupils in the schools of Murshidabad district in the year 1872-73.

Class of schools.	Hindus.										Muhammadans.			
	Brahmans.	Khatris.	Vaidyas.	Kayasthas.	Nabazakhs.	Kalbartas.	Subarnabauks.	Other castes.	Doms, etc.	Total.	Shias.	Sunnis.	Total.	Christians.
Higher ..	259	21	33	235	37	14	24	43	1	667	70	40	110	13
Middle English ..	309	23	27	148	120	21	27	109	..	784	27	44	71	..
Middle Vernacular ..	412	24	33	195	233	83	50	131	3	1,164	7	143	150	..
Primary ..	1,031	84	43	442	1,754	814	249	1,170	155	5,742	800	2,463	2,663	4
Girls' school ..	30	1	4	42	8	4	..	1	..	80	..	14	14	..
Normals ..	32	..	1	12	9	9	..	5	1	60	..	6	6	..
Total ..	2,063	153	141	1,074	2,161	945	350	1,459	160	8,506	304	2,710	3,014	17

The district had the good fortune of having among its citizens persons who contributed generously to the spread of education to all who desired it irrespective of caste or creed quite apart from the Government aid.

Apart from general facilities in all public institutions the Muhammadan population had the special advantage of a *Nizam* College and a *Nizam* school at Murshidabad.

• The number of pupils of the two communities by no means was proportionate to the numerical strength of each, while among the Hindus again the number of *Brahmins* was out of all proportion to their numerical strength in every grade of institutions. As many as 160 of the *Dom* and other castes were already in school in 1872-73, which showed that even then in the district a child of depressed class could get the education he wanted for not only was he in the Primary and Middle Vernacular schools but in the higher ones, too. Probably, education like any other thing moves readiest along soils most congenial to its progress and that accounts largely for the benefits derived by different groups in spite of equality of opportunities or even more indulgent ones.

52. Character of the people.—It is difficult to discuss the character of large aggregates of people. It is possible to discuss the main trends from a number of data. We may look to the figures of criminal courts to judge their criminality; to details of excise administration to see if they are intemperate, to facts gleaned out of the statistics collected from civil courts to see if they are unduly given to litigation.

Criminal cases.—The number of persons convicted or bound over in the ten years ending in 1931 stood thus—

Year.	Number of persons convicted or bound down.			
1921	1,498
1922	1,396
1923	1,361
1924	1,639
1925	1,552
1926	1,339
1927	1,423
1928	1,777
1929	1,636
1930	2,153

The average came to about 1,577 per year. In view of the fact that the number of persons between the ages of 15 to 60 is 7,60,253,—this figure of 1,577 represents only 20 per cent. of the active adult population. On the total population it represents only 11 per cent. In either case it will appear that the number of persons found guilty of any criminal act is insignificantly small. If we analyse the details we find that more than a third of the persons so convicted were convicted of offences against Salt Law, Excise Law, Stamp Law, Municipal Law and of other minor offences. This further reduces the percentage of persons convicted of any act of real venality.

Leaving out technical breaches of law the more venal acts might be taken to be:—

			Average in decade ending in 1920.	Average in decade ending in 1930.
Offences against public tranquillity	..	..	60.8	54.7
Murder	..	..	2.5	4.2
Culpable homicide	..	..	2.4	4.9
Rape	..	..	1.5	1.3
Hurt with aggravating circumstances	..	..	11.2	13.5
Hurt, criminal force or assault	..	..	213	217.5
Dacoity	..	..	11.1	19.9
Robbery	..	..	1.5	2.2
Theft	..	..	198.7	163.6
Other offences against the Indian Penal Code	..	..	334.5	312.9
Bad-livelihood	..	..	77.5	63.5

It will appear that group acts of criminality such as offences against public tranquillity and dacoity are decreasing while individual acts of criminality are increasing and what is worse larger and larger number of people are taking to bad livelihood. This last tendency is to be deprecated as it indicates a bad economic condition and the ineffectiveness of education and criminal justice to keep people to honest livelihood.

53. The incidence of excise revenue.—The incidence of excise revenue from the various sources is an index of the consumption of excised articles.

For the decade ending in 1930 the figures stood thus:—

Serial No.	Excise articles—Receipts from—	1921-22.	1922-23.	1923-24.	1924-25.	1925-26.	1926-27.	1927-28.	1928-29.	1929-30.	1930-31.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
	All sources—Total	2,54,584	2,85,433	3,20,968	3,01,923	3,19,602	3,29,765	2,95,556	2,68,728	2,97,536	2,00,528
1	Imported liquors	550	123	104	97	136	138	124	107	114	94
2	Country Spirits ..	1,04,637	1,25,504	1,32,872	1,18,538	1,18,335	1,23,552	1,08,607	93,050	96,806	41,878
	Duty on country spirits.	88,219	1,12,942	1,18,773	1,05,392	1,06,365	1,10,573	97,217	82,094	85,172	37,335
	Distillery and license fees on country spirits.	10,418	12,562	14,099	13,146	11,970	12,979	11,390	10,956	11,634	4,543
	Receipts in outstill areas.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3	Tari ..	12,119	9,896	14,957	15,159	15,535	15,947	15,604	17,484	16,596	15,466
4	Pachwai ..	24,967	23,707	36,437	34,774	36,517	38,733	24,885	25,762	46,900	37,641
5	Opium ..	47,037	44,904	43,701	43,740	59,709	60,810	58,064	51,853	53,057	49,379
	Duty ..	29,500	25,900	25,422	24,149	42,674	43,665	41,322	37,133	37,985	38,038
	License fees ..	17,477	18,944	18,279	19,591	17,038	17,145	16,742	14,720	15,072	11,341
6	Hemp drugs—total.	63,867	79,894	93,050	89,107	87,557	89,856	87,427	79,405	82,992	55,202
	Duty ..	31,020	29,280	33,395	31,101	33,116	42,891	41,438	42,263	44,266	30,904
	License fees ..	32,847	50,614	59,655	58,006	54,441	46,965	45,989	37,142	38,726	24,298
	(a) Ganja ..	63,080	78,953	90,830	86,781	84,957	87,016	83,780	76,540	79,933	54,213
	Duty ..	31,020	29,280	33,395	31,101	33,116	42,891	41,438	42,263	44,266	30,880
	License fees ..	32,060	49,673	57,435	55,680	51,841	44,125	42,342	34,340	35,733	23,333
	(b) Charas ..	454	825	1,015	1,736	2,079	2,355	3,110	2,351	2,491	756
	Duty ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	License fees ..	454	825	1,015	1,736	2,079	2,355	3,110	2,351	2,491	756
	(c) Bhang ..	333	116	205	590	521	475	537	451	502	209
	Duty ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	63	66	24
	License fees ..	333	116	205	590	521	475	537	451	502	209
	(d) Majum ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
7	Miscellaneous, including cocaine, methylated spirits, beer and medicated wines.	1,407	1,405	847	508	813	729	785	1,067	1,011	868

The figures show a decline largely due to economic depression and politico-temperance agitation. Even then the average for the decade comes to Rs. 2,87,362. On the adult population above 15 years in age this works out to annas five and pies eight only per head per year. This must be considered to be very low indeed. Even of this *Pachwai* and *Tari* have every low alcoholic property, while a large part of the consumption of opium is for medical purposes. If we take these into consideration the incidence is still further reduced. It certainly speaks of the temperate habits of the people. I must say that, among the masses the habits of the cultivating classes are better than those of professional classes and Muhammadan cultivators are more abstemious in the use of excisable article than the Hindu cultivators.

54: **Litigation.**—The total number of suits disposed of by the Civil Courts of various grades, on average during the

ten years ending in 1930 is 19,269, of which 5,225 are disposed of under the Small Causes Court procedure and necessarily of small value. Taking the average to be 19,269 or roughly 20,000 suits, the number of persons who are supposed to have taken part in these suits is about a *lakh*. No statistics of the number of people who figure as parties are kept. Generally, five individuals on average may be taken to have figured in each case. On a total population of 1,370,000 this represents only 7 per cent. If we remember that not less than half of these suits is for rent where to avoid litigation a suit has to be brought on the fourth year the percentage is still further reduced. It can certainly be asserted, therefore, that the people are not given to litigation as a rule and the percentage of people who for some reason or other has got to go to Court is low. It is important to remember this not merely because it is often cited as a proof of weakness of character but often reported as cause of

debts. It may further be urged that if the Law of limitation had not been introduced some further reduction in the institution was certain.

55. General traits.—In the largest majority the population consists of a quiet, hospitable and law abiding people. They are deeply emotional and religious ritualism plays an ever present influence on the social and individual life. It is true that it is getting weaker with the urbanisation of a part of the people but it can hardly be doubted by any one who gets the chance of living with them that the influence is still very strong. Probably much needs rationalisation but then how far rationalisation may be pushed on to keep faith alive must be a problem and if faith be destroyed reason and ethics must be of a very superior type to be potent factors in the lives of the common masses.

There is much in common with the traits of people in the districts of Birbhum and even of Burdwan and Bankura.

Women dressed in their best going out with the pitchers for water to the tank or the river side is a common sight in the afternoon. Shingle has yet not the faintest chance of being accepted. Black, long, thick curly hair is still considered to be an inseparable concomitant of beauty. The Art of doing up the hair is admired and each village or group of houses has its experts to whom the neighbouring girls resort every afternoon. Story-telling is resorted to and in certain festivals—such as *Sital Shasthi* (the Children's day) the women take the lead. But it is the major festivals which bring out all the ardour—the men-folk busy themselves in devising the laborious decorations while the women emulate each other in their painting of the symbols (*alpona*).

The main music is of the *Kirtan* Variety—*Sankirtan* (religious group singing) is common. It is commoner in *Rarh* than in *Bogri*. The beautiful temples, though decayed, at Kiriteswari, Baranagar and numerous other places, the Armenian Church at Berhampore, the Mosques in Murshidabad speak of the interest at one time taken in architecture. The indigenous arts, however, are disappearing and even the race of masons who must have built them or that

of designers who had planned them seem to have disappeared.

But as in Birbhum so also here when all these are said and done one cannot but be impressed with certain other characteristics which no statistics can prove or disprove. The largest number of the people are lazy. The Chapter on agriculture will show the low percentage of twice cropped area. The total number of days they are required to spend for that agriculture and for the quantity of land per head has been shown there. The amount of labour they are called upon to bestow is hardly of 6 hours a day for about 90 days. The rest of their time is spent in idleness. It is probable that part of this idleness is due to lack of proper initiative which could supply the necessary energy, a part of it due to lack of education, a part due to social conditions and environment, and another part is due to lack of ideas and enterprise and lack of a system which can take them by the hand and assist them to some extent to newer methods. But whatever the causes, and they will be analysed later, it can hardly be doubted that idleness is one of the chief characteristics of the people. The next blot in their character is a hopeless passive fatalism. Here again it is not for me to trace the psychology of the trait but to note that it exists. The third characteristic is mutual distrust. It is less common among the illiterate than among the semi-illiterate or the literate. The fourth is their ignorance. They know next to nothing about what is happening a little way off from the village they live in or stop at. Probably to-day some vague and often not quite accurate account of a political struggle that is being carried on is read over by a shop-keeper or a tout but that does not carry them far.

One can conclude thus that so far as their moral habits are concerned, judged by their use of intoxicating drugs, by the nature and number of criminal cases, by their participation in Civil litigation, the people of the district as a whole can hold their heads high. They are a simple, kindly, courteous people thoroughly affectionate and humane in their family circles, devoted to their religious and social ideals as they understand them. In these ideals they are conservative to a degree and often separate out in groups on differences which seem to others to be puerile. The value

of this conservative instinct in its true perspective is difficult to appraise and one has got to be hesitant whether this has not been one of the main factors which had kept the civilisation at least from extinction.

The Sonthals here do not form themselves into aggregates which demand special notice. Where they exist they show the same traits as those described in the report of Birbhum.

CHAPTER IV.

Agriculture and agricultural stock, etc.

56. The statement of the uses of land given in Appendix IV, of the crops grown given in Appendix V, the number of cattle and ploughs given in Appendix VI, of the incidences of rents, etc., given in Appendix VII provide a reasonably full idea of the agricultural condition of the district.

57. **Extent of cultivation.** The relative position of the extent of cultivation in the various police-stations is indicated below :—

		Percentage of cultivated (including current fallow) to cultivable area.
Sadar Subdivision	..	89·02
Lalbagh	..	84·00
Jangipore	..	88·20
Kandi	..	90·05
District	..	87·82

It will appear that the percentage of cultivated to cultivable area in the district as a whole has reached the high figure of 87·8 per cent., i.e., only about 12·2 per cent. is yet left in theory as margin. As this margin often includes areas set apart as thrashing floor

to tie up cattle on, and for other necessary domestic uses the conclusion must be that in the district as a whole extent of cultivation has practically reached its limits. Taking the subdivision as unit one finds that the maximum percentage is reached in Kandi (90 per cent.), then Sadar (89 per cent.). This is followed by Jangipore (88 per cent.); whereas the minimum is in Lalbagh (84 per cent.).

Twice-cropped or Dofasli.—In the district as a whole the percentage of area which grows more than one crop is 32·83 per cent. of the net cropped area while the balance of the area, i.e., 67·17 per cent. of it yields but one crop. The percentage of twice cropped area varies with the various subdivisions. The maximum percentage of twice cropped area is in Sadar subdivision (48·10 per cent.), next comes Lalbagh (38·92 per cent.). This is followed by Jangipore (24·29 per cent.). The lowest proportion is in Kandi (12·75 per cent.). This is a very interesting analysis. It shows that the oft repeated proposition that the quality of land varies directly with the number of crops it can grow is not always true. In this particular district the quality is in the inverse ratio to the percentage of twice-cropped area. Kandi has by far the best land and Sadar subdivision almost the poorest. The explanation of double cropping lies in the fact that the Sadar has more of *Aus* paddy than Kandi. The outturn in the former is poorer and the period for taking off the crop of paddy is much shorter than what is true of Kandi *Aman*. The value of land in Kandi is at least a third more than that in Sadar subdivision. The statement below shows the distribution according to police-station :—

Names of thanas.	Land area excluding water.	Cultivated area.			Culturable area other than current fallow.	Total cultivable area (5 and 6).	Twice cropped area.	Percen- tage of column 8 to column 5.	Percen- tage of column 5 to column 7.
		Net cropped.	Current fallow.	Total.					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Sadar Subdivision.									
1. Berhampore Town.	73,764·42	50,936·88	3,838·68	54,775·56	11,946·56	66,722·12	18,213·93	35·75	82·09
2. Naoda ..	54,258·91	44,980·32	1,567·12	46,556·44	4,845·83	51,402·27	30,000·16	66·68	90·57
3. Domkal ..	73,050·28	57,355·07	3,080·74	61,336·71	6,990·71	68,336·42	29,471·27	51·38	89·76
4. Hariharpara ..	60,030·53	46,928·41	2,284·04	49,212·45	7,465·70	56,678·24	26,358·56	58·29	86·83
5. Beldanga ..	85,617·72	69,030·88	2,633·83	72,014·71	5,474·56	77,489·27	23,858·17	34·56	92·94
6. Jalangi ..	47,893·32	36,522·34	2,721·73	39,244·07	3,136·57	42,380·64	19,100·81	52·54	92·58
Total of Sadar Sub- division.	394,624·18	305,793·00	17,376·14	323,139·94	39,869·02	363,009·96	147,062·96	48·10	89·02

Names of thanas.	Land area excluding water.	Cultivated area.			Culturable area other than current fallow.	Total cultivable area (5 and 6).	Twice cropped area.	Percentage of column 8 to column 5.	Percentage of column 6 to column 7.
		Net cropped.	Current fallow.	Total.					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Lalbagh Subdivision.									
7. Bhagawangola	60,652.08	53,374.81	2,242.51	55,617.32	9,294.00	64,911.32	27,131.50	50.87	85.68
8. Lalgola ..	47,602.04	31,525.42	1,815.99	33,341.41	7,212.37	40,553.78	17,251.82	55.72	82.21
9. Raninagar ..	75,343.69	56,774.51	3,649.71	60,424.22	7,777.62	68,201.84	29,337.78	51.67	88.59
10. Jaganj ..	11,294.25	6,148.86	793.95	6,942.81	3,118.63	10,061.44	1,269.48	20.64	69.00
11. Murshidabad ..	36,116.39	23,887.29	2,563.01	26,450.30	6,223.33	32,673.63	9,757.24	40.84	80.95
12. Nabagram ..	69,076.23	51,342.30	3,114.21	54,456.51	11,537.03	65,993.54	2,043.18	3.08	82.52
Total of Lalbagh Subdivision.	309,185.53	223,053.19	14,179.38	237,232.57	45,162.98	282,395.55	86,811.00	38.92	84.00
Jangipur Subdivision.									
13. Samserganj ..	54,328.15	40,242.09	1,498.69	41,740.78	6,490.52	48,231.30	19,819.04	49.25	86.54
14. Raghunathganj	59,982.89	45,959.73	3,435.17	49,394.90	5,873.21	55,268.11	13,046.55	21.76	89.37
15. Suti ..	62,367.51	47,209.60	1,318.31	48,527.91	5,420.06	53,947.97	10,253.55	21.76	89.96
16. Sagardighi ..	78,417.40	60,833.28	3,752.86	64,586.14	9,525.17	74,111.31	4,074.14	6.70	87.15
Total of Jangipur Subdivision.	255,095.95	194,244.70	10,005.03	204,249.73	27,308.96	231,558.69	47,193.28	24.29	88.20
Kandi Subdivision.									
17. Kandi ..	54,072.88	41,269.48	2,243.30	43,512.78	7,051.43	50,564.21	3,094.59	7.40	86.06
18. Bharatpur ..	77,678.56	65,896.81	2,186.47	68,083.28	5,979.75	74,063.03	6,006.80	9.12	91.93
19. Burwan ..	61,828.61	51,593.81	1,295.20	52,889.01	5,785.17	58,674.18	13,015.55	24.22	90.14
20. Khargram ..	70,311.54	58,759.60	2,321.76	61,081.36	6,095.07	67,176.43	5,626.27	9.57	90.93
Total of Kandi Subdivision.	263,891.59	217,519.70	8,046.73	225,566.43	24,911.42	250,477.85	27,743.21	12.75	96.05
District Total ..	1,222,797.25	949,581.39	49,607.28	999,188.67	137,282.38	1,127,441.05	308,840.39	32.83	87.82
Percentage ..	..	95 per cent. of A (B).	5 per cent. of A.	87.82 (A).	12.18	100	32.83 per cent. of B.	..	..

58. **Crops grown.**—Paddy is easily the first and almost the one outstanding crop. It is grown on 76 per cent. of the total cropped area.

The statement below shows the area under the main crops in the different police-stations.

Areas and percentages of some specified crops grown in the different police-stations.

Police-station.	Total cropped area.	Total rice area.	Aman.	Aus.	Wheat.	Barley.	Sugar cane.	Gram.	Percentage of columns 3 to 2.	Percentage of columns 4 to 3.	Percentage of columns 5 to 3.	Percentage of columns 6 to 2.	Percentage of columns 7 to 2.	Percentage of columns 8 to 2.	Percentage of columns 9 to 2.
1. Bhatnagar Town	50,936.88	34,575.22	14,519.90	13,920.72	2,963.74	771.03	109.25	10,638.37	67.5	41.9	54.7	5.8	1.5	.21	20.8
2. Naoda	44,989.32	39,542.69	26,797.91	12,744.60	7,438.77	653.71	51.53	4,484.67	87.89	67.76	32.23	16.5	1.45	.11	9.96
3. Domkal	57,355.97	40,617.79	6,310.20	33,778.80	5,629.69	669.48	88.97	14,440.85	70.8	15.5	83.1	9.8	1.1	.15	77.4
4. Hariharpara	46,928.41	38,555.96	17,189.72	21,366.24	2,626.76	467.03	400.21	10,567.14	82.71	44.5	55.4	5.5	.99	.85	22.5
5. Beldanga	69,030.88	51,830.98	37,069.95	14,579.01	2,004.75	926.22	196.10	7,928.76	75.08	71.5	28.1	2.9	1.3	.28	11.4
6. Jalangi	36,522.34	31,113.29	9,146.68	21,902.86	1,220.20	239.13	181.37	9,045.51	85.1	29.3	70.3	3.3	.65	.49	24.7
Sadar subdivision total	305,763.80	234,935.93	111,034.36	123,301.23	21,881.94	3,726.60	1,027.43	57,195.30	76.8	47.2	52.4	7.1	1.2	.33	18.6
7. Bhagawangola	53,674.81	37,431.29	3,106.13	34,322.22	3,642.26	1,386.86	50.10	9,494.27	70.1	8.2	91.6	6.8	2.6	.09	17.7
8. Laligola	31,525.42	20,506.97	1,290.84	19,396.13	1,294.44	3,250.60	2.60	6,270.47	65.3	5.8	94.1	4.1	10.4	..	19.9
9. Raninagar	56,774.51	36,412.40	1,931.97	34,478.73	6,292.74	1,326.29	173.28	13,665.36	64.1	5.3	94.6	10.9	2.3	.30	24.06
10. Jhaganj	6,145.86	2,874.25	1,465.88	1,408.40	50.66	217.10	.38	1,213.81	46.7	51	48.9	8.2	3.5	..	19.7
11. Murshidabad	23,887.29	12,225.68	1,168.49	11,040.72	814.95	842.69	19.59	6,628.86	51.1	9.5	90.3	3.4	3.5	.08	27.7
12. Nabagram	51,342.30	45,574.72	42,929.97	2,642.55	597.10	45.52	161.58	1,951.07	88.7	94.1	4.7	1.1	..	.31	3.8
Lalbagh subdivision total	223,053.19	153,115.43	51,803.28	102,313.75	12,602.55	7,109.06	407.53	39,227.34	69.5	33.3	62.2	5.6	3.1	.18	17.5
13. Samarganj	40,242.09	27,321.49	11,853.61	15,457.88	1,895.85	3,548.35	169.54	5,083.87	67.8	43.3	56.6	4.7	9.5	.42	12.5
14. Raghunathganj	45,959.73	30,127.60	15,082.57	15,081.04	2,341.44	3,833.44	53.68	5,682.34	65.5	49.9	49.5	5	8.3	.12	12.3
15. Suti	47,209.60	19,181.02	11,514.10	7,427.20	4,382.01	3,462.67	110.92	5,333.93	40.6	80	38.7	9.2	7.3	.23	11.2
16. Sagardighi	60,833.28	54,456.25	45,728.76	8,651.29	471.32	739.49	98.79	1,491.16	89.5	83.9	15.8	.77	1.2	.16	2.4
Jangipore subdivision total	194,244.70	131,086.39	84,137.04	46,607.41	9,079.62	11,883.95	432.93	17,571.30	67.4	64.7	35.5	4.6	6.1	.22	9
17. Kandi	41,269.48	34,566.87	32,596.57	1,943.81	1,408.37	62.90	369.62	1,846.71	83.7	94.3	5.6	3.4	.15	.89	4.4
18. Bharatpur	65,896.81	56,374.72	55,616.99	3,487.87	1,188.85	57.87	712.19	2,317.88	91	93.6	5.8	1.8	..	.1.08	3.6
19. Burwan	52,593.81	47,147.86	38,936.34	8,403.36	1,110.00	23.97	837.09	4,455.20	91.3	82.5	17	2.1	..	1.02	8.6
20. Khargram	58,759.60	53,370.51	51,287.08	755.31	567.72	15.85	518.24	1,694.78	90.8	96	1.4	.06	..	.88	..
Kandi subdivision total	217,519.70	194,459.96	178,436.98	14,230.35	4,274.94	160.59	2,437.14	10,414.37	89.3	91.7	7.3	1.9	..	1.12	4.7
District total	9,40,581.39	7,16,597.71	4,25,431.66	2,86,952.74	47,830.05	22,980.20	4,305.03	1,24,318.61	76	59.4	40	5	2.4	.66	13.2

59. **Paddy.**—It will appear that of the total paddy area of 7,15,597 acres the area under *Aman* accounts for as much as 4,25,431 acres, while *Aus* is grown on 286,952 acres. It will be noted that the *Aus* area is the lowest in West Bhagirathi (or *Rarh*) region and highest in the East Bhagirathi (or *Bogri*) region. The Kandi subdivision has the highest *Aman* and the lowest *Aus* growing area, while the Sadar subdivision has the highest *Aus* and the lowest *Aman* growing area. There is very little *Boro* paddy grown in the district. The total area under *Boro* is about 3,213 acres, grown mostly in the marshy areas of Khargram and other police stations with swamps.

Aus and *Aman*, are the two main groups in which again *Aman* predominates. Rice is husked generally after boiling, though a quantity is husked without boiling (called *atap*) and is used for purposes considered sacred, and by strictly orthodox people. Rice forms the mainstay of the people. It is pressed (*chinra*) and used raw with milk and curd or fried dry. It is parched on heated sand (*münri*) and furnished to the largest number of people as the main tiffin they take, while another type yields puffed rice (*khai*) generally meant for invalids or which with molasses are made into sweets (*murki*) the commonest sweets the people are accustomed to. During the day rice is taken once, twice or thrice in some form or other by the largest bulk of the residents. Seldom a cultivator starts a plough unless he had a meal of cold rice—rice kept in water over-night or had his mouthfuls of fried rice (*münri*). No meal is complete without a plate of rice, no feast can ever be there unless jars of boiled rice abound in the kitchen. The measure of a social function is the quantity of rice boiled.

In the *char* areas along the Padma the cultivators use a type of bread in which they put in pulses and millets. They are healthier and physically harder than people of the interior. It is not improbable—though the people themselves refer to their poverty which they allege compels them to take this meal—that this meal of cereals is the main factor in their better physical development.

60. **Varieties of paddy.**—Different people give different names to the same variety of paddy. It is difficult to

have a correct list. It will be interesting if the Agricultural Department in this district would take up the list of names and find out whether the same variety of paddy is named differently in different areas. The following were the varieties referred to by cultivators in the different parts of the district:—

1. Ajitkalma.
2. Ausbhasa.
3. Ausgola.
4. Ausgurguri.
5. Auskalma.
6. Auskatki.
7. Aus Ramsal.
8. Aus Sada.
9. Aus Sukui.
10. Bachhaikalma.
11. Badkalamkali.
12. Badr Aus.
13. Badshaibhog.
14. Bagdaura.
15. Baktulsi.
16. Balam.
17. Bangati.
18. Bankchur.
19. Bankdur.
20. Bansmoti.
21. Bansphul.
22. Bansgajal.
23. Barakalma.
24. Barakatki.
25. Bara Sindurmukhi.
26. Basaikalma.
27. Bhasha.
28. Bhatgoormatia.
29. Bhutkalma.
30. Bhutmari.
31. Biramsal.
32. Biruti.
33. Boldana.
34. Charnock.
35. Chhotakatki.
36. Chatuimukhi.
37. Dadkhani.
38. Dahia.
39. Darbari.
40. Darkasal.
41. Dasguti.
42. Dhusri.
43. Dograsal.
44. Dubraj.

45. Dudhkalma.
46. Dudhsar.
47. Dudhsal.
48. Dumurphul.
49. Gadaisal.
50. Gangajali.
51. Ganuitulsi.
52. Gobindabhog.
53. Gota Aus.
54. Grihasthapagal.
55. Guathupi.
56. Hatisal.
57. HENCHASAL.
58. Holudshel.
59. Indrakalma.
60. Jagannathbhog.
61. Jatakalma.
62. Jeerabhog.
63. Jhagru.
64. Jhanki.
65. Jhakru.
66. Jhingasal.
67. Jhulankandi.
68. Jiresal.
69. Jotemani.
70. Kalajire.
71. Kalakandi.
72. Kalamkati.
73. Kalidubraj.
74. Kalikalma.
75. Kanakchur.
76. Kasiphul.
77. Kataktara.
78. Kalamkati.
79. Katkalma.
80. Kaya.
81. Khaimagur.
82. Khaikanakehur.
83. Khudikanakehur.
84. Kudikhasa.
85. Kusumkalma.
86. Lali.
87. Laukalma.
88. Lausal.
89. Madhurata.
90. Mahipal.
91. Makamasi.
92. Malati.
93. Manikkalma.
94. Matarkalma.

95. Matiakalma.
96. Nagra.
97. Nagu.
98. Narikalma.
99. Nayankalma.
100. Newali.
101. Nilkalma.
102. Nonadhan.
103. Nonakalma.
104. Paharikalma.
105. Panchkalma.
106. Parmaisal.
107. Parmannasal.
108. Pathrasal.
109. Raghusal.
110. Ramsal.
111. Randhunipagla.
112. Salidanga.
113. Salkaya.
114. Samudrabali.
115. Samudraphen.
116. Sindurmukhi.
117. Sitasal.
118. Sontiali.
119. Tilasal.
120. Tulshimukhi.

The commoner varieties, however, seem to be—

Aus broadcast.

1. Bansugra.
2. Balam.
3. Baraful.
4. Hurkosal.
5. Kadachampa.
6. Keshpanja.
7. Khamar Harithudi.
8. Madhumala.
9. Malkha Gamra.
10. Sata.
11. Sathi.
12. Satagamra.
13. Shoni Kalshon.

Aus transplanted.

14. Hagrusal.
15. Jagol.

Aman Broadcast.

16. Ausana.
17. Kalimor.
18. Nehali.
19. Nori Aman.
20. Sua Aman.

Aman transplanted

21. Bajole.
22. Balamkalma.
23. Begambichi.
24. Benaful.
25. Bhansuka.
26. Bhutkalma.
27. Chengal.
28. Chiakathi.
29. Dhuniakhilkalma.
30. Dubraj.
31. Dudhkalma.
32. Dudhsal.
33. Duchola.
34. Gangajali.
35. Gopalbhog.
36. Gokulsal.
37. Gurda Kalma.
38. Hukosal.
39. Jhingasal.
40. Kusumsal.
41. Khasa.
42. Kalamkati.
43. Kanakehur.
44. Madhumati.
45. Manikkalma.
46. Malsara.
47. Nagrasal.
48. Nilkalma.
49. Purisal.
50. Ramsal.
51. Ranjapota.
52. Randhuniipagal.
53. Sundarmukhi Khasa.
54. Samudrabati.
55. Sahajda.
56. Tulshimanjuri.

The Agricultural Department has introduced the *Katak-tara*, and *Charnok* varieties as *Aus*, and *Bad Kalamkati*, *Baran Kalamkati*, *Jhingasal*, *Bhasa-munik*, *Dudsar* as transplanted *Aman* variety.

61. The uses to which paddy is put.—

As stated before paddy is the main stay of the people. Rice in various forms is taken as food. Different varieties of paddy are suited for different purposes.

For fried rice (*münri*) the varieties preferred are—*Bansgajal*, *Hatisal*, *Paharikalma*, *Sindurmukhi*, *Jhingasal*, *Bhutkalma*.

For *Khai* (puffed rice) the varieties used are—*Khai Kanachür*, *Kalamkati*, *Kaya*.

For *Chinra* (pressed rice)—there is no specific class of paddy but the best are of the finest variety.

The coarser variety is liked by the common people. It retains its reddish cover and is sweeter to eat. A day labourer or a cultivator will not hide his dissatisfaction if he is offered rice of the finer variety which the *bhadralogs* so much like.

The varieties ordinarily used are—*Kushiphul*, *Nayan Kalma*, *Tilasal*, *Kalamkati*, *Mahipal*, *Gangajali*, *Bachhalkalma*, while the refined varieties, used are—*Ramsal*, *Raghusal*, *Bankchur*.

62. Cultivation of paddy.—The cultivation of paddy being the most important the details of the process followed here would not be uninteresting.

Aus.—The *Aus* variety is easier to grow. The *Aus* is popular with the tenants only to the extent that it provides something to get on with, is easier to cultivate and provides a second chance for another crop. The *Aus* has two main divisions locally known as *Chotna* (ছোতনা) and *Boran* (বোরণ); for the former it is not necessary to bank up water on the land, for the latter it is essential. *Chotna* gets fit for harvesting earlier than *Boran*. *Aus* is often grown after *Rabi* is harvested. It is, however, held that it grows better after "*Choumash* (চৌমশ), i.e., after the land is left fallow to recuperate for four months. After the first shower of rain in about February to March the land is ploughed up—in addition to ploughing some tenants use the spade and the hammer to break up the clods of earth. Deep furrowing is not necessary. A depth of six to nine inches is often considered sufficient. *Aus* is generally sown broadcast though occasionally it is transplanted, too.

The season for sowing varies with the rains. If the rains be early, sowing commences by the middle of May. Normally, it is between middle of May to end of June that the sowing is completed. It takes about 4 to 6 days for the seedlings to come out just above the earth—the cultivators describe the condition as “meditation” (*Dhyan*) and say that during the period the paddy sits on meditation. A day or two later the blade shoots forth and the cultivator describes the land as “covered by needles” (*chiunch-phonr*). In ten or twelve days the plants grow to the size of about nine inches. The field then needs weeding and some loosening. Care is taken that the work is undertaken when the earth is dry and the cultivators have to watch that the land is kept free from weeds. Little needs to be done till harvesting which is started between 90 to 120 days from the date the seeds are thrown.

The varieties of *Aus* generally grown are—

Sada Aus.
 Badr Aus.
 Lali Aus.
 Mahipal.
 Bhasha.
 Ful Badam.
 Balam.
 Mehri.
 Dudhmehri.
 Indrasail.
 Chumpsail.
 Gaccha.
 Garai.
 Kataktara.
 Jamire.
 Kadachap.
 Suni.
 Keshubpanja.
 Halni.
 Baro.
 Gajalia.
 Harinmuja.
 Kankla, etc.

Aus rice is not much relished and is rather in low favour. Aristocracy never takes it; the middle class accepts it when unavoidable and the poorer folks take to it with reluctance and reject it whenever they have the option. The *Aus*

straw is not good either. The points in favour are that it needs less water and thus often grows in up-land where *Aman* would not normally grow, is easy to cultivate, and is ripe for harvest more quickly. Cultivation is less expensive and there is chance of a second crop being grown on the land.

Aman.—The *Aman* variety is richer and needs greater attention from the cultivators. The land suited for *Aman* is the low lying tract that holds water. The land which holds rain water till about October is often the best. The numerous *ails* that the fields exhibit are an expression of the need to retain water for the *Aman* paddy. Various devices are organised to get water to irrigate when rain holds off. Water to *Aman* paddy is of the utmost importance.

The ploughing of the land starts with the first shower at the close of the winter. Rain at the end of the month of *Magh* (first fortnight of February) is considered the most propitious for crops, specially *Aman* paddy. Hence Khana said what every cultivator recites—

“*Jadi barshè Mággher sesh,
 Dhanya rájār punya desh.*”

Blessed is the land of the virtuous king, if rains drop in at the end of *Magh*—the prosperity of the tenants depended upon the timely rain; the rain depended upon the virtuous king, for, if he was virtuous the elements would relent and the Mighty Maker would have mercy.

The seed-bed (*Bijtola*).—As the bulk of *Aman* paddy is grown by transplantation, the preparation of seedlings is a great factor in the cultivation of *Aman*. Generally, a rectangular piece of land is ploughed up repeatedly in the months of *Chaitra* and *Baisakh* (March and April) and every little root of wild growth is turned upside down and exposed to the heat of the Sun. Some takes the extra precaution to set fire to the collected shrubs and roots and the ashes go back to the land. The land is then pressed with a ladder so that it settles down hard, else a loose soil permits the roots to go deep and make it difficult for the cultivators to take out when seedlings are needed to be transplanted. The selected seeds are then sown and arrangements are made for good supply of water. Generally, the seedlings ought to grow to a height of nine inches to a foot before they are transplanted. An acre of seed-bed

needs between thirty seers to a maund of seed while the seedlings grown on an acre can plant about thirty acres of area.

The transplanting generally starts by the end of June to middle of July and this is considered to be the best period. It is the first break of the monsoon when ceaseless torrents rush down and the lands are flooded with water that one finds cultivators up before the night is over and on their lands busily engaged to complete the operation. This is practically the period when the cultivators are put in the hardest labour. The adage the cultivators recite states—

*"Asharer panchadinè ropè jadi Dhín,
Sukhè thakè Krishikárya báraye
samman."*

If seedlings can be transplanted by the 5th of *Ashar* happiness and prosperity attend the cultivators. Completion of transplantation before the end of *Ashar* is believed to be the best. The full monsoon after that (i.e., in July) yields the best result to the transplanted paddy. It is found by experience that if monsoon starts later the outturn is not exactly satisfactory and the cultivators are put to various devices.

The seedlings are taken out of the seed-bed on the previous evening, lumped into bunches and left in the field. The next day the bunches are carried to the field on which to transplant. The worker holds the bunch on the left hand, takes out four to six seedlings at a time and with his right hand thrusts them on the ground. It is believed that if the rains be seasonal as stated above the seedlings grow in number after transplantation. Thick bunches sparsely planted are considered the best process—a distance of about nine inches is considered fair. If the rains are late the number of seedlings to be put in has to increase. Transplantation once commenced needs to be completed and men and women are often found to work in the field to hurry up the completion. Ten women working for ten hours a day can finish in a day transplantation over an acre of land.

Thereafter one need only see that the soil does not go unnecessarily dry. If the rains are timely the crops need little attention. If the rains fail the irrigation has to be resorted to. One realises the immense need of irrigation reservoirs and finds that the cultivators are engaged in frantic efforts to get an ounce of

water to put to his dying paddy. If all goes well by the end of September to October, the paddy is in flower and within a fortnight to three weeks the harvesting starts. Paddy is generally harvested in the district with a sickle cutting away the plant at a height of three to six inches from the soil leaving stumps behind. The stumps are often burnt later to provide ashes for manure. From the field the harvested paddy is carted to the thrashing floor which is neatly cleared up. Here against an inclined piece of wood in bunches the plants are struck—a process that separates the grains from the straw. The grains are then stocked away in baskets and carried to the granaries generally known as *Marais* or receptacles resting on a masonry or wooden base with ropes of straw forming the walls or in *Punros* which are really receptacles of straw ropes. The straw is taken and stored in rectangular piles, with sloping tops to be either sold or kept as fodder for cattle or to thatch the roofs.

When rice is to be prepared the paddy is taken out of these receptacles, boiled in slow heat in large earthen vessels, dried in the sun and husked on *Dhenkis*. *Dhenki* which is made of wood rests on a bifurcated piece with a tail at one end and a hammer at the other with an iron cover. The hammer works along a hole where the paddy is put through, one or two women alternately pressing the tail and dropping it as it touches the ground. The orthodox people would not allow the rice to be boiled. It is simply soaked in water and then dried in the sun before being husked. The former is called "*Siddha*" (boiled) the other *atap* (sun-dried).

Many poor women in the village earned their living thus in preparing rice from paddy. The process saved them from the indignity of the status of a domestic servant, yet brought them the little which helped them to struggle on. Rice mills to-day deprive them mostly of even this.

The main varieties of *Aman* are noted below :—

Balam.
Ramsal.
Raghusal.
Parmaysal.
Madhurata.
Bansgajal.

Govindabhog
 Badshabhog.
 Jirabhog.
 Bankchur.
 Tulsimukul.
 Khaiya Kanakchur.
 Gangajali.
 Samudraphen.
 Indrakalma.
 Manikkalma.
 Bachhaikalma.
 Bangdara.
 Chatuimukhi.
 Kalamkati.
 Mahipal.
 Tudsal.
 Dhusri.
 Sindurimukhi.
 Paharikalma.
 Bhutkalma.
 Pathrasal.
 Hatisal.
 Jhingasal.
 Kalakandi.
 Malati.

63. **Selection of seeds.**—Considerable care is taken in selecting and preserving seeds. Great care is taken to select the best seeds from the harvest of the year. At times the cultivators reject their own seeds and prefer to get them from neighbours or distant places. They are placed in sack or stored in structures of straw and mud called, *Marai*. Before one takes them to sow, the seeds are placed on a sieve and rubbed—the weaker ones are separated and the stronger ones are only used for seeds. Some throw the seeds in a tub of saline water—the floating ones are rejected and the heavier ones that sink to the bottom are selected. The latter, though tedious, is considered to be the better method. For sowing broadcast fifteen to eighteen seers are considered sufficient per acre, for transplanting, the figures have already been noted.

64. **Diseases of paddy.**—If there be sufficient rain practically the paddy is disease-free. The common insect pests that damage paddy in this district are *Gandi* or rice bug, *Bhenpir* which closes up the paddy stem as the ears are about to come out; and rice-cane worm. Besides these, if there is scarcity of water

a type of little black insects eats up the roots and the first notice comes when the colour of plants grows yellow. So far no remedy is discovered but the cultivators assert that if the water be plentiful the insects die out.

Along the *Char* areas of the Padma and the Bhagirathi it is a common complaint that in years when the floods don't sweep over the *Chars* insects breed in the soil. I have been shown on several occasions how thriving paddy plants suddenly turn yellow and die. On digging it is found that a type of insects abounds just a foot or six inches below the surface and eats up the roots. It is asserted by the tenants that when the water overflows all these insects with their eggs are killed and they get good crop. It is another instance of the importance of flooding of paddy lands.

65. **Outturn of crops.**—The outturn is practically the same as in the district of Birbhum. The averages are thus what are stated there. Crop-cutting experiments were made but they are not altogether dependable. In two successive years when the experiments were carried on the rainfall was scanty which ultimately ended in scarcity being declared by the Government. The outturn of crops as a result of these experiments, therefore, could not be taken as normal. Enquiries from numerous people and personal experience of men, both officials and non-officials, make a fair average approximation possible. It showed that the outturn was of :—

Maunds per acre.			
<i>Aus</i>	..	..	15 (Fifteen.)
<i>Aman</i>	..	..	18 (Eighteen.)
Sugarcane	..	..	560 (Five hundred and sixty.)
<i>Gur</i>	..	..	56 (Fifty six.)
Gram	..	..	12 (Twelve.)
Mustard	..	..	4 (Four.)
Safflower	..	..	6 (Six.)
Wheat	..	..	12 (Twelve.)
Potato	..	..	100 (One hundred)
<i>Patal</i>	..	..	130 (One hundred and thirty.)

While the averages are what are stated above, in most parts of Kandi subdivision the yield is considerably higher—ordinarily between 15 to 20 per cent. above the average of the district.

N.B.—The maund is of forty seers—each seer is of eighty tolas.

It must be noted that the outturn is of the field of the better type and well-looked-after. The average is considerably lower. If compulsory fallowing be considered it comes to about half of what is noted above.

66. Other crops.—The vegetable crops are 'satisfactory and include *Dingla* or *Kumra*, *Lau* (pumpkin), cucumber of different varieties, brinjals and *Sim*. The district is noted for its fine produce of *patal* which is grown on the banks of the Bhagirathi and is exported in large quantities to Calcutta. At all stations from Berhampore to Rejinagar the railway trains make in the *patal* season inordinate halts to get all the exports in. The cultivators get good money out of this.

Herbs.—A large quantity of aquatic herbs is used. Such as *Kalmi*, *Sushni*, while the main root crops are arums, *ols*, sweet and ordinary potatoes. Potato is now being largely cultivated.

Sugarcane.—Sugarcane is an old crop. There is a large tendency to extend its cultivation. The canes in use are *Ranirbowte*, *Bansta*, *Nalghan*, *Kajtion*, *Punri*. The Coimbatore variety is also making some headway. No special variety, however, is specially nurtured and when different varieties are grown by the same cultivator they are often pressed together for the juice to be boiled into *Gür*.

Of pulses, gram is the main variety but ordinary *Kalai*, peas and *Arhar* are grown as well.

Of oil seeds, rape and mustard are the main varieties, while *til*, safflower and linseed are grown in smaller quantities.

The area under wheat is 47,830 acres, while about half of this area 22,880 is grown with barley.

67. Orchard.—The district is noted for its mangoes. Pargana Chunakhali in Lalbagh subdivision is rich in its mangoes which can hold their own against most of the mangoes grown in Bengal. During the time Murshidabad flourished as the Capital of the Province a considerable addition was made to the stock of orchards for mangoes. Most of the orchards are old and have been full of jungles but it is a good sign that of late in Lalgola and Bhagawangola police-stations in particular new orchards are being laid out.

The jack fruit of the district is also good and many orchards of jack trees are to be found in the interior, while stray trees near about the village sites are common. Not only the fruits are good but the timber is much valued too.

Of the palms cocoanut palm grows along the banks of the Mayurakshi and Bhagirathi and is to be found in fair number in Kandi and Sadar subdivisions while the other two subdivisions have a supply, too. But the main palm that draws one's attention and is a feature of the country side is the palmyra palm. Numerous tanks are found with the palmyra palm on their banks. Its fruits raw and ripe are much used while through its timber, its barks, and its leaves it befriends the poor to an extent which none can rival. It is not tapped as often as in Bihar but occasionally it is and its juice is boiled to sugar crystals, rich in sugar, clear in crystal and healthy to use.

68. Agricultural stock.—Appendix VI indicates the agricultural stock as found during the operation. Different blocks were taken up in different years and as the figures include those for areas previously done, years ago, but excluded from the present operation they differ from the figures in special cattle Census of 1926 and 1930. Accepting the latter figures we find the statistics thus—

		1926.	1930.
Brahmani Bulls	.. ..	402	344
Bullocks—			
Deshi	.. ..	252,506	233,238
Bideshi	.. ..	3,013	1,663
Cows—			
Deshi	.. ..	251,324	209,656
Bideshi	.. ..	614	606
Young stock	.. ..	238,352	211,163
Male buffaloes	.. ..	32,007	35,340
Female buffaloes	.. ..	5,158	4,834
Young stock	.. ..	3,258	3,005
Bulls—			
Deshi	.. ..	16,792	13,513
Bideshi	.. ..	161	84
Total	.. ..	803,587	713,446

The figures indicate that the number of cattle is decreasing. Various causes contribute to this. Pasturage is rapidly declining—more land is being brought under the plough than what formerly had been left fallow for the cattle to graze on. Large tracts like *Hijol* which at one time had supplied rich pasture are being ploughed up. As land per capita is decreasing with the growth of population the attention to cattle is diminishing. The indigenous system of dedicating the most virile of the local or kindered breed as *Brahmani* bull is decaying. The Courts of law—much

against the fundamental social conception of the country—have declared the *Brahmani* bulls to be property without owner and thus liable to be appropriated for private use with the result that they disappear. The Census reports thefts of such bulls. The would be dedicator thus is shy. Secondly, the economic condition often now prevents such dedication. Thirdly, there is a growing indifference to all these rituals when the spirit underlying them has been lost. In the struggle between man and cattle for food the latter have to give way. Some seem to think that there are more cattle than there is need for. For the present we find that there is one pair of bullocks only for $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land, one cow for $4\frac{1}{2}$ heads of population. With the present fragmentation of holdings, with the present arrangement for irrigation, with the present means for providing manure, it is hardly to be expected that either the introduction of machinery with reduction in the use of bullocks will be possible or that one pair of bullocks may take over a large area. Hence no elimination of plough cattle is possible till other changes in the system are brought about. For the present under the existing conditions the tendency is towards shortage.

69. Milk, fodder, and manure.—Murshidabad cows are not noted for milk. Along the banks of the Bhagirathi and the Padma cows are found which yield a daily output of three to four seers (a seer = $1\frac{3}{4}$ pint). Judging by the number of cows—more than half of which in a given year yield no milk either through age or because they are dry—the milk consumption of the population is small. It may be urged that the milk productivity can be increased. To ensure such better production the elementary pre-requisite must be the arrangement for the better supply of food to the cows. Better supply of food is possible mainly either (a) by better arrangement for through-feeding, or (b) by cultivation of fodder crops, or (c) by more extensive pasturage. Each of these is mixed up with the question of general improvement of the population in material prosperity and knowledge.

Two of the most essential uses for which sufficient number of cattle is sought for by the agricultural population are that the excreta are needed as

(a) provision for fuel, and (b) provision for manure. The former in one sense is waste but accepting the poverty of the large number of people, the deforestation that has gone on, the difficulty of a substitute for fuel for domestic purposes, it can only be avoided by a supply of cheap coal or similar substitute. Chemical manure is getting into use but is still confined to an exceptionally small section of the people. Till its larger use is made possible by wider knowledge and better economic conditions the excreta of the cattle must still provide the little manure that is possible. Loss of cattle therefore hits the agricultural people in more ways than one.

70. The new tendencies in the agricultural people.—Getting about the district intensively through the interior, as a Settlement Officer must, he notices certain definite changes. In crops, he finds that cotton has completely disappeared. Mulberry is restricted while jute has come in favour, potatoes have been introduced, and in recent years an appreciable expansion has been effected in the growth of non-Indian vegetables such as cabbages, cauliflowers, tomatoes which about 25 years ago had been rare.

In manures, the chemical manures are slowly making their way. Their uses are still confined to a microscopic few. The cultivators are not always eager to start a new experiment—their limited means make them naturally cautious. If chemical manures have to grow in use there must be systematic and sustained demonstration. Coal as a fuel has largely stopped the burning of cowdung and to that extent the land is enriched by manure. For the purposes of irrigation the primitive wooden lifts are being supplanted by less cumbrous and lighter ones of iron.

The oil-lamps have mostly been substituted by lanterns burning kerosene and even lamps burning acetylene are occasionally met with.

Bicycles are quite common in the interior while they were rare to the extreme thirty years ago. Bus has opened up the interior to an appreciable extent and apart from facilities in marketing various articles it is daily stimulating new ideas and fresh contacts.

Rice mills not only husk the paddy cheaply though not always wholesomely

but find extra employment for a number of people. They have destroyed, on the other hand, the husking industry in the cottages.

CHAPTER V.

Irrigation and Drainage System. Irrigation.

71. Introductory: needs of irrigation and drainage.—The district as stated before is divided into two main portions by the Bhagirathi. The *Rarh* area or the West Bhagirathi portion has the problem of irrigation in the main and the problem of drainage is subsidiary. The *Bogri* or the East Bhagirathi area has drainage problems as the main and irrigation as a subsidiary problem. In the Chapter on agriculture it has been shown that the main crop of the district is *Aman* paddy. It is transplanted. It depends upon water for its very existence. River irrigation is not common. An artificial canal is unknown. Tank is the main source of irrigation.

72. Irrigation: Rights and Methods.—Naturally in the district the most interesting item is the system of irrigation. The entire tract to the west of the Bhagirathi is dotted over with tanks and ponds. To them have to be added the natural *bils*, rivers and small channels. All these are utilized for irrigation. Each individual knows wherefrom and in which order he is to get water to his land from a tank even three-quarters to a mile off from the plot. Each one's right is well known, well-understood, and on the whole and in the largest majority of cases upheld and respected by others without trouble. They consider this to be almost a sacred right—sacred to the cause of agriculture, which it will be against the religion of an agriculturist to thwart or to contest.

The main feature of irrigation may be classed as *Melan* (literally spread), and *Chinch* (literally lift-irrigation). The former is in vogue where there is a terraced area. A cut is made on the bank of the source and the water is inducted to the level of agricultural land. This overflows and the water topples over from the higher to the lower land and so on. The owner of the land on the

upper level has no right either to divert or raise the *ails* to stop the flow. The system, however, is less common and is confined to terraced land. The more extensive system is of *Chinch*. The water is worked up by *dunis* or canoe-shaped receptacles and is carried to other lands by one of the three main methods. The water is taken into the first adjoining land; it spreads over it and then the *ail* is cut and the water flows to the next one and so on. Secondly, temporary channels are cut along the lands of individuals who may or may not have the right to draw water from the particular source but who cannot in any case object to the channel being cut across his land. The direction of the channel is well-known and is never varied. When it is not intended for irrigation the channel is ploughed up and grown with crops but the owner of the field must yield it up when irrigation has to be done. Thirdly, there are permanent channels to the use of which definite persons have distinct rights which no one can disturb.

Between these again there are rights of priority in taking water. There are rules about using the source. The rights are very important as the population is mainly agricultural. In the year when the rain in some of these tracts failed one could see people gathering long before dawn, working up the canoes and working right through the mid-day sun in frantic efforts to save the seedlings or help in transplanting. In irrigation as in several other items of agricultural work they combine and co-operate with each other in carrying out a common purpose.

I am not sure whether hitherto the importance of the system of irrigation for the agriculture of the district was properly realised by people other than the agriculturists. Without this no agriculture is possible in the district. Yet it is a fact that new tanks are not being excavated; even the re-excavation of the old tank is rare. More old tanks are getting silted up than are being re-excavated. Already the competition about water is getting keen; the scarcity of it is getting it keener every day. Powerful men are trying to forcibly restrict the use of water to which poorer people so long had the right. As it is a right of easement, it can be destroyed by forcible dispossession for a period of two years. As litigation is costly and evidence so far is

difficult to procure for proof in a distant court, the weaker party has been worsted in many cases.

With the approval of Government (*vide* Director of Land Records, Bengal's letter No. XLIV/24-261 of 2nd February 1927), a special form was devised for recording the existing rights of irrigation. Detailed instructions were given to note the rights. A summary of the instructions issued with a specimen of the irrigation record as prepared is given in Appendix IX. The finally published and printed copies of the irrigation record have been distributed in each village and with the approval of the Government a copy has been handed over to the Collector of the district to be made over to the President of the Union Board in the area for reference.

73. Suggestions for improvement of irrigation.—It seems to me that definite steps are necessary to ensure a radical improvement in the sources of irrigation. So far as can be judged it can be effected by the—

- (a) re-excavation of older tanks;
- (b) excavation of new tanks;
- (c) utilisation of the existing natural channels known as Kandars;
- (d) storage of river water when the flow is at the maximum and effective canalisation; and
- (e) construction of wells.

I must emphasise that the first and the most essential pre-requisite to any scheme of improvement must be the creation of public opinion in favour of the importance of irrigation—in fact the imperative character of it—if any betterment in the economic position of agriculture is desired. The second essential must be a district organisation which will pool together all the resources, work out a consolidated programme, get a business-like scheme examined and put into operation in a business-like way, in which official and non-official will to work may be made choate and operative.

74. Tanks as sources of irrigation.—There are numerous old tanks and hardly any new ones. The old tanks are mostly in various stages of decay. Re-excavation at places is attempted but is generally neglected. The numerous old tanks show that the necessity of these tanks

was once realised. The long established and well-known customs of irrigation still existing indicate that the purpose was clearly grasped. A will must have been developed to meet an urgent need unaided apparently by the Government of the country—ancient or modern—and in the absence of any legally constituted State agency. This will to meet common needs must have worked by pooling the different interests and effectively brought about a remedy which operates even to-day. What made this will choate and effective, how it was kept active and alive and what has now killed the spirit and sterilised the activity are points which a student of social evolution and economics might study but which is not my purpose to go into at present.

Looking into the earlier institutes of the people one discovers that the idea of the necessity of the tank for various uses of men and cattle was instilled in the minds of the young children, specially girls, through little ceremonies, the commonest of which was the "ceremony of the sacred tank (*Punya-pookur*)". A husband or a son was considered blessed if he excavated a tank and allowed his wife or mother to dedicate it to the use of the people. At a time when the best men had still their homes in the villages and had not the social sense debased by a rush to towns this public opinion provided a great motive force. The agency in the most active form was in the most dominant figure in the family in the mother or in the wife. This fact coupled with the economic necessity of the time supplied most of the tanks. The economic necessity is still there but both the will to make the idea effective and the resources of men who ought to have been in the village but are not there, are wanting.

75. Improvement in the condition of Tanks—how to be effected.—To bring about an improvement in the existing condition of tanks I should think that—

(a) a definite programme for improvement of tanks with loans from the allotment under the Land Improvement Act should be drawn up. The grant may, as far as possible, be judiciously augmented. The programme might be linked up with Famine Relief project, too

(b) Irrigation societies might be multiplied. With the extension of the scheme of union boards throughout the district

the organisation and maintenance might be stimulated by the Circle officers. At present the divided responsibilities of the co-operative department staff and the Circle Officers are not conducive to their success. The moribund sense of the people needs stimulation for some time to come by constant efforts of a genuine type of Circle Officers.

(c) Co-sharing is a bane which is largely responsible for the stagnation of the old tanks. The co-sharers seldom, if ever, combine. More often they thwart. At this stage of legal mindedness of the people where the old social forces have disappeared it is essential that in the interests of the rural community at large all impediments to progress should be removed by law. To clear up the rights of the co-sharers in the tanks which are so essential to rural welfare, I would suggest that some legal procedure should be evolved by which no co-sharer could thwart re-excavation of tanks. If a co-sharer wishes to re-excavate a tank he should have the right to apply to the nearest subdivisional officer (power may be delegated gradually to the President of the Union Board) and once this is certified by the official as a stagnant and silted up tank, the tank should be put up to sale in a public auction to be purchased by one individual—an individual co-sharer having the right of pre-emption. If more than one co-sharer desires pre-emption the one having the larger share should have priority.

76. Wells.—*Popularisation of the use of wells.*—Well-irrigation is unknown. Except in towns and in a few big villages a well can hardly be seen. It has been pointed out in the Chapter on agriculture that a small fraction of lands yields a second crop. Cultivation of *Rabi* crops is poor. Yet where the energy of the individual has acted, where provision for manure and irrigation could be made, the land has yielded a second crop, and a good crop, too. To those familiar with the conditions in Bihar and in the United Provinces, the importance of wells in the irrigation of *Rabi* crop must be familiar. The soil is good for wells. There is no reason why wells—both masonry and with burnt clay ring-wells—as well as tube-wells should not be experimented on and introduced. I see no reason why they should fail. The information based on experience elsewhere could be made available to the

people by intelligently written pamphlets and technical advice might be made easily available.

77. Utilisation of natural channels.—The present existing natural channels called generally *kandars* may be usefully kept up for irrigation.

The storage of river water when the flow is at its maximum by effective reservoirs for supply in time of need is another definite method. The utilisation of the rivers in the *Rarh* area is of great importance. The rivers generally are hill torrents which get a sudden rush of large volume of water in particular seasons but unfortunately the entire volume of water slips down and is in no way stored. When water, therefore, is needed for paddy or other crops and rain water is not available, the tenant is left absolutely helpless. If the waste water of the hill streams can be stored somewhere, it can be drawn up by tenants, when there is scarcity of water. By thus avoiding waste and utilising the water by storage much can be done to prevent the loss of crops due to drought. In the report of Birbhum a detailed analysis has been made of the conditions and the possible remedies. Funds were not available to carry on the same examination here, but the circumstances are the same and with the maps and records it is easy to collect materials and work out schemes.

78. Larger schemes.—It has been pointed out that in Birbhum the Government have already completed the construction of a canal. There are others which can be constructed and are contemplated to be constructed. But all these bigger schemes depend upon the financial position of the Province. Schemes have been worked out, details have been prepared but after all that labour it was found that they must wait till finances improve. Even when the finances improve, the project must be shown to be remunerative, i.e., will fetch a direct return for the outlay in the shape of revenue to the State. This revenue is often hard to calculate with accuracy. The prospect thus of getting bigger schemes put into operation is none too bright. The *impasse*, however, can be got rid of if any of the following alternatives is followed:—

(a) No direct revenue is to be made a factor in sanctioning the scheme. The prosperity of the tenantry indirectly

brings to the coffers of the State a return which is worth paying for. It is not intended that the rates should not be imposed—that will be obviously unbusinesslike. But the water taking and rate-paying habit will have to be created and for that the initial water-rate may not be high but to be gradually increased. If the scheme be beneficial, then out of the increased capacity to pay, the people will pay. The people on the other hand must realise their responsibility and actively co-operate.

(b) Schemes may be worked out and a part at least of the capital outlay should be a charge on the area within the benefited zone which should be realised in instalments in a reasonable period of time. People from whom such realisation is made will have concessions in the matter of water-rates. If people decline to pay, the land can be sold up in execution of a certificate and bought by someone who is willing to contribute to this endeavour for improving the area. This will be more or less the principle on which improvement schemes are worked in towns.

(c) If the provincial finances be not in a position to pay, a guaranteed loan may be raised with legal rights to be vested in a body like the District Board to recoup and repay it with interest.

79. Smaller schemes.—While major schemes must be slow in fruition the minor schemes, it is more than probable, can be worked out and given effect to in large numbers if combined efforts of the people, the District Board and the Government, are made. For this purpose—

(a) the Co-operative Irrigation Societies can be multiplied on the lines of the Dadpore-Deoki Society (*vide* the Final Report of Birbhum, paragraph 41) in Birbhum;

(b) tank irrigation societies may be helped to come into being; while

(c) the numerous natural water channels and *Kandars* in the western part of the district can have their water withdrawn into reservoirs during the rains to be utilised when rains hold off;

(d) a more systematic and regular programme for operations under the agricultural loans and Land Improvement Act may be drawn up for excavation of the new tanks and re-excavation of old tanks with consequential changes in law to get the right in tanks vested in one individual from time to time as already discussed;

(e) all available information and technical help in the efficacy of wells and tube-wells in the district should be made available;

(f) while, above all, a more direct, a more living, and more inspiring contact between the agriculturist and the executive to initiate, to advise, and to help must be established.

What should be the details of the agency which might be set up may be discussed by the authorities. It may take the form of a "Minor Irrigation Department" as in Madras to work under the Collector with larger powers and more funds. It may be in the nature of a District Irrigation Board where the official experts and really energetic representatives from the District Board and public bodies may sit with an expert executive which will not be transferred by the time it acquires the necessary experience of the district to be useful. It will appear that the question of irrigation in these areas was not out of the mind of Government. In Circular No. 320 of 24th June 1858, the Government circulated a scheme said to have been effectively worked out by one Mr. Ghosh in the district of Burdwan where a system of damming a river from bank to bank and then cutting an irrigation channel to induce water to a reservoir was successfully operated and "Executive Officers were requested to institute enquiries throughout their divisions and to report whether in their opinion there were any localities where circumstances appeared to be equally favourable for obtaining irrigation from the dry-weather streams of rivers". It does not appear, however, that any intensive enquiry was made and at any rate nothing appears to have evolved out of the idea at that time. Sufficient materials and data with maps, etc., have already been gathered. A Public Works Department Irrigation division already exists. All that is needed now is an active body to get things done and raise funds from official as well as non-official sources with, if need be, legal powers to raise guaranteed loans.

Drainage.

80. Drainage.—A look at the map of the district will show the position of drainage. The district of Murshidabad is divided by the Bhagirathi into high lands in the west representing the old alluvium or the *Rarh* area and the low lands to the east known as the *Bogri* area representing the new alluvion.

The country to the west of the Bhagirathi is undulating and the low lands are subject to sudden floods. The principal rivers which drain the area are the Brahmani, the Dwarka or Babla and the Mayurakshi. As hill torrents they discharge their volume of floods in the monsoons and dry up in the cold weather. The low lands covered by the flood develop into *bils*. They cover appreciably large tracts of shallow basins but there is no effective storage nor effective canalisation. For some reasons the streams in the *Rarh* or the west Bhagirathi area are not bringing in the torrents of late to the same extent as they did in the past. The inner flushing is hampered by the embankments erected at random and by the neglect of the embankments in use. Certain estates had *pul-bandi* allowances.

81. The Pulbandi embankments.—

(1) Under section 44 of the Bengal Act II of 1882 the Government contributes Rs. 1,706-10-8 annually to the *zemindars* of Pargana Fatesing, T. Nos. 253 and 254 and Rs. 1,466-2 to the proprietors of Pargana Rukunpore, Tauzi Nos. 290 and 2721. Though Government has all along been regularly paying the *Pulbandi* allowance to the *zemindars*, yet there has been serious neglect on their part in maintaining the embankments properly. The fact was taken notice of so far back as 1899 and proceedings were drawn up under section 7 of the Embankment Act but the proceedings were cancelled under the order of the Board of Revenue and *Pulbandi* continued to be paid as before to the *zemindars* who were warned to keep the embankments in proper repair. The warnings had no effect. The *zemindars* still failed to maintain the embankments properly. The matter again attracted the notice of the then Collector of the district Mr. A. G. Hallifax, in the year 1908. Since then several warnings and orders were issued to the *zemindars* and the payment of the *Pulbandi* allowance was withheld for some time. But all these warnings and orders brought little results and in August 1910, the then Collector Mr. R. C. Hamilton in his office letter No. 2448G., dated the 29th August 1910, submitted preliminary proposals for the resumption of the allowance and for declaring the embankments public. But the Commissioner in his letter No. 10 R. L., dated the 21st October 1910, replied that he was not prepared to accept the proposal of a wholesale resumption

of the allowance in view of the opinion expressed by the Board of Revenue in years 1837 and 1901, viz., that if the allowance was discontinued Government must either keep up the embankments properly at its own expense or be liable to continual claims for remissions on account of loss from inundations and in accordance with the Commissioner's instructions a test case was instituted in December 1912 to declare two specific embankments in Pargana Rukunpore as public under section 7 of Act II of 1882. At a subsequent stage of the case it was found that the *Pulbandi* embankments could not be made public piecemeal under section 7 of the Act and as it was not thought expedient to take action with reference to all the embankments in either of the two Parganas, the matter was dropped under Government order No. 1856, dated the 5th September 1915.

When Mr. Milne took over charge of the district, he suggested to the *zemindars* that the Public Works Department should be allowed to administer the *Pulbandi* allowance and maintain the embankments by mutual arrangements. He obtained from the Executive Engineer a rough estimate of the cost likely to be incurred. He reported that all the embankments could be thoroughly repaired by spending the amount annually paid to the *zemindars* as *Pulbandi* allowance and that within ten years they can be thoroughly remodelled. The Collector wrote to all the *zemindars* asking them whether they were willing to accept his proposal. Some of them expressed their willingness to have the *Pulbandi* allowance administered and the embankments maintained by Public Works Department for a certain period, but others were unwilling to agree to this course. Matters did not make much headway after he left.

If amicable arrangement be not possible the question of special legislation to deal with the problem is worth consideration. It is worthwhile to consider as well whether along these rivers unnecessary embankments by private parties should not be prohibited.

82. Review of the condition of drainage in the East.—The country lying to the east of the Bhagirathi is traversed by many rivers, the Bhairab, the Jellanghi, the Sealmari, the old Jellanghi and the Gobra Nala. The Gobra Nala does not receive now any spill from the

Ganges—a scheme to connect it was under operation when the survey was finished. The entire area to the east of the Bhagirathi is now more or less unhealthy. The drainage of the district lies from the north-west to the south-east. A look at the map from the time of Rennell will convince one how effectively the entire area to the east was drained and benefited by the flood water of the rivers in the past. The Bhagirathi flood used to start notably from the side of Lalitakuri and run along the depression through which passed the Gobra Nala. The water ran through the Bhandardaha bil down to the Suti and the Kalantar. From there a large volume of water forced its way to the Jellanghi leaving unquestionably a large remainder in the depression of the Kalantar. Further to the east the old Coolcooly took off from the Padma a large volume of water and flooded the tract and sent a large volume down the Bhairab which spilt itself into two branches known as the Bara Bhairab and the Choto Bhairab. The Coolcooly itself discharged the balance through the Seal-mari to the Jellanghi. The Jellanghi again at the eastern extremity took a large volume from the Padma and coursed down flooding the banks on either side. But as stated before, to-day the Gobra Nala no longer receives the spill. It was successfully blocked out by embankments. The other rivers except the Jellanghi run through their decayed courses. The Jellanghi is livelier but certainly poorer than what it was in the past.

83. Floods.—If one looks through the records of the district, he will find in the past reports of inundations. The *Calcutta Gazette* of 29th September, 1785, had the following:—

“We are sorry to learn by letter from Murshidabad that in consequence of the unusual height of the river* (which has been such as was never known in the memory of men) the great river had overflowed its banks and laid the country between the site of Murshidabad and Bhagawangola entirely under water; and had by the channel of Ackbarpore lake even penetrated the certain parts of the city; that from the same unfortunate cause some of the dykes on the Cossimbazar river had likewise given way below the Berhampore cantonment and that the water from the two sources having joined had overflowed all that part of the

country and had come up to the walls of Cossimbazar filature.”

There are records of floods existing for the years 1823, 1834, 1838, 1848, 1856, 1866, 1870, 1885, 1890, 1904, and the last in 1907. Since that year no flood of any considerable magnitude is reported.

Certainly these floods brought discomforts and the people complained but they were naturally the agencies which were helping the geological formation of the area of the tract which might be termed the block of country represented by the isosceles triangle with its apex at the north-west at the junction of the Bhagirathi with the Padma. The Bhagirathi and the Padma were two of its sides while the Jellanghi was the base. Embankments, however, were thrown up and floods no longer appear but as then so now the people realised that floods had not been an unalloyed evil. Mr. Bradbury, I.C.S., the Assistant Magistrate of Murshidabad, reported as the result of his personal observation during the disastrous year 1870 that while in many lowlying places the crops were almost entirely destroyed, the peasants in a few places were congratulating themselves as the flood had brought down an abundance of water which enabled them to raise a large quantity of rice from other lands as they had not obtained for several years past.

84. The Bhagirathi as it stood in the earlier papers.—That the Bhagirathi channel was one of the regular and most important means of communication and flooding between the upper Gangetic valley and the sea-board hardly admits of doubts.

“Pliny mentions that the ships assembling near the Godavery sailed from thence to Cape Palinurus, then to Teatigale, opposite Fultah, then to Tribeni, and lastly to Patna. Ptolemy also notices Tribeni (*Calcutta Review*, Volume VI, page 408).”

It is stated that Rajmahal was once on the Sea.

From the village of Sooty near about the place where the Bhagirathi parts with the Padma to the sea at Saugor old cities, ruins and temples exist the names of which indicate that they stood on the banks of a mighty river.

It seems, however, that its decline started some centuries ago. The earliest historical reference is contained in

*The Bhagirathi is clearly referred to.

French traveller Tavernier's letter of 6th January 1666 in which he described that "Bernier was going overland from Rajmahal to Cossimbazar as the river route was impracticable." "When the river is low it is impassable because of a large sand bank which lies before a town called Suti". Tavernier even described the Bhagirathi as a canal with a width of about fifteen leagues.

Hedges who moved about the place in 1683 stated that above Nadia the place was so full of shoals that he had to get down at "Maula" (Mohula) covered the distance from there to Cossimbazar about nine miles by *Palki* (Palanquin).

In 1787 Rennell wrote that Cossimbazar river (i.e., the Bhagirathi) was almost dry from October to May and that the Jalangi was in some years unnavigable during the two or three of the dry months.

Captain Colebrooke in his Memoirs on the course of the Ganges (1797) wrote :—

"The Bhagirathi and the Jellanghi are not navigable throughout during the dry season. There have been instances of all these rivers continuing open in their turn during the dry season. The Jellanghi used formerly to be navigable during the whole or greater part of the year. The Bhagirathi was navigable in the dry season of 1796. This year (1797) however, I was informed that the passage was no longer practicable for boats proceeding to Calcutta. Experience has shown that none of these rivers are to be depended on."

85. Later history of the Bhagirathi.—The history of the river since about 1781 is fairly well-known. Detailed information exists in the papers of the Irrigation Department. A summary of these is noted here for reference.

In 1781 Major Rennell in his memoir on Hindustan says that the entrance of the Bhagirathi was near village Sooty and found the river almost dry from October to May. From his map No. 1 it is seen that the entrance was about 5 miles east of Sooty which village is close to Kaliganj. This entrance corresponds roughly with the present Kaliganj entrance except that the Ganges is now much nearer Sooty than in 1781. Before describing the changes in the off-takes in detail, it is necessary to explain briefly the changes in the Ganges near the off-takes. In Rennell's map the changes are a straight course from Rajmahal to Faracca with a

long flat loop from Faracca to the entrance of the Bhagirathi near Sooty. In Mr. May's (Superintendent of Nadia rivers) map of 1825, No. 3, this loop is seen as having lengthened out considerably. In 1847-48, map No. 4, two loops are seen both extending more than 8 miles on the left bank between Rajmahal and the entrance of the Bhagirathi river. In the map of 1859 No. 5 these two loops are shown in the same position. In 1866-67 the Dearah survey map of the Ganges, No. 4, these two loops are seen as having flattened out and formed into three small loops. In 1905-06, map No. 6, the two other loops are seen as having flattened out considerably and connected together near Kaliganj. The three ends of these two loops, encroached on the right bank, gradually developed the three important entrances of the Bhagirathi, viz., Faracca, Kaliganj and Biswanathpore.

The three entrances are on a loop channel of the Ganges originating at Faracca and known as Faracca channel. From Rennell's map it is seen that the Gomani and Bhagirathi rivers rising from the Sonthal Pargana hills and combining into one river near Baniagram flowed into the Ganges near Sooty. And the Bagmari river rising from the same hills had its outfall into the Bhagirathi at Sooty. As the Ganges shifted towards the right bank, the lower portion of the Gomani and Singhia rivers was absorbed and the upper portion joined with the Bagmari river near Samserganj (Dhulian) and became ultimately upper Faracca channel.

In 1796 according to Colonel Colebrook, the Bhagirathi had connection with the Ganges in the dry season and there was sufficient depth of water at the head.

1822.—Before 1822 the entrance of the Bhagirathi is said to have been closed for many years in the dry season. In 1822 the entrance was about 8 miles east of Faracca.

1823.—In December 1823, after the big flood of the year the head shifted about half a mile to the east of its position. A dredging machine was brought in the beginning of the year but could not work sufficiently on account of the shallow water in the channel.

1824-25.—After the rains of 1824 the head was found to have shifted 5 miles to the west. The entrance was open to

the direct current of the Ganges and worked so well that the breadth rapidly enlarged from 250. ft. to half a mile. Across the entrance there was a depth of 22 ft. in January 1825 and a minimum depth of 3 ft. was maintained throughout the dry season from the Ganges to Nadia. A dredger and *bandhals* were used successfully in removing shoals.

1825-26.—The favourable condition of the head did not last long. The Ganges changed its course and instead of flowing in a loop below Tarrah, made a straight cut across the Bhagirathi from Kankjole to Tartipore. The old entrance and the channel were completely closed with sand and the winding channel flowing by Ghoka opened with an entrance, 8 miles to the south-east of its previous entrance. The river was navigable as early as November and it closed at the beginning of March 1826. Mr. May found a bank of hard clay extending across the entrance which he removed at a cost of Rs. 2,500.

1826-27.—In spite of the cut made in the previous year, the entrance widened and became shallow. After the rains of 1826 the bar extended far below the entrance and the river became impassable except by small boats before the end of December.

1827.—The bar continued to extend down stream throwing the stream of the Ganges away from the entrance.

1828-29.—During the rains of 1828 the entrance shifted a mile further down stream to the south-east with the prolongation of the clay bar. The depth of water was only 1½ ft. by February 1829.

1829-31.—After the floods of 1829 a change at the head took place resulting in the shifting down stream of the entrance by 3½ miles and re-opening of the old channel of 1822. Owing to the sandy soil, shoals began to develop for some miles below the head and by January 1830, there were 23 shoals from the entrance to Nadia with little more than 2 ft. of water. During the five years from 1826-27 to 1830-31 the river was unnavigable. It is recorded that even in November 1830, there were 23 shoals from the entrance to Nadia with little more than 2 ft. of water. During the five years from 1826-27 to 1830-31 the river was never navigable throughout the dry season.

1831-35.—In 1831-32 the river was in a slightly better condition owing to certain shoals having been cleared by the floods from Rajmahal hills in the early part of 1831. In the following year the entrance was not in a favourable condition but there was sufficient flow of water from the Ganges to clear away many shoals by means of *bandhals* and the river was kept open till the beginning of March 1833 and also in 1834. The river continued more or less in the same condition till 1835.

1836-39.—A great change took place in the course of the Ganges during the floods of 1836, the main current after striking against the hard bank of Gobra began to flow in south-westerly direction direct into the entrance. This favourable condition lasted for 2 seasons. No *bandhalling* was done for 2 years 1835-37. After floods of 1837 three entrances appeared with 2½ ft., 6 ft. and 3½ ft. of water. Mr. May selected the first entrance which had a bed of stiff clay through which a channel 18 ft. wide and 3½ ft. deep was cut which was rapidly enlarged by current to a width of 250 ft. and depth 10 ft. The river was kept navigable by boats drawing 3 ft. of water throughout the year by erection of *bandhals* till 1839-40. During 1839-40 the river was no more navigable than what was in the two previous years.

1840-47.—In 1840-41 three entrances open further down stream. Captain Smythe, who succeeded Mr. May in August 1840, carried on the *bandhalling* operation for the next seven years. The river was kept navigable in 1840-41 for large boats throughout the dry season and in 1841-42 for boats of 2½ draught. In 1842-43 the river was in worse condition than it was in the previous years. Next year with great difficulty a passage was maintained throughout the season and the river was kept navigable for the whole year till 1845-46. In 1846-47 the entrance shoaled up and closed in February 1847.

1847-48.—According to Major Long who succeeded Captain Smythe in 1847 the right bank of the Ganges ran from opposite Tartipore along the road. In May of that year a cut was made by Captain Smythe from the Ganges to the bend of the Bhagirathi which had approached the Ganges within 1,500 ft. This channel rendered the Bhagirathi navigable throughout the year 1847-48.

1848-52.—The current of the Ganges along the right bank was attacking the left bank of the Bhagirathi at the entrance which gradually moved down in 1852.

1852-53.—It is recorded that up till 1872-73 the flood of 1851 in the Bhagirathi was the lowest. The main current of the Ganges after being deflected from the left bank near Tartipore was flowing past the entrance of the Bhagirathi which was facing down stream. Owing to the formation of a projecting bar on the up stream side of the entrance, the stream of the Ganges was deflected away from the entrance about a mile above it. Owing to this unfavourable position the entrance closed as early as November 1852.

* 1853-57.—The entrance was more or less in the position for several years since 1853. It closed in 1853 by the middle of December. In 1854 there was only 1 ft. 6 in. of water in March. In 1855-1857 the entrance got worse and closed for empty boats by middle of December. In 1858-59 the river was open during the dry season.

1859-62.—The entrance was in the same position during three years. In 1859-60 though an effort was made to keep open the entrance by harrows and racks driven by steam power in addition to *bandhals*, it closed. The entrance was also bad next year and closed by the 3rd week of November 1860. In the following year again it closed on the 1st December 1861.

1862-63.—The main current of the Ganges was cutting the right bank since 1852 and this year the projecting nose of 1852 was cut away and the entrance was shifted half a mile down.

According to Mr. Wicket, the river was in a better state than what it was in previous years since 1832 and was open for traffic during the dry season. There was 2 ft. 3 in. depth of water at the entrance.

1863-64.—Major Long's survey map of 1853 shows that the Ganges had a big loop extending towards Gobra and Shibganj between Samserganj and Sooty.

This loop has been moving down as seen from the revenue map of 1866-67. In 1863-64 a survey was made of the Ganges from Dhulian to Narayanpore showing the Bhagirathi entrance, which, however, cannot be reconciled with the map of

1853 and 1866-67 unless it is presumed that the Ganges shown in the map of 1863-64 presents a loop of the Ganges and not the main Ganges. That that presumption is correct is proved by the existence of villages, viz., Babupur, Lakshipore, Paukha and Narayanpore on the left bank of the loop channel, whereas these villages are shown on the right bank of the main Ganges in 1866-67 and also by the existence of a narrow channel from Babupur to Surjanarayanpore shown in map No. 8 of 1866-67. The entrance of the Bhagirathi which was fed by the above loop channel was still near Sooty. The river was kept open with a width of channel varying from 40 to 50 ft., and a minimum depth of 2 ft. 6 in. at the entrance.

1864-66.—The entrance in 1864-65 as shown in map No. 9 improved considerably this year. The channel was 50 ft. wide with 4 ft. depth of water and a good current. In the next year the channel maintained same width but with 2½ ft. depth of water.

1866-68.—The Dearah survey map of the Ganges, No. 4, shows the Ganges and the position of the entrances of 1866-67. On a comparison of this with the maps of the Ganges of 1847-48 and 1852-53, it will be seen that the big loop of the Ganges just above Sooty was moving down and in 1866-67 the apex of the loop was almost opposite Sooty increasing the distance of the Bhagirathi from the main Ganges. The result was that in that year an arm of the Ganges opened with its entrance at Joyrampore. The water from the Ganges flowed along this loop (which was probably a portion of old Bhagirathi channel) and passed out near Surjanarayanpore 5 miles below Giria. The Bhagirathi was fed near Chapghati below Sooty from this loop of the Ganges. It is recorded that in the flood season about 40,000 to 50,000 cusecs of water passed down this loop. It is this loop which later on formed a portion of the present Faracca channel and the Joyrampore entrance corresponds more or less with the present Kaliganj entrance. A channel with a minimum depth of 3 ft. and width of 40 to 50 ft. was maintained during the dry season. The flood of 1867 was unusually high and the entrance was in the same condition after the rains as in the previous year.

1868-70.—The flood of 1868 was low and the Joyrampore entrance contracted

to a width of 30 ft. and with great difficulty 1 ft. 6 in. depth of water was maintained in 1868-69. In 1869-70 the river improved and the entrance widened to 50 to 60 ft. Boats drawing up 2 ft. 3 in. could navigate throughout the year. The loop channel from Joyrampore known as Noorpore river and the entrance of the Bhagirathi in 1868-69 are shown in map No. 10.

1870-72.—There was high flood in 1870 when the loop channel from Joyrampore began to cut the right bank near Noorpore and caused a new entrance to be opened near village Chaurasia about 6 miles down the former entrance near Sooty. This Chaurasia entrance became important entrance from 1871 to 1881 and gradually moved down forming the present Biswanathpore entrance. Thus the Bhagirathi had the two entrances now, the lower one only was worked in the two seasons with great success. Prior to 1870-71 a channel of over 60 ft. in width could rarely be maintained for navigation but during this year a channel of not less than 200 ft. in width was maintained and boats drawing 3 ft. could sail up and down the river throughout the entire length. The result of this was that the cold weather traffic which practically ceased to exist was revived and toll revenue increased. The flood of 1871 was the highest since 1823 and the Bhagirathi Embankment breached at Lalitakuri. In 1871-72 the Chaurasia entrance was worked as in the previous year with great success. A channel of 150 ft. wide 4 ft. deep was maintained down to Jangipore. Below Jangipore the least depth was 3 ft.

1872-73.—During the previous two years the loop channel from which the Bhagirathi was obtaining its supply was deteriorating and the left channel with the main Ganges was developing. During the rains of 1872, the loop channel silted up, so that it really formed an extension of the Bhagirathi. Outside the entrance at Joyrampore there was shoal water for distance of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles in October and the new channel from Joyrampore to Giria was shallow and difficult to work. It is recorded that the shoals were $6\frac{1}{2}$ times as numerous and 13 times as long as those of the preceding year. The toll revenue decreased as a result.

The Bhagirathi entrance was, however, kept open during the dry season with a width of channel of 80 to 100 ft. and

minimum depth of 2 ft. 3 in. at the entrance.

1873-74.—The season of 1873-74 was exceptionally dry and the Ganges fell one foot lower than in the previous year and owing to the presence of clay bed with great difficulty the entrance was kept open in the dry season by deepening the channel by means of *Kodalis* for small boats only.

1874-75.—In 1874-75 the Joyrampore entrance closed early in the season but the Chaurasia entrance was better and the river was kept navigable by boats drawing 3 ft. of water. In the next season, the condition of the entrance was the same.

1876-77.—The Chaurasia improved and the upper entrance at Joyrampore closed in December 1878. A minimum depth of 3 ft. was maintained in the dry season.

1877-78.—The Ganges after the floods began to fall quickly on account of draught in the United Provinces. The river was worked and the Chaurasia entrance was kept open with a minimum depth of 3 ft. of water.

1878-79.—The upper entrance at Joyrampore was getting worse every year and owing to the shoaling action of the Ganges at this point it was never worked since the lower entrance at Chaurasia opened in 1871. The upper entrance closed completely by the middle of November, 1878. The Ganges was cutting the right chak above Joyrampore entrance, the main stream being deflected from this point towards the left bank. The result was the shoaling in front of Joyrampore entrance and formation of a char above Chaurasia entrance. The entrance was kept open with a minimum depth of $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. of water, but the least depth in the river itself was only $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft.

1879-80.—The flood of 1879 was the highest on record upto that year. It was higher than the last high flood of 1871 by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches at Berhampore. The entrance was deepened but the condition of the river did not improve. There was minimum depth of 7 ft. at the entrance, but $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. in the river.

1880-81.—The main stream of the Ganges was flowing away from the right bank and so the char at the Chaurasia entrance was gradually increasing and this entrance closed by March 1881 after working for last 10 years.

1881-1884.—The state of the entrance was very bad and it closed early in the dry season. From the water reports, it is noticed that at the Joyrampore entrance there was only 6 inches of water in the dry season of 1881-82, 1882-83 and 9 inches in 1883-84. From Mr. Brown's report, dated 8th September 1883, it is found that in the dry season of 1881-82, a small cut about 100 ft. wide was made through clay bank at the Joyrampore entrance. The cut was not carried down to the subjacent sand below and so the channel was not scoured by the next floods. In the next dry season of 1882-83 another cut 280 ft. wide was again made through the clay bank alongside the old cut to 2 ft. below lowest water level without reaching sand. There was no immediate good result owing to these cuts. Mr. Brown also says in 1883 that Ganges water entering through Joyrampore entrance during the floods was flowing out of the Chaurasia entrance, the channel from Joypur *via* Nurpur to Chaurasia forming as it were a loop of the Ganges. The current in the lower entrance was so sluggish that it was getting silted up rapidly every year: so that the Ganges water in the beginning of monsoon coming through this entrance did not meet the water coming down through Joyrampore entrance till 15th July, 1883, when there was least depth of 11 ft. at the upper entrance.

The map of the entrance prepared in May 1883 (*vide* sheet No. 12), shows clearly that the upper Faracca channel from Faracca to Kaliganj had formed and connected with the Bhagirathi river. In this map of 1883 we see for the first time at Kaliganj the entire length of the Faracca channel except the lower reach recently developed from Biswanathpore to Chapghati, more or less, as it is at the present day. The entrance at Faracca was, however, high and was closed during dry weather. In map of 1847-48, sheet No. 4, the Ganges was extending far away in a big loop from the right bank between Faracca and Sooty and there was no existence of the Faracca channel. This big loop began to move down and flatten out and in the map of 1866-67, sheet No. 8, we see the Ganges dividing into the channels from Faracca down and reuniting at Joyrampore. The right branch of the Ganges between the two places is really the origin of the Faracca channel. As the loop of the

Ganges of 1866-67 below Joyrampore moved down and flattened out still further, the Ganges cut its right bank and the Joyrampore entrance also shifted with it, until it came down near Kaliganj and has thus been known since as Kaliganj entrance. The formation of the lower Faracca Channel from Joyrampore to Giria has been described already in the paragraph dealing with the year 1866-67. In the map of 1863, sheet No. 12, the lower outfall of the Faracca channel is the Chaurasia entrance which generally moved down in subsequent years with the extension of the big char below Joyrampore entrance, to its present position near Chapghati about 3 miles below Giria.

1884-85.—The head of the Bhagirathi was at Kaliganj. The entrance which had been in an unfavourable condition for the last 3 years took favourable turn this year and was kept open for navigation with a least depth of 3 to 4 ft. up to the end of March 1885. The cut through the hard clay bar which was started but not completed in 1881-82 and 1882-83 was taken advantage of this year to clear out a channel with the help of training works.

1885-87.—In May 1885, the channel at the head was again excavated to a depth of 4 ft. below low water level at a cost of Rs. 3,600 and this produced good result, as the channel was enlarged during the floods of this year. In November, 1885 sand banks and channels outside the entrance of the Bhagirathi river underwent rapid changes and with great difficulty a channel could be trained. In December a good supply of water was brought into the Bhagirathi which enabled all the shoals lower to be trained and a least depth of 3 to 4 ft. to be maintained for navigation upto the end of March as in the previous year.

Mr. Robert has mentioned that Ganges water was entering through the upper intake near Faracca and was flowing out of the lower intake near Kaliganj. As the flood subsided, the upper intake closed which caused stagnation and consequent formation of sand bar at the lower intake. This bar could be cleared only when there was flow into the Bhagirathi and with the help of training works.

The flood of 1885 was fairly high being only 7 inches lower than the flood of 1879 and this caused a breach at Lalitakuri.

The condition of the entrance in 1886-87 was the same as in the previous year.

1887-89.—During the rains of 1887 the lower entrance near Kaliganj silted up completely and the upper intake near Faracca opened out sufficiently to carry the whole discharge of the Bhagirathi. As the Ganges fell, however, a sand bar formed one mile below the entrance reducing the depth to 1½ ft. and admitting less water than in 1886-87. Training work done failed to keep the river open for navigation except for very light boats down to Katwa. Steamer service was maintained with difficulty as far as Katwa. The condition of the intake and the river was the same in 1888-89. The revenue administration of the Nadia rivers was transferred from the control of the Board of Revenue to the Public Works Department in 1888.

1889-90.—An attempt was made after the rains of 1889 to close the upper intake near Faracca and keep the lower intake near Kaliganj open during the dry months. This attempt failed and the lower intake was closed on the 12th November 1889 and the upper one on 2nd April 1890. No training works were, therefore, done above Katwa except at Berhampore and Lalbagh. Steamers plied up to Katwa till the end of February 1890.

1890-91.—The flood of 1890 in the Bhagirathi river was the highest upto date. It was higher than the flood of 1879, though the flood in the Ganges was the highest in 1879 recorded upto date. As the flood began to subside a strong flow from the Ganges was noticed through the lower entrance at Joyrampore near Kaliganj and the upper intake appeared to be closing but when the Ganges rose again in the 3rd week of September the conditions were reversed, so much so, that water was flowing out of the river intake which alternately closed on the 3rd November 1890. There was a big char 4 miles outside the upper intake at Nayansook (below Faracca) which was trained by spurs and *bandhal* with the result that 5 ft. of water was maintained at the head of a lowest depth of 4 ft. 6 inches in the river throughout the season. Compared with the last two years the river had improved this year very much though 68 shoals had to be retained in the river alone. It has been mentioned by Mr. Livesay, Executive Engineer, that the Bhagirathi river had such an

evil resumption as regards shoals that even with the improved condition boats preferred to use the Jalangi river which was in a better condition.

1891-92.—Owing to scarcity of rainfall the Ganges was exceptionally low this year. The *char* outside the upper entrance extended down stream leaving narrow back-water channel as shown in the sketch to feed the Bhagirathi river. As the Ganges began to subside a strong flow through the river intake of Joyrampore channel was observed but this channel dried up on 30th October 1891, and the supply was drawn through the Nayansook entrance. Although a larger sum was spent on training works than in the previous year, the results were not satisfactory. Navigation could not be kept open later than the end of February 1892 as the head came down to 1 ft. 9 in. In the lower section below Katwa steamer traffic was carried on till the middle of February 1892. The number of shoals trained was 70.

1892-94.—The *char* in front of Nayansook entrance having extended too far down the narrow back-water channel described above closed and a new intake opened through the lower *char* shown in survey map of 1893-94 sheet No. 14. With the help of training works a number of small channels at the head were closed and a least depth of 3 ft. 3 inches was maintained throughout the season. The Joyrampore entrance dried up on the 18th October, 1892. There was no change in the position of the upper intake which had improved a little, so that a greater depth for a longer period was maintained in the Bhagirathi than in 1892-93.

1894-95.—Since 1891 the Ganges has been encroaching gradually on the Bhagirathi below the lower intake at Kaliganj, *vide* Memo. No. 13 of 1890 and No. 14 of 1894 and during the flood of 1894 which was only 8½" lower than the high flood of 1890. The Ganges cut away the intervening *char* leaving a narrow strip of land separating the Bhagirathi from the Ganges. On the 17th August, 1894, a new entrance formed at Narainpur known also as Toktikipara entrance about 2 miles above the old Chaurasia entrance. The new entrance channel was at first only 18 ft. wide, but soon enlarged to a width of 2 miles during the rains. As the Ganges fell in level, the new entrance

narrowed down and was further contracted to a width of 150 ft. by *bandhals*. The river was in a better condition throughout the year in the past few years, the least depth of water being 4 ft.

1895-98.—After the floods of 1895 a connection was made at Madanpore between the Ganges and the old Bhagirathi so that the latter between Madanpore and Narainpore became, as it were, an arm of the Ganges which had its intake from the main Ganges above old Joyrampore entrance, *vide* map No. 15 (1897-98). This arm or loop channel is known in later years as Mondai loop. With the Ganges shifting gradually towards the Bhagirathi, the arm of the Ganges began to encroach on its right bank from below Madanpore and on the Bhagirathi entrance at Madanpore. It is seen from the map of 1897-98 that this arm of the Ganges below Madanpore and Narainpore which was formerly the old channel of the Bhagirathi, developed into a wide and deep channel, so that the Bhagirathi river received its supply directly from this channel during dry weather, and training works were only necessary at Narainpore which was practically the head of the Bhagirathi. After the floods of 1895, the entrance at Narainpore seems to have deteriorated suddenly with the formation of a sand bar. There were only 3 inches depth of water on 29th May 1896 over the entrance bar. Next year, it is recorded that between 24th and 28th August 1896 the depth of water at the entrance shoaled up from 15 ft. to 4 ft. with no variation of gauge owing to very weak flow into the Bhagirathi. The Ganges towards the end of the dry season was 3 ft. lower than the bed of the Bhagirathi at the entrance and it was not until the middle of June that Ganges water entered the Bhagirathi river, though the Ganges began to rise early in May. Training works done in September were of little use as the Ganges fell rapidly. The floods in the Bhagirathi river were very low this year and the entrance closed in January 1897. The floods of 1897 were 2 ft. higher and the entrance was in a slightly better condition than in 1896-97, there being 6" of water over the bar in April.

1898-99.—The flood of 1898 was still 2½ ft. higher than that of 1897 and was only 1' 3" below the record flood of 1890. The high flood also continued

for a long time. The entrance was practically the same as in the previous year. Training works could not improve the entrance as the in-flow velocity was not sufficient owing to local heavy rainfall of about 8" in the middle of October which kept up the level of the Bhagirathi while the Ganges also fell rapidly. The entrance was practically closed to through traffic early in January 1899 when the depth was only 1'-6" which was reduced to only 3" in April.

1899-1900.—Next year, an attempt was made to train a channel a little over half a mile above the Narainpore entrance which was connected with the Bhagirathi river at Momintola, *vide* map No. 16 but this did not succeed.

The least depth of water 1' 9" was in the month of December 1899.

1900-1901.—In this year probably before the rains of 1900 a cut was made across the loop of the Bhagirathi river above Raghunathganj (Jangipore) through a series of pools. This shortened the length by 2 miles. The river below the entrance was in better condition than it had been since 1894-95, though there was only 3 inches of water at the head in May, 1901.

1901-02.—In the next year the floods were low and the river fell rapidly so that the shoals were slightly worse than in 1900-01. The entrance was in the same condition, the least depth being only 3" at the end of April, 1902. It has been stated that the loop channel of the Ganges flowing past the entrance at Narainpore known in later years as Faracca channel was gradually cutting the right bank. The entrance which was more than 2 miles away from Giria Bungalow in 1894-95 was within 1¼ miles of it in 1901-02.

1902-1907.—The Ganges, as has been stated already, was gradually approaching the Bhagirathi entrance and after the floods of 1902, it was seen that the Faracca channel was practically absorbed by the Ganges about a mile and a half above the Bhagirathi entrance at Biswanathpore. As the bed of the Ganges below Biswanathpore was moving down stream every year the *chars* separating the Faracca channel from the Ganges were also extending.

After the floods of 1906 isolated *chars* opposite the entrance of 1904-05 and 1905-06 were connected together

with the main high *char* separating Faracca channel from the Ganges and extended down from one mile below the entrance.

The entrance during these years, 1902-07, was in the same position, viz., at Biswanathpore.

In 1902 the Ganges water entered the Bhagirathi on the 15th June and the head was closed in April 1903. Next year the flood water entered the Bhagirathi much earlier, i.e., on the 10th May, 1903 and the entrance was closed to traffic at the end of January 1904 and dried up in April. The flood of 1904 in the Bhagirathi river was very high being only 0.98 ft. below the record flood of 1890 at Berhampore. For many years past, since 1895-96 the Bhagirathi water was flowing back into the Ganges towards the end of February and the head was dry by the end of March. In the year 1904-05, however, water was flowing from the Ganges into the Bhagirathi which maintained a least depth of 1 ft. 6 inches at the entrance even at the end of April 1905, and was navigable for small boats throughout the year. In the following year the entrance was closed to traffic there being only 6" of water by the middle of February. The flood of 1906 was the second highest flood up to date, being only 0.42 ft. below the highest flood of 1890 at Berhampore. The river was open to boat traffic throughout the year, the least depth at the entrance being 1 ft. 3 inches in April 1907.

1907-09.—From the relative position of the Faracca channel and the Ganges it will be seen that the Ganges has shifted very far away from the old entrance of the Faracca channel at Nayanook. The Faracca channel received its supply of water during the flood season through the entrance at Faracca and through Mondai loop, but in the dry weather, the Bhagirathi had to depend for its supply on the intake at Faracca alone. From the training works done not only at Biswanathpore but also at Faracca it is evident that the intake at Faracca had deteriorated.

1907-08.—The river Bhagirathi began to rise from the 5th June, 1907 and continued to do so up to the 27th August 1907, after which it began to fall. The H. F. L. of the year at Berhampore was 4.79 ft. below the maximum

flood level of 1890. The river was nominally open throughout the year and the depth over the shoals were too small to admit of through navigation during the dry months. The least depth of water at the entrance was only 0' 6" on 22nd May, 1908.

1908-09.—In 1908-09 the Bhagirathi began to rise as in the previous year on the 5th June, 1908, and continued to rise till 11th September 1908 after which it began to fall. The H. F. L. at Berhampore gauge was 1.04 ft. above that of the previous year. Out of altogether 39 shoals in the whole length of the river upto Nadia, 34 shoals were practically trained and the river was navigable up to the end of January 1909. In the dry season, the depths over the shoals were too small for navigation. The general condition of the river was worse than that of the previous year due to the Ganges being nearly 5' lower than in the preceding year from January to March.

Dredging operations were done at Faracca and Biswanathpore entrances and least depth of 4" was maintained only at the entrance in April 1909. The dredging done was not effective in securing shoals below the entrance as the least depth of water in the section from the entrance to Jangipore was only 9", from Jangipore to Berhampore was 6", from Berhampore to Katwa was 9", and from Katwa to Nadia was 1' 0".

1909-10.—The general condition of the river in this season was more favourable than in the 2 previous years due to the construction of a temporary cross dam below Biswanathpore entrance in the lower Faracca channel diverting all the available discharges into the Bhagirathi.

A new entrance which opened at Mondai, 4 miles above the Bhagirathi entrance was trained, but it ran dry in November 1909.

The least depth of water at the entrance was 1' 0" in the beginning of February 1910. The lower reaches of the Bhagirathi were in good condition, the flood of the year being nearly 4 ft. higher than that of the previous year.

1910-11.—Owing to the encroachment of the Ganges towards the Faracca channel at Kaliganj a new entrance opened at Kaliganj near Chapghati about 8 miles from the Biswanathpore entrance.

The general condition of the river was better than in the previous years due to longer duration of the floods and to the opening of the Kaliganj entrance.

The supply entering the Faracca channel in the dry season in the past few years was very small, but after the floods of 1910, there was a considerable discharge—estimated in January, 1911 to be 4650 cusecs, passing down the Faracca channel below Kaliganj. The greater portion of this discharge passed back into the Ganges below the Bhagirathi entrance. Mr. Butler, Chief Engineer, remarked that the dredging operation at the mouth of the Bhagirathi at its off-take from the Ganges from 1908 to 1911 made sanitary improvements only owing to a slightly increased flow in the river. The more favourable result obtained in 1911 was due to the new intake at Kaliganj and to the water level in the Ganges during the dry season of 1910-1911 being higher than usual.

The following table gives the discharge in cusecs observed at the entrance and at Berhampore during the previous three years in cold weather:—

Months.	1909.		1910.		1911.	
	At entrance.	At Berhampore.	At entrance.	At Berhampore.	At entrance.	At Berhampore.
December	509	1,109	128	586	1,820	3,015
January ..	344	782	Nil	304	655	2,067
February ..	95	481	115	364	4,165	1,583
March ..	Nil	361	85	355	2,490	1,128
April ..	Nil	329	48	323	2,353	1,085
May ..	24	368	Not observed.	180	3,089	1,114

The river was navigable throughout the year with a least depth of 3 ft. water over the shoals. Large boats plied from 25th June to the end of December 1910.

1911-12.—The object of the training works yearly taken up at the Biswanathpur entrance for some years past was

to scour a bad shoal about 2½ miles long formed at the entrance known as Biswanathpur shoal. This year no dredger was available and *bandhalling* works were started on the 28th October 1911 and continued till 19th January, 1912. In the middle of February, 1912, a *char* appeared at the right side of the entrance and showed a marked tendency to develop and form a junction with the big *char* on the left bank of the Faracca channel. This bar was scraped with iron sheet and wooden plank scrapers and a channel of 20 ft. wide and 1 feet 6 inches deep was maintained to the close of the dry season.

One noticeable fact during the year was that on 15th November, 1911, discharge observed into the Bhagirathi at the entrance was 13,675 cusecs and on the 30th November it was only 1,547 cusecs. This large reduction in the discharge was attributed to the scouring out of the lower Faracca channel which drew off the greater portion of the discharge into the main Ganges.

1912-13.—The Kaliganj entrance began to deteriorate since the previous year and the Mondai entrance which opened in 1909-10 considerably improved this year. The main stream of the Ganges passed through the Faracca channel through Mondai entrance and reunited with the Ganges near Kalitola.

A length of 2,400 ft. of Biswanathpur shoal was dredged and the lower channel was *bandhalled*, a least depth of 1 ft. 6 inches was maintained in the upper section of the river.

After the dredging operation was done, the Chief Engineer remarked that it was not possible to keep a navigable channel for the whole year by dredging except at a prohibitive recurring cost.

1913-14.—The Entrance did not undergo any perceptible changes. The dredger "*Rescue*" worked at the Biswanathpur entrance and with combined dredging and *bandhalling* works, a least depth of 2 ft. was maintained.

During the dry season the Bhagirathi was drawing a small portion of the Faracca water as in the previous year. It is stated that the Bhagirathi from the entrance down got silted from the sands scoured in the Mondai entrance channel near Noorpur. The bed of the river also became higher than low water level in the Faracca channel.

1914-15.—It has been described in dealing with the relative position of the Ganges and the Faracca channel for the year 1907-08 that the Ganges was far away from the Faracca channel between Dhulian and Kaliganj. Since then the Ganges has been gradually shifting towards the right bank reducing the width of the intervening *char* and resulting in the opening of Mondai entrance in 1909-10 and Kaliganj entrance in 1910-11. The condition of the two entrances is seen in the Map No. 20 of 1911-12. The direction of the main stream of the Ganges, it will be seen, was towards the Mondai entrance which improved considerably in 1912-13, so much so, that the Faracca channel from Mondai became the main line of navigation for boats and steamers. The Ganges continued encroaching on the right bank near Dhulian as we see from the survey map of the Faracca channel of 1914-15. The Ganges was little over half a mile from Faracca channel at Dhulian. The Faracca channel was fed by 3 entrances from the Ganges, viz., at Faracca, Kaliganj and Mondai, the upper two of which dried up every year while the Mondai entrance remained open with a very strong current flowing through it. The outer channel of the Ganges was shallow with only 5 ft. of water as against 12½ ft. depth in the lower Faracca channel during the cold weather. During this year, the dredger *Nemotha* dredged a total length of 14108 ft. in 146 days. *Bandhalling* and scraping were also done. The operations were, however, not successful. The upper section of the river from Plassey to entrance was navigable for boats up to December 1914, steamer service from Calcutta to Azimganj being maintained up to 3rd December 1914.

1913-21.—Owing to the deflection of the main Ganges towards the left bank from below Dhulian and formation of shoals near Mondai, the Mondai entrance silted up and the Kaliganj entrance opened again after the flood of 1915.

After the flood of 1916, a shoal formed just below Kaliganj entrance dividing the channel into two streams, *vide* sketch of 1916. This caused so much deterioration of the lower Faracca that with *bandhalling* works the channel remained open for small boat traffic, while the outer channel of the Ganges became again navigable for steamer traffic.

Though dredging was done every year to keep the entrance open it was not very effective as it was not possible within a short time available to extend the dredging operation much further down the river. Since 1913-14 a back flow was set up in the dry season from Giria to the entrance.

In 1912-13 and previous years, the Giria gauge was lower than the entrance gauge indicating that there was flow from the Faracca channel but since 1913-14, conditions altered and the Giria gauge which was 4,000 ft. below entrance gauge at Biswanathpore was reading higher from the dates mentioned below:—

1913-14	from the 1st week of March.
1914-15	Ditto February.
1915-16	Ditto January.
1916-17	Ditto January.
1917-18	from the 2nd week of November.
1918-19	from the 1st week of October.
1919-20	Ditto December.

During the five years 1916-17 to 1920-21 both Faracca and Mondai entrances used to dry up and the Kaliganj entrance was only feeding Faracca channel. Since 1917-18 to date, no dredging operation has been carried out, instead, *bandhalling* at the entrance was done every year up to 1922-23.

The information regarding the closing of the entrance and the least depths is given below for the years 1915-21.

Month and date.	Least depth at the Bhagirathi entrance.	
7-5-1915	..	1' 0"
28-5-1916	..	0' 3"
23-4-1917	..	0' 3"
24-5-1918	..	Closed.
26-11-1919	..	Do.
19-11-1920	..	Do.
15-12-1921	..	Do

The discharges entering the Bhagirathi as measured at Giria on 1st December of each year are also noted below:—

Date and year.	Sectional area in sq. feet below the highest known flood level of 1890.	Observed discharges in cusecs.
1st December 1914	.. 27,500	1,098
.. 1915	.. 25,862	733
.. 1916	.. 24,722	1,232
.. 1917	.. 22,696	22
.. 1918	.. 23,125	Nil.

The bed of the shoal at the entrance has been rising higher every year as will be evident from the levels below:—

Year.	Date.	Bed at Biswanathpore.
1914-15	.. 16th October	.. 49.199 P.W.D.
1915-16	.. 29th ..	.. 49.099
1916-17	.. 22nd ..	.. 52.689
1917-18	.. 22nd ..	.. 54.809
1918-19	.. 16th ..	.. 55.699
1919-20	.. 31st ..	.. 55.450
1920-21	.. 18th ..	.. 50.75

In 1919-20 the Bhagirathi entrance closed on the 26th November 1919. On the 25th November 1919 discharge of 12.870 cusecs was observed in the Faracca above the entrance while on 1st December 1919 a discharge of 446 cusecs due to percolation only was observed in the Bhagirathi at Giria there being no flow from the Faracca channel.

1921-22.—The changes of the Ganges and the development of its loops affecting the Bhagirathi entrance have been briefly described from 1781. The map of 1905-06 shows two loops of the Ganges, one extending from Faracca to Kaliganj and the other from Kaliganj to Biswanathpore. The gradual flattening out of these two loops is seen from the maps of 1914-15 and of 1922-23. During this year, another change took place, that is, the main stream of the Ganges after leaving Faracca crossed to the opposite bank from which it was deflected again towards Dhulian and it was due to this action that a large *char* between Bamungram and Dhulian was washed away in September 1921 and a new entrance opened at Dhulian with the main Ganges flowing past this entrance. The main current of the Ganges after striking the Dhulian bank was gently deflected towards the left bank to return again to the right bank near Kalitola. From the above it will be seen that the two old loops of the Ganges of 1905-06 were gradually replaced by a small loop extending from Faracca to Dhulian and another long flattened loop from Dhulian to Kalitola. This has resulted in the formation of extensive shoals on the right bank between Momin-tola and Kalitola which have practically closed the Kaliganj and Biswanathpore entrances, during the dry season.

It may be mentioned that although a new entrance opened at Dhulian which was the deepset entrance, the water entering through the entrance actually flowed out into the Ganges at Kaliganj, so that the Faracca channel from Dhulian to Kaliganj may be called an arm

of the Ganges. The Faracca channel at Kaliganj had been absorbed in the past in the Ganges for a length of about a mile and this channel below Kaliganj was again drawing its supply from the Ganges near Chapghati about a mile below the exit of water coming from Dhulian. So that the Dhulian entrance did not improve the supply into the Bhagirathi except during falling floods, when the Ganges spill is cut off. Ganges water first entered on the 29th June 1921 through Kaliganj or properly speaking Chapghati entrance which ran dry about the first week of November 1921 and then the Bhagirathi river was fed through Dhulian entrance till the middle of December, when the Faracca channel was disconnected from the Ganges by a sand bar at the entrance to divert all water flowing out of the lower Faracca channel into the Bhagirathi which was successful. Up to the year 1925 during the dry season the Bhagirathi water was flowing out into the Ganges through the lower Faracca channel which was closed in 1926 by *bandhals*. The result was that the level of the Bhagirathi at Biswanathpore was much higher than in the past few years and was five feet high in 1920-21 as will be seen from the following gauge readings at Biswanathpore:

Year.	High flood level:	Level on 15th Decem-ber.
1916	.. 73.90	50.80
1917	.. 73.90	51.90
1918	.. 75.20	48.75
1919	.. 74.20	50.15
1920	.. 70.45	49.25
1921	.. 72.05	53.60
1922	.. 73.70	52.75

1922-25.—In 1922 there were 3 distinct high floods higher than normal floods and all rising to about the same height, the H.F.L. at Giria being 73.20 P. W. D. datum. The main stream of the Ganges was still striking the right bank at Dhulian entrance in 1922. The high *char* separating the Ganges from the Faracca channel was also attacked by the main current of the Ganges from below Dhulian causing great erosion of the *char*. The bed and left bank of the entrance channel striking the entrance in 1922, and consequently the position of the entrance even now is the same as in 1922. In 1923 the floods were low, and though the main current was still flowing along Dhulian bank, it was striking the *char* about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile below the entrance. The eroding action on the *char*, however, continued and after the floods of

1923, only a narrow neck of 1,000 ft. was left about a mile below the entrance.

At Biswanathpore entrance a considerable change has been taking place since 1917. After the floods of this year silting up of the Faracca channel above and below Biswanathpore was noticed. Rapid deterioration of the lower Faracca channel below Biswanathpore took place during the floods of 1922 and this has continued since. Prior to the year 1923, Ganges water coming down the Faracca channel was flowing out into the Ganges at Chapghati. Since 1922 vegetation has grown on the bed of lower Faracca channel accelerating the deposit of silt owing to the deterioration of the lower Faracca channel and the diversion of all water from the Faracca channel into the Bhagirathi, extensive erosion of left bank of the Bhagirathi river from Biswanathpore to Giria took place in 1922 and 1923 and the entrance shoal at Biswanathpore was converted into one deep pool from Noorpore down to Giria. The erosion at Giria has, however, ceased from 1924 owing to the river having been able to adjust its bend at Biswanathpore. The Faracca channel from Kaliganj to Chapghati which was formerly a loop of the Ganges since 1923 has ceased to be so and has become really an extension of the Bhagirathi and the lower Faracca channel instead of being an outlet has become a feeding channel of the Bhagirathi. The above changes will be evident from the discharges observed in the Faracca channel and at Giria given in the statement below. Great changes occurred after the floods of 1924 at Dhulian. As stated already, the Ganges after leaving Faracca was striking the opposite bank and eroding it above Dhulian. The *char* just above Dhulian was extending again towards the left bank and downstream.

Since 1923 and after the floods of 1924 the Ganges above Dhulian shifted about a mile away from Dhulian and bifurcated into two channels, the main stream again flowing past Dhulian entrance in the dry season with a sharp S bend and striking the right bank about a mile below the entrance. The narrow neck of 1,000 ft. left after the floods of 1923, was reduced to only 165 ft. by the floods of 1924 and it is likely that this strip will disappear during the falling floods of 1925.

During all these years there were 4 entrances, viz., Dhulian, Kaliganj, Mondai and Biswanathpore; of these the Kaliganj (Chapghati) entrance alone is practically feeding the Bhagirathi during the flood season. During the flood season the deepest entrance is the Dhulian with more than 20 ft. of water at Kaliganj—the least depth is usually between 6 and 9 ft. during the flood season. The Mondai entrance runs over a stretch of high shoals and it is only during high floods, that the Ganges spills over this entrance through a shallow channel into a Faracca channel above Noorpore.

A statement of discharges taken in Faracca channel at Dhulian and Kaliganj observed in 1925 will give an idea of the supply through the different entrances during the flood season. On 7th August 1925 a quantity of 22,819 cusecs was entering Dhulian entrance which after being supplemented by spills was found to be 23,074 cusecs above Kaliganj. This volume of water was found to be flowing out into the Ganges about a mile below at Chapghati on the same date. The Faracca channel was drawing 34,301 cusecs of water from the extensive spill of the Ganges between Kaliganj and Chapghati. It is noticed that on 8th August 1925, the lower Faracca channel was also supplying the Bhagirathi at Biswanathpore 10,265 cusecs from the Ganges at Chapghati. The discharge observed on the 8th August 1925 at Giria amounting to 49,588 cusecs represents the total volume of water coming through Chapghati, Mondai, Chapghati entrance and small spills.

In 1922 the Ganges flood first entered into the Bhagirathi river through Kaliganj entrance on the 27th June,—the water through Dhulian entrance could not flow down earlier owing to the existence of high shoals. Dhulian entrance closed in the second week of November but Kaliganj remained open till the end of this month. The dates when the different entrances opened and closed in 1923, 1924 and 1925, are noted below :—

Year.	Date of opening of entrance.	Date of closing of entrance.
1923 ..	Kaliganj entrance on 21st June.	Closed in 2nd week of November.
	Dhulian entrance on 24th June.	Closed in 1st week of January 1924.
1924 ..	Dhulian entrance on 24th June.	Closed on 26th October.
	Kaliganj entrance on 4th July.	Closed on 11th December.

Year.	Date of opening of entrance.	Date of closing of entrance.
1925 ..	Dhulian entrance on 12th June.	11th November 1925.
	Kaliganj entrance on 1st July.	17th October 1925.

During all these years, of course, the Mondai entrance closed first and then the Chapghati entrance quite early in the year. The reason for the entry of the Ganges flood in 1925 is due to the unusually early rise of the Ganges. In 48 hours between the 2nd and 4th July 1925, the Ganges rose 5 feet at Dhulian and the Bhagirathi rose 6 ft. between

the 4th and 6th July at Berhampore. Though the floods came down quite early in 1925, they are much lower up to August than in the past few years.

The last *bandhalling* operations, at the Bhagirathi entrance at Dhulian and Kaliganj and down to Jangipore were carried out in the year 1922-23, but owing to the rapid fall of the Ganges the operations were not very successful. From 1st September 1923 the Nadia rivers were thrown open to Navigation free of tolls and *bandhalling* operations were only done in a restricted manner between Azimganj and Berhampore and between Katwa and Nabadwip.

Statement of discharges observed in the upper reaches of the Bhagirathi in 1925.

Place of observation.	Date.	River's level.			Discharges in cusecs.
500ft. below Dhulian entrance in Faracca Channel	22-7-25	71.60 (Dhulian)			19,385
	7-8-25	74.18			22,819
	21-8-25	76.13			24,754
Faracca Channel above Kaliganj entrance ..	22-7-25	71.60			20,723
	7-8-25	74.18			23,074
	21-8-25	76.13			Could not be taken owing to high wind.
Faracca channel below Kaliganj (Chapghati) entrance.		W.	L.	Ch.	
	22-7-25	71	6068	54	24,805
	7-8-25	74	1871	25	34,301
Lower Faracca channel below Biswanathpore ..	21-8-25	76	1373	31	30,462
	23-7-25	66.33 (Giria)			6,497
	28-8-25	68.82 (Giria)			10,265
Giria in the Bhagirathi	23-8-25	70.78 (Giria)			14,646
	23-7-25	66.33 (Giria)			37,919
	8-8-25	68.02 (Giria)			49,588
Jangipore in the Bhagirathi	23-8-25	70.78 (Giria)			60,893
	23-7-25	63.90 (Jangipore)			45,978
	9-8-25	66.65 (Jangipore)			60,590
	23-8-25	68.75 (Jangipore)			71,975

Complete statement of discharges of the Faracca channel and the Bhagirathi in different years.

Place of observation.	Year.	Date.	River's level.	Discharge in cusecs.
Upper Faracca and the Bhagirathi	1921-22 ..	8th October ..	63.20	51,302
		23rd October ..	58.55	4,764
		8th November ..	56.05	1,619
	1922-23 ..	8th October ..	66.96	54,317
		23rd October ..	58.50	3,114
		8th November ..	54.75	1,089

Place of observation.	Year.	Date.	River's level.	Discharge in cuasecs.
Lower Faracca between Bhagirathi	1924-25 ..	20th September ..	71·60	54,453
		15th October ..	65·50	24,809
		28th October ..	57·10	10,355
	1921-22 ..	8th October ..	63·20	22,802
		23rd October ..	58·55	581
		8th November ..	56·05	Nil.
	1922-23 ..	8th October ..	66·95	12,040
		23rd October ..	58·50	173
		8th November ..	54·75	Nil.
	1924-25 ..	20th September ..	71·60	11,833
		15th October ..	65·50	9,038
		28th October ..	57·10	..
Giria	1921-22 ..	8th October ..	63·20	17,788
		23rd October ..	58·55	5,314
		8th November ..	56·05	1,129
	1921-22 ..	8th October ..	63·20	17,788
		23rd October ..	58·55	5,314
		8th November ..	56·05	1,129
	1922-23 ..	8th October ..	66·95	32,490
		23rd October ..	58·50	5,976
		8th November ..	54·75	1,106
	1924-25 ..	20th September ..	71·60	70,912
		15th October ..	65·50	39,488
		28th October ..	57·10	10,997

Statement showing the highest flood levels and lowest water levels of the river Bhagirathi at Dimanpur in P. W. D. datum from 1885-1925.

Year	Date.	H. F. L.	Date.	L. W. L.	Remarks.
1885	19th August ..	61·75	7th, 8th May ..	34·29	
1886	18th September ..	62·25	23rd April ..	36·25	
1887	11th September ..	61·46	16th, 18th April ..	34·25	
1888	29th August ..	62·67	1st May ..	33·00	
1889	31st August ..	62·88	15th May ..	33·00	
1890	14th August ..	63·48	14th May ..	33·92	
1891	29th August ..	59·08	25th April ..	33·50	
1892	10th, 11th September	61·62	24th May ..	33·00	
1893	20th August ..	60·46	22nd April ..	34·58	
1894	29th August ..	62·79	10th May ..	34·62	
1895	19th, 20th August	58·62	2nd May ..	34·87	
1896	26th, 27th August	57·83	8th May ..	32·98	
1897	29th to 31st August	59·75	30th April ..	32·66	
1898	24th September ..	62·23	9th May ..	32·75	
1899	3rd August ..	61·21	11th May ..	33·83	

Year.	Date.	H. F. L.	Date.	L. W. L.	Remarks.
1900	23rd September	60.13	20th May	34.20	
1901	11th, 12th September	61.96	20th April	34.29	
1902	18th, 19th September	59.00	25th April	34.56	
1903	19th September	59.42	24th May	34.54	
1904	25th, 26th August	62.50	2nd May	34.81	
1905	3rd, 4th September	59.08	26th April	34.52	
1906	27th August	63.06	14th May	33.66	
1907	27th, 28th August	58.75	24th May	35.08	
1908	11th September	59.79	26th May	33.08	
1909	3rd September	59.42	27th May	34.25	
1910	25th August	61.54	5th May	34.49	
1911	21st September	61.38	2nd April	34.87	
1912	25th, 26th August	58.15	14th May	34.45	
1913	17th August	58.80	9th May	34.65	
1914	4th September	59.08	8th April	34.10	
1915	19th, 20th August	58.16	1st May	35.25	
1916	11th September	58.51	20th May	34.00	
1917	19th August	59.34	9th May	33.86	
1918	30th August	59.46	28th April	34.26	
1919	14th September	59.91	31st March	34.21	
1920	7th August	55.31	21st May	33.70	
1921	2nd September	57.41	23rd May	33.80	
1922	14th September	58.61	24th May	32.70	
1923	28th, 29th August	57.11	16th May	34.66	
1924	19th August	57.41	20th May	34.66	
1925	..	..	18th May	34.76	

Statement showing lowest depth at the entrance from 1840 to 1924.

Year.	Date.	Lowest depth at the entrance.	Remarks.
		Ft. Inch.	
1840	..	3 0	
1841	..	3 4	
1842	..	3 9	
1843	..	3 3	
1844	..	3 0	
1845	..	3 4	
1846	..	2 5	
1847	..	0 6	
1848	..	3 0	
1849	..	2 0	
1850	..	3 0	
1851	Closed in February 1851.
1852	

Year.	Date.	Lowest depth at the entrance.	Remarks.
		Ft. Inch	
1853		0 2	
1854		No record.	
1855		0 6	
1856		0 1	
1857		..	Closed.
1858		..	Closed.
1859		..	Closed.
1860		..	Closed.
1861		..	Closed.
1862		3 0	
1863		2 3	
1864		2 0	
1865		2 0	
1866		2 6	
1867		3 0	
1868		2 6	
1869		3 10	
1870		2 3	
1871		3 9	
1872		3 6½	
1873		1 10	
1874		2 0	
1875		3 0	
1876		2 6	
1877		3 0	
1878		3 0	
1879		3 6	
1880		6 0	
1881		..	Closed.
1882		0 6	
1883		0 6	
1884		0 9	
1885	30th April	3 2	Very little water over this.
1886	1st April	2 3	
1887	1st April	3 6	
1888	21st December	3 0	} Not sufficient water over this. Open for light boats only.
1889	15th March	1 6	
1890	2nd April	..	Closed.
1891	29th April	4 6	
1892	29th March	1 9	
1893	9th March	3 3	
1894	17th May	3 6	
1895	29th April	4 0	Lowest depth in the river 2' 6".

Year.			Date.	Lowest depth at the entrance.	Remarks.
				Ft. inch.	
1896	..	..	29th May	0 3	
1897	..	..	29th January	..	Closed.
1898	..	..	8th April	0 6	
1899	..	..	15th April	0 3	
1900	..	..	28th December	1 9	
1901	..	..	17th May	0 3	
1902	..	..	25th April	0 3	
1903	..	..	17th April	..	Closed.
1904	..	..	1st April	..	Closed.
1905	..	..	28th April	1 6	
1906	..	..	27th March	..	Closed
1907	..	..	8th April	1 3	
1908	..	..	22nd May	0 6	
1909	..	..	23rd April	4 0	
1910	..	..	4th February	1 0	
1911	..	..	28th May	3 0	
1912	..	..	3rd May	1 0	
1913	..	..	18th February	2 0	
1914	..	..	6th April	0 8	
1915	..	..	7th May	1 0	
1916	..	..	28th May	0 3	
1917	..	..	23rd April	0 3	Closed on 4-4-1917.
1918	..	..	24th May	..	Closed since 20-11-1917.
1918	..	..	26th May	..	Closed.
1920	..	..	19th November	..	Closed.
1921	..	..	..	..	Closed by middle of December 1921.
1922	..	..	..	..	Closed by last week of November 1922.
1923	..	..	..	..	Closed by first week of January 1924.
1924	..	..	26th December	..	Closed by first week of January 1924.

Statement of highest flood level and lowest water level in the river Bhagirathi at Berhampore in P. W. D. datum from 1854.

Year.		Date.	H. F. L.	Date.	L. W. L.	Remarks.
1854	58-50	..	33-00	
1855	58-58	..	33-00	
1856	61-70	..	32-50	
1857	61-32	..	33-50	
1858	61-08	..	33-50	
1859	59-60	..	33-25	
1860	57-50	..	32-50	

Year.	Date.	H. F. L.	Date.	L. W. L.	Remarks.
1861 .. ..	..	61·54	..	32·50	
1862 .. ..	..	60·79	..	33·25	
1863 .. ..	..	59·73	..	32·50	
1864 .. ..	..	56·40	..	31·00	
1865 .. ..	..	60·36	..	32·44	
1866 .. ..	..	57·41	..	32·00	
1867 .. ..	..	61·02	..	Sand char.	
1868 .. ..	..	55·75	..	32·70	
1869 .. ..	..	59·07	..	32·50	
1870 .. ..	..	62·00	..	32·94	
1871 .. ..	..	62·04	..	35·37	
1872 .. ..	..	61·00	..	36·32	
1873	20th August	58·91	..	32·21	
1874	5th September	61·56	..	32·15	
1875	12th August...	59·37	..	33·87	
1876	9th August ..	59·95	..	32·81	
1877	15th September	56·25	..	33·95	
1878	7th September	58·62	..	32·38	
1879	26th August	62·25	..	32·81	
1880 .. ..	..	56·54	..	33·75	
1881	1st September	60·32	..	32·66	
1882	17th August ..	57·00	..	32·77	
1883	21st September	56·20	..	32·00	
1884	25th August ..	59·37	..	32·00	

86. **The Government Committees.**—The Government had been keen on watching the conditions. In the year 1853 a Committee was appointed to go into the question of the decadence of the Hughli. Since 1824, measures were taken to maintain open channels for navigation but with little success. In 1888 a separate Division of the Public Works Department called the Nadia Rivers Division was formed and placed under an Executive Engineer for the control of the channels in the group of rivers known as the Nadia rivers. The channels are attempted to be kept open with bamboo and mat spurs called *bandhals* as stated before. The operation is getting more and more restricted.

For some years' dredging operations were conducted in the mouth of the Bhagirathi where it opened out from the loop of the Padma known as the Faracca channel. But neither *bandhal-ling* nor the dredging has succeeded in arresting the steady decline in the condition of the river. The reasons

for the decay have been given by different sets of experts. I only note them to help in a study in future.

87. **Nature and geological formation of the delta.**—It has been urged by some that the main reason is the natural decay of rivers in areas where they have completed the work of alluvial formation.

The point of view was emphasised by Dr. Thomas Oldham in an article published in the proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1870:—

"I suppose no one will hesitate to acknowledge that the whole of the country lying between the Hooghly on the west and the Meghna on the east is only the delta caused by the deposition of the *debris* carried down by the rivers Ganges and Brahmaputra and their tributaries. It is also equally well-known that in such flats the streams are constantly altering their courses, eating away on one bank and depositing on the other, until the channel in which they

formerly flowed becomes choked up, and the water is compelled to seek another course. It is also certain that, in this peculiar delta, the general course of the main water of the Ganges has gradually tracked from the west towards the east, until of late years, the larger body of the waters of the Ganges have united with those of the Brahmaputra, and have together proceeded to the sea as the Meghna. Every stream, whether large or small flowing through such a flat, tends to raise its own bed or channel by the deposition of the silt and sand it holds suspended in its waters, and by this gradual deposition the channel bed of the stream is raised above the actual level of the adjoining flats. It is impossible to suppose a river continuing to flow along the top of a raised bank, if not compelled to do so by artificial means and the consequence of this filling in and raising of its bed is that, at the first opportunity, the stream necessarily abandons its course, and seeks a new channel in the lower ground adjoining, until, after successive changes, it has gradually wandered over the whole flat and raised the entire surface to the same general level. The same process is then repeated, new channels are cut out, and new deposits formed.

"Bearing these admitted principles in mind, look to the delta of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra. The Ganges river emerging from its upper levels round the Rajmahal Hills, and prevented by their solid rocky barrier from cutting further to the west, sought its channel in the lower ground adjoining, and originally the main body of its waters flowed along the general course now indicated by the Bhagirathi and the Hooghly. But gradually filling up this channel, it was again compelled to seek a new course in the lower, because as yet comparatively unfilled-in, ground lying to the east. And the same process being repeated, it wandered successively from the rocky western limit of the delta-flat towards the eastern. If this progress eastwards was allowed to be sufficiently slow to admit of the gradual filling in of the country adjoining, the delta was formed continuously up to the same general level, and the larger streams or channels, passing through this flat to the sea, became unavoidably diminished in size and in the quantity and force of the water they carried, the main body passing around further to the

east and having its course in the channels successively formed there."

Babu Ramcomul Sen in the preface to the Bengali Dictionary, A.D. 1824 makes the following remarks which are worth quoting for what they are worth:—

"The country (Bengal) is also called *Gour*, and appears to have been principally, or at least a considerable portion of it, recovered from the sea out of the Bay of Bengal, that is to say, as far as the borders of Rajmahal, including the 24-Parganas, Midnapore(?) and Jessore. It was at first *churah* or alluvial, and then jungle or forest, a portion of which is still to be found, and is still called the *Soonderbun*. It was afterwards cleared and inhabited. When Sevanund Mojomdar, the uncle of Rajah Pratapaditya, who was the founder of the city of Jessore, fixed his residence here about 300 years ago (1534 A.D.), it was a forest on the borders of the sea. Bengal began to be peopled perhaps within 1,000 years as there is no chronology of the country extant, as there is of the other parts of Hindoostan: the time affixed is merely conjectural. As to what has been said of its having been obtained from the sea, the following proofs are given. The fact appears probable from the following names of various villages which are contained in it:—

" Suk Sagar or Suska Sagar	Dry sea.
Chakdaha, Chakradwipa	.. Circular Island.
Navadwipa or Nuddea	.. New Island.
Agradwipa	.. Foremost Island.
Doomurdaha or Doomurda	Doombur's Abyss.
Naldi or Naldwipa	.. Nala's Island.
Chandradwipa	.. Chandra's Island.
Maldaha	.. Mala's daha or Abyss.
Gaokhali or Gao khal	.. Gao's Creek.
Madhu khali or Madhu's khal	Madhu's Creek.
Han's khali, Hans khal	.. Han's Creek.
Dhoba khali or Dhoba khal	.. Dhoba's Creek.
Nala danga	.. Nala's danga or Upland.
Bhola danga	.. Bhola's danga or upland.
Bahmin danga	.. Brahman's Creek.
Gober danga	.. Gober's Creek.

"These were, no doubt, alluvial lands, as the affixes *Sagar*, sea; *Dwipa*, Island; *Khala*, Creek; *Danga*, Upland; *Daha*,

Abyss—relate to the sea or to water, and cannot be applied to anything but land thus acquired.

"The Grecian, Mussulman, and European historians and travellers do not give any account of Bengal—even its name is not mentioned in their several works. Megasthenes, the celebrated historian, takes no notice of this country," neither it is mentioned by Pythagoras, 497 B.C., nor by Alexander the Great, 413 B.C. nor by Strabo the Greek Geographer 25 A.D., nor by Pliny, 116 A.D., nor by Ptolemy, 140 A.D. and other historians, who wrote upon the names and customs and literature of the Hindoos. From this he infers, that Bengal is a country of very modern date; I imagine he means a cultivated or occupied country; for in the *Mahabharata*, the most ancient Hindoo history extant, and supposed by the Hindoos to have been written about 3,000 years B.C., the name of *Gunga Sagar* is mentioned. The date here given for the birth of the great poem is a mere fiction, as that date would take us back to 600 years before the Noachic Deluge.

Again, he mentions, that, in the *Ramayana*, Indra is said to have stolen away the sacrificial horse belonging to Sagar, a king of the race of the Sun, and to have kept it in the island of Sagar. King Raghu conquered several countries and "visited Bengal of which he took possession, erected a monument on the banks of the Ganges, and he proceeded along the coast to Orissa", showing plainly that the Ganges was then on the west of the alluvial delta, as no mention is made of his crossing the whole of what at present constitutes the 24-Parganas, Baraset, Nadia, Jessore, Pabna, Dacca, etc.

"Particulars are to be found in the *Mahabharata*, and Kalidas, the celebrated poet, who wrote a little before the commencement of the Christian era, has also mentioned this circumstance in his work called *Raghuvamsam*."

"Kapila, a *Muni*, or saint, was said to have resided on *Gunga Sagar*, and in his hermitage the stolen horse before alluded to was found".

"Kalighat on the *Gunga Nullah*, or Tolly's Nullah, a sacred place, existed at the time when the Ganges passed through Bengal to the sea".

"Bhagiratha brought the Ganges from the Himalayas and passed through Bengal to the sea. From this circumstance the hermitage of the *Muni Kapila* has been called *Gunga Sagar*" a place of worship on the Sagar Island, at the mouth of the present Hooghly.

"The Jamuna (*Jaboona Creek*) and Saraswati branched out from the Ganges, the former of which flowed towards the east, by Sooksagar, and the latter towards the west by Bansberiah and Tribeni, which is called *Dakshina Prayaga* or Southern Prayaga. Sambarasura was king of Lower Bengal, he was killed and buried near Sooksagar".

"Gour was the Capital of Bengal, 730 B.C."

88. **Other views.**—Others have urged that the decline is due to constant interference by man with the work of nature—interference increasing with man's arrogant assumption of his capacity to control nature which has been manifest for about two centuries in the past. It is first contended that the canalisation in the upper reaches of the Ganges has interfered with the volume of water coursing down to Bengal. With the change in volume there has been a change in the momentum and in the velocity of the water coursing down here with the result again that in Bengal there is less influx of water and greater tendency to form shoals and sandbanks. This has interfered with the induction of water in the Bhagirathi and the decay in the Ganges from its junction with the Bhagirathi to its junction with the Jamuna north of Goalondo.

Secondly, it is contended that the mouth of the Bhagirathi was choked by artificial means. It does appear that Stewart in his History of Bengal depending upon Muhammadan chronicles stated that in 1757 just before the battle of Plassey Seraj-ud-daula "believing that the English ships of war might proceed up the Eastern Branch of the Ganges to the northern point of the Cossimbazar Island and come down the Bhagirathi to Murshidabad," commanded immense piles to be driven in the river at Suti, by which the passage of that river has been rendered merely navigable by boats, and that only during half the year".

~~mouth of the~~ in the mouth of the Bhagirathi had large copper and brass sheets of a sort to allow water to slide down without the deposit of sand. Those plates were subsequently removed. There is no reference, that I could trace, of this in the papers or recorded history.

The narrowing down of the Hughli from Naihati bridge southward by the construction of bridges across and masonry abutments on the foreshore is considered by some as definitely restricting the volume of water that passed through and gradually slackening the pace left deposits which raised the bed, choked the Saraswati and tended to accelerate the decadence of the Bhagirathi. The narrowing down of the channel at Sarah is alleged by others to have repercussions on the Bhagirathi and other Nadia rivers.

Another set of theories strongly urged by Sir William Wilcocks was that the Bhagirathi was a cut canal for "overflow irrigation" devised by a great king Bhagirath but destroyed through the neglect of later years of people who never understood the position.

Finally, embankments and the Railways are alleged to have obstructed the overflow drainage in the Eastern or the *Bogri* area ultimately forcing the Bhagirathi to run along narrow and restricted channel with loss of velocity and settling down of sands which raised the bed and ultimately obstructed free passage of water and deposited shoals at the junction with the Padma.

89. Embankments.—The embankments certainly represent an important and persistent fight of man against nature.

The Bhagirathi, from flowing upon a plane, having two separate inclines, one from north to south and the other from north-west to south-east, has, when filled by the freshes, a tendency to flow over its left or eastern bank, or towards the centre of the delta; and upon this bank of the river, the country is protected by embankments, which are frequently ruptured, the last occasion being in September 1856, when the embankments between Berhampore and Krishnaghur were destroyed, the water causing great damage to the crops and

distress to the natives. The surplus water never finds an exit to the Westward, or over the right bank.

The Bhaugiruthee has more than once, as is plainly shown by the old beds between Sooty and Nuddea, left its present bed and flowed over the country south-east from Murshidabad, mingling its water with those of the Jellinghee and Matabhanga, and would, were it not for the embankments, probably leave its present bed altogether and flow through the districts of Murshidabad and Nadea and fall into the Matabhanga and Bhyrub, leaving its lower course, or from Nadea to the sea, to be washed by the tides and to become a headless river similar to the Mutlah.

Along the eastern bank was set up a series of embankments by the Public Works Department. The principal embankment extends from Bhagawangola to Plassey and is 57 miles long. There is another embankment from Kulgachi to Bhagawangola about 15 miles in length, and from Bhagawangola to Dadmati about 10½ miles in length. The series of floods and the efforts made at Lalitakuri to check the floods already described go to show that the embankments at least obstructed the natural flow of spill water along the lines of natural drainage of the tract. Railways subsequently constructed added to the complication. It is clear that the land which would otherwise be flooded was deprived of the fertilising silt. There is no question too that much of this area has gone down in health and fertility.

90. Conclusions.—The tenants, mainly in *Bogri* and some on the east fringe of *Rarh*, reported to me during all my tours in these areas that their principal grievance was that their lands ceased to yield the crops they used to yield when floods were common. The older of them described certainly that the floods meant great discomforts at the time but they knew them to be temporary while a rich harvest which resulted from the silt laden deposits brought down by the floods was a permanent benefit. Every one assured me that the tanks then were full of fishes and the health was incomparably better. What has brought about the change cannot definitely be stated. Opinions differ. One set of experts emphasises one particular idea as the reason while another

set disagrees and puts forward a new theory. The main causes given are: (1) the normal geological formations which have raised the bed of the river and the general level and drawn off the course of the river further to the east; (2) the man-made embankments which perpetually compelled the river to run along the narrow course. The restricted channel obstructed the flow, slowed the pace and made the river deposit the silt in the bed. In the end the bed refused to be used as a passage for the large inrush of water; (3) the railways and high ways interfered with the natural flow of drainage; (4) series of embankments and nets put up by the fishermen and others to catch fishes are accentuating the death of the dying rivers; (5) canalisation higher up the Ganges in the United Provinces, etc., has reduced the volume of water; (6) obstruction by the Sarah Bridge has adversely affected the Padma and thence the Bhagirathi. It is difficult to say whether one or the other of the causes acted more than the rest. It is probable that all these causes had combined and that both nature and man had vied with each other in bringing about the change for the worse. At any rate if an improvement is to be brought about in the area the drainage system of this tract must be the subject of sustained and continued study and of efforts and that not merely the opinions of experts but also of laymen with more experience of the neighbourhood should be obtained in getting at the causes and in devising remedies, if any.

I repeat how far each of the reasons was responsible for the decadence of the Bhagirathi is hard to say. It is not the layman's task and the experts will never agree. It is probable that man and nature vied with each other in bringing about the death which but for the interference of man probably would have been more gradual. But the more difficult task is to bring about amelioration in the existing condition.

The *bandhals* and dredgers were tried but have proved ineffectual. Embankments are gradually being abandoned and it is more than probable that some floods might spread out and though hampered might help the river to arrest a decline but signs are not yet.

Sir William Wilcocks—the great Nile Engineer—who visited the area in 1927-28 would like to make a heroic effort—construct a barrage across the Padma and regulate the flow of water along the Bhagirathi. Man has played the hero, so often in fight with nature with utter discomfiture at the end, when the result in the long view appeared that one is reluctant to be enthusiastic. Probably the people who constructed the embankments or built up the fore-shore lower down had been no less optimistic of the beneficent effects of their activities.

The difficulties of resurrection are first in the cost of construction and in the cost of maintenance of the scheme; secondly, in large influx through the Bhagirathi tending to decadence of the Padma; thirdly, that such an influx might develop into a volume that would not only wash away the neighbourhood of Calcutta and affect the port but carry such a large quantity of silt that the trough of the Hughli at the sea might be filled up, which would radically alter the position of many things.

Probably nature might work where man hesitates and a westernly oscillation and southernly plunge of the Padma might develop. Then all the human calculations would be left in their confusion and man would re-adjust himself to the demands of nature.

But if nothing transpires in the meantime some efforts to improve drainage of the *Boari* would be imperative and a well-laid-out plan of improvement would be one of the first items to be taken up to be gradually and carefully carried into execution. With this done for *Boari* and improvement made as suggested in the irrigation of *Rark* some head-way may be possible to regeneration.

PART II.

Fiscal History of Murshidabad.

91. Jurisdiction and its changes.—

Very scanty materials are available to link up the history of Murshidabad in pre-Mughal periods. Even during the reign of the Mughal emperors, we find that the city of Muxudabad (as formerly known by that name) for the first time gained in importance when the East India Company established their factory at Cossimbazar in 1652 A.D. The Dutch and the French were, of course, carrying on their merchandise in gold and silver from before. During the next half century, the history of the city reveals nothing but episodes of alternate alliance and hostility of the Nawab of Bengal in his dealings with the Company in connection with their factory at Cossimbazar and their river traffic down the Bhagirathi. Presumably, Sir W. Hunter was right in his conjecture about the reasons that led to the transfer of the capital to Murshidabad. He stated—“It seems probable that Murshid Kuli Khan was induced to take this step by political consideration. Dacca had lost its importance, for the *Maghs* and the Portuguese were no longer dangerous and the banks of the Bhagirathi afforded a more central position for the management of the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The new city was also situated on the line of trade, along which the treasures of India were now beginning to find their way to the European settlements on the Hooghly; and it commanded the town of Cossimbazar where all the foreigners had important factories. Moreover, the situation in those days was regarded as very healthy”.

As the present district was not a fiscal unit at any time in the past, obviously an accurate comparative analysis of the fiscal position from the pre-British period is not possible.

92. Formation of the district and changes in Revenue Jurisdiction.—There has been considerable change in the Revenue Jurisdiction of the district as for the matter of that in almost all the districts of the Bengal Presidency. Formerly, the frontier principalities of Birbhum and Bishenpur were also included in Murshidabad. They were separated off from Murshidabad in 1787 A.D. by

Lord Cornwallis. Great changes appear to have taken place in the early days of the rule of the East India Company as will be seen from an extract from a letter from Mr. Dawson—the Chief of Murshidabad—to the President and the members of the Board of Revenue, dated the 10th November 1786. He writes: “The *Zilla* of Murshidabad is so changed from what it previously was that had I all the plans which at times have been made thereof before me, it will be difficult to point out with any degree of accuracy my mutilated chiefship, it is so intersected and interspersed.....” In 1806, six *thanas* Shakulipur, Panchtopee (now Burwan), Domgram, Palsha, Nalhati, and Kahrn were transferred from Murshidabad to Birbhum under Regulation I of 1806. The importance of the district had so much fallen off by that time that the office of the Judge and Magistrate was for the time being abolished and it was arranged to transfer the fiscal jurisdiction of the whole district to Birbhum although in the end this last change was not given effect to. In 1834 *thana* Palsa was re-transferred to Murshidabad. *Thana* Bharatpur instead was taken away from Murshidabad and included in Birbhum but some time later was re-transferred to it.

At the time of the Revenue Survey of 1852-55, the district comprised 19 *Thanas*, as described below :—

No. *Thanas*.

- 1. Shumshergunj.
2. Sooty.
3. Palsa.
4. Mirzapoor.
5. Kamra (now Raghunathganj).
6. Dewan Surai (now Lalgola).
7. Ranee Talas.
8. Goas (now Raninagar).
9. Jellinghee.
10. Nowadah.
11. Burwa.
12. Hureepara.
13. Dowlatbazar.
- C2. Southern City *Thanas* (now Bel-danga).
- C1. Northern City *Thanas* (now Kandi).
14. Chyeendanga.
15. Kulecunganj.
16. Budrehat (now Sagardighi).
17. Gowkurn.
18. Khurgaon.
19. Bhurutpoor.

The area of the district, as surveyed was 2634.45 square miles including river area and 2492.62 excluding it.

A small portion of the district on the north known as Purgunnah Dushazaree was transferred to Sonthal Parganas after the revenue survey. With the change in the administrative jurisdiction the fiscal units became still more loose and scattered. The Revenue Surveyor Captain J. E. Gastrell in his report of the district of Murshidabad observes on the Parganas that "Compact at first, by subsequent change of landed property, from the hands of one party to another, these divisions have become strangely intermixed and confused with one another. Men holding estates in one Pergannah and district subsequently bought or acquired by marriage, gift or exchange, etc., lands in other Pergannahs. These new lands they designated by the Pergannah name of their chief estate, and so were they eventually entered on the rent-roll of the Collectorate. The lands thus of any villages do not belong to one and the same Pergannah or even district but to several." As an instance of the extraordinary intermixture of lands in lower Bengal, elsewhere he reported that "lands belonging to Dacca and 24 Pergannahs estates have been found in Murshidabad." This, of course, is now well recognised in the Land Registers maintained under Act VII of 1876. Changes in jurisdiction still went on. In 1875 so much of the *Mauzas* of Maldah as lay on the right bank of the river Padma were transferred to Murshidabad. At the same time, the boundary between Birbhum and Murshidabad was fixed by inter-transfer of a large number of villages from one district to another. In 1879, Burwan was re-transferred to Murshidabad while the whole of Rampurhat subdivision was detached from Murshidabad and included in Birbhum. The district area was 2,057.78 square miles comprised in *thanas*—Samsergunj, Suti, Raghunathgunj, Lalgola, Bhagawangola, Sagardighi, Murshidabad, Jiagunj, Berhampore Town, Hariharpara, Raninagar, Beldanga, Domkal, Naoada, Jalangi, Nabagram, Kandi, Khargram, Bharatpur and Burwan.

The final re-adjustment of the boundaries at places was vague and even during the present Settlement Operations, villages were discovered where jurisdiction with Sonthal Parganas in Bihar was being wrongly exercised. Detailed

enquiries were made and final orders of the Government were conveyed in Revenue Department's letter No. 12301-Jur. of the 21st September, 1929. The only chances of variations—quite apart from changes on administrative grounds—lie to the north where the Padma moves over long ranges and the east where the Jellanghi in its southern reaches shifts occasionally.

93. A short history of changes in administrative and Revenue Jurisdictions since 1582.—A short history, however, of the changes both administrative and revenue as far as can be collected is noted here. Meticulous distinction between administrative and revenue jurisdiction from pre-British days is not possible as the systems were entirely different—

(1) Very little or practically no information is available regarding the administrative arrangements of the present district of Murshidabad prior to 1582 A.D.

(2) 1582 A.D.—Raja Todar Mull prepared his famous rent-roll in this year. According to it Bengal was divided into 19 *circars* with a total of 682 *mehals*. The present district of Murshidabad is found included in 4 of these *circars*:—

(a) *Circar Tanda* or Audambar, comprising north *Rarh-Bogri* (*Baguri*)—the greater part.

(b) *Circar Mahmudabad* in which was included some of the country to the east.

(c) *Circar Satgaon* in which was included a small tract to the extreme south. According to Walsh, this is *circar Barbakabad*. It seems that small portions of the district lie in each of these two *circars*. But Sir W. Hunter is silent on the point.

(d) *Circar Sharifabad* (south *Rarh*) was also included in a part.

(3) 1722 A.D.—The arrangements of Todar Mull appear to have been superseded by the Financial Reforms of Murshid Kuli Khan in 1722. Walsh says that "the rent-roll of Todar Mull was superseded in 1658." In fact this arrangement was not superseded but revised, and settlements were made of new acquisitions by Shah Sujah in 1658. Numbers of *Circars*, *Pergunnas*, and the total revenue were increased.

According to the Financial Reforms of Murshid Kuli Khan Murshidabad was constituted into one of the thirteen *chaklas* into which the Province of Bengal was divided. But the old *Chakla* of Murshidabad consisted of the whole of Rajshahi, Bogra, Pabna and Murshidabad and the larger portions of Maldah, Birbhum and Nadia districts.

It may be remembered in this connection that Murshid Kuli Khan transferred his Capital from Dacca to Murshidabad, then known as Maksudabad, in 1702-4 and the town was gradually growing in importance as a commercial depôt, ever since the dawn of the 17th century. The prominence given to Murshidabad for the first time by the Financial Reforms of Murshid Kuli Khan appears to be due to these facts.

(4) *Slight modification of the previous Settlement in 1728.*—Mention is then made in O'Malley's Gazetteer of the administrative re-arrangements of Sujau-dowla (1725-39) by which the Provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were divided into 4 sub-Provinces the chief of which, Bengal proper, comprising west, Central and part of North Bengal, was kept under his direct administration.

(5) The *Dewani* was taken over in 1765. But no change was made in the administrative jurisdiction for a time. The direct Revenue administration remained in the hands of the Mussalman officials. Only a Resident was stationed in the Court of the Nawab at Murshidabad to control the finances. Committees and Councils and new offices were set up from time to time between 1769 to 1774, but they were in their time abolished, and in 1781, the Collectorships were finally instituted. (The Collectorships appear to have been finally reverted to in 1786). Between 1772 and 1774 Samuel Middleton, the Resident at the Durbar was said to have charge of the Collections of the Districts, which had already been controlled from Murshidabad, and occupied a position, which was practically that of a Commissioner. All the Collectors of the Districts concerned (Choonacolly, Luskerpore, Ruckunpore, Rajmahal, Purnea, Dinajpore, and Jahangirpore) corresponded through him with the headquarters. When the Provincial Councils started work in 1774, "the Murshidabad Provincial Council of Revenue"

was to deal with the following districts:—

"Radshahy, East and West Divisions, Rackenpore, Chunacolly, Luskerpore, Jahangirpore, Khas Talooks, Rajmahal and Boglepore, including the annexations made to the latter from Monghyr, Carickpore, Jungletory, and districts under the management of Mr. Brook."

(6) At this time (1786) the *Zemindars* of Birbhum and Bishnupore (now in the districts of Birbhum and Bankura) were included in the jurisdiction of the Collector of Murshidabad. They formed the most difficult part of his charge. The distress and destitution, resulting from the great famine of 1770, drove the people to acts of lawlessness and violence. It was reported in May, 1785, that the Civil authorities were too weak to cope with the situation. It was clear that these distant tracts could no longer be administered from Murshidabad. Accordingly, in 1787, the two were united in one district, Mr. Pye being "confirmed Collector of Bishnupore in addition to Beerbhoom heretofore superintended by G. R. Foley, Esq."

(7) It appears from reports sent by different officers from time to time between 1786 (the year of creation of the district) and 1870 that the old boundaries became so confused, chiefly on the southern and western portions of the district that the Revenue and Criminal jurisdictions differed from each other, and lands belonging to one district were frequently found within the boundary of another. But it does not appear that these boundary questions were taken up for solution till 1872.

(8) In that year (1872) important rectifications of the boundary were effected between Murshidabad and Birbhum and the old sources of perplexity were in large part removed. By Government Notification, dated the 11th February 1875, the north-eastern, eastern and south-eastern boundaries were fixed by the following streams of the Ganges or the Padma, and the Jellanghi and such villages of the district of Maldah, as lay on the right bank of the former river, were transferred to Murshidabad. The boundaries on the south were also simplified. A very extensive change was also effected on the west, where thirty-nine villages were transferred to Murshidabad from Birbhum and 7 villages from the Southal Parganas. Later, in

the same year, 1875 (by Notification, dated the 30th October, Pub., "Calcutta Gazette" of 10th November) no less than 170 villages were transferred from Murshidabad to Birbhum. In 1879, thana Burwan with an area of 108 square miles, was transferred to Murshidabad from Birbhum, while thanas Rampurhat and Nalhati (including the present thana of Murarai) which formed part of the Lalbagh subdivision of Murshidabad, were added to Birbhum.

(9) The only change in jurisdiction made since 1879 appears to be the transfer of 4 villages from Rajshahi to this district (*vide* Notification No. 3514 Pl., dated the 16th September 1925) owing to deflection of the course of the river Padma.

* 94. **Summary of changes in district administration since 1772.**—Mr. M. Chakravarty of the Provincial Executive Service made a summary of the changes from which the following details are culled* :—

A. (1) *Districts in existence, 1772-73.*—For the first time after the Company's acquisition of the *Dewani* in 1765, we find mention of the following districts, in the correspondence of the Committee of Revenue, which existed from 13th October 1772 to 23rd November 1773 :—

- (i) Hooghly with the salt tracts of Tamruk, Mahisadal and Hijili.
- (ii) Mahmudshahi with Naihatti.
- (iii) Nadia.
- (iv) Dinajpore with Silberris.
- (v) Rangpore, with Idrakpore, to which Cooch Behar was added on 17th September 1773.
- (vi) Birbhum with Pachet and Vishnupore.
- (vii) Jessore.
- (viii) Dacca including Sylhet.
- (ix) Rajshahi.
- (x) Laskarpore with Masida.
- (xi) Rukanpur.
- (xii) Tipperah.
- (xiii) Collinda with Lakshmipur (Noakhali) abolished and placed under Dacca by an order, dated 24th June, 1773).
- (xiv) Jahangirpur (in Rajshahi).
- (v) Chunakhali (Murshidabad) including Colgong.

*Chakravarty's summary of changes in administrative jurisdiction.

(xvi) Chittagong with the islands Sandwip, etc.

(xvii) Burdwan.

(xviii) Midnapore with Jalesore.

(xix) Calcutta (Collectorship abolished under order, dated 24th November 1772).

The 24 Parganas cannot be traced in the correspondence, but did no doubt exist at the time, as a separate district.

(2) *Five Grand Divisions: Murshidabad one of them.*—When the Provincial Councils of Revenue were created by the Resolution of the Council on 23rd November 1773, we find the province divided into five Grand Divisions, with Headquarters at Calcutta, Burdwan, Murshidabad, Dinajpore and Dacca, besides the two districts of Chittagong and Tipperah, which were not included in any Grand Division, but remained on their old footing under the Chief. The Grand Division of Murshidabad consisted of the following seven districts :—

(a) and (b) Rajshahi in two divisions, East and West.

(c) Rokanpore.

(d) Chunakhali (Murshidabad).

(e) Laskarpore (Rajshahi).

(f) Jahangirpur.

(g) Khas Taluks (Rajmahal, Boglepore, etc.).

The only noticeable change during the days of the Provincial Councils was the transfer of Parganas Sultanabad and Ammar from Murshidabad to Boglepore by an order, dated 19th December 1780.

(3) *District formed—18th April 1786.*—The Committee of Revenue in their meeting held on 18th April, 1786, resolved to break up the Calcutta and Murshidabad Divisions into 11 Collectorships, viz., Murshidabad, Rajshahi, Nadia, Fatesingh, Mahmudshahi, Silberris, Laskarpore, Jessore, Hooghly, 24 Parganas and Calcutta Town. This was approved by the Governor-General in Council on 25th April, 1786. The existence of Murshidabad as a district dates from this day (18th March 1786).

(4) *First public announcement: "Calcutta Gazette", dated 29th March 1787. Fatesing and Murshidabad united.*—The first public announcement regarding changes in Revenue jurisdictions of districts was made by a Notification, published in the "Calcutta Gazette", on the 29th March 1787, when according to Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Shore's plan, Fatesing and Murshidabad were united.

(5) *Slight changes—11th January 1793.*—On 11th January 1793, the Governor-General-in-Council ordered the following changes to take effect from the beginning of the next Bengali year :—

- (a) Such part of Nij Rajshahi, as lay west of the Padma, should be annexed to the Collectorship of Murshidabad, except those

Mahals which might be nearer to Nadia, to be annexed to Nadia.

- (b) Taherpur, Laskarpore and other *Mahals* lying east of the Padma to be annexed to Rajshahi.

The order ended with the rule that in every practicable case, no part of a Collectorship should be intersected by the Ganges or the Padma.

(6) *Since Permanent Settlement, 1793.*—At the time of the Permanent Settlement the district included Birbhum, Rampurhat subdivision and a small part of Sadar and the present district except the north-western corner. The changes brought about since the Permanent Settlement, 1793, are given in tabular form below :—

Year of order.	Description of changes brought about since the Permanent Settlement.	Remarks. (Reason and authority for the changes.)
1794 to 1797	Petty transfers from Burdwan, with Nadia and to Birbhum.	Adjustment of boundaries.
1806	Murshidabad Zilla abolished. Duties transferred to the City and Birbhum Zillahs.	Economy. Reg. 1 of 1806.
1809	Collectorship of Birbhum amalgamated with an assistant at Suri.	Economy. Order, dated 23rd January 1809.
1820	Birbhum Collectorship re-created	Administrative convenience. Order, dated 1st April 1820.
1824	Calcapore village acquired from the Dutch	By exchange. Treaty of London, dated 17th March 1824.
1839	Thana Palsa transferred to Birbhum	Administrative convenience. Order, dated 5th March 1839.
1848 1855	Thanas Calcapore and Farakabad transferred from Bhagalpore.	Administrative convenience. Orders, dated 4th March 1848 and 8th February 1855.
1854	Thanas Jalangi and Nawada transferred to Nadia to form Karimpore (Meherpur) Subdivision.	Administrative convenience. Order, dated 12th June 1854.
1854	Thana Bharatpore transferred from Birbhum	Administrative convenience. Order, dated 10th November 1854.
1872	Thanas Rampurhat, Nalhati and Palsa transferred from Birbhum.	Administrative convenience. Order, dated 17th June 1872.
1875	District boundaries re-arranged. 39 villages transferred to Birbhum and 7 to Sonthal Parganas.	Adjustment. Notification, dated 11th February 1875.
1875	170 villages transferred to Birbhum	Administrative convenience. Notification, dated 30th October 1875.
1879	Thanas Rampurhat, Nalhati and Palsa transferred to Birbhum and thana Burwan transferred from Birbhum.	Adjustment. Notification, dated 27th September 1879.
1925	4 villages transferred from Rajshahi owing to shifting of the River course.	Adjustment. Notification No. 3514 Pl., dated 16th March 1925.

B.—Dates of orders sanctioning the first formation of a district or a subdivision.

District or Subdivision.	Revenue (Collectorate).	Criminal (Magistracy).	Civil (Judgeship).	Remarks.
Murshidabad ..	18th April 1786 ..	(1) 27th June 1787— (a) Collector vested with powers of Magistrate and Judge. (b) Magistrate in charge of Kotwali. (c) Fauzdari Adalats, subject to the Nawab Nazim, established. (2) 1st May 1793—Changes in administration. (3) By regulation passed on 3rd December 1790 Courts of Circuit appear to have been established for the trial of serious offences.	(1) 6th April, 1781. Courts of Civil Judicature were ordered to be established in Murshidabad, over Birblum, Rajshahi, Fatesing and Murshidabad. (2) 1st May 1793—Changes in administration. (Collector deprived of judicial powers, which were transferred to a separate officer designated "Judge" Magistrate.) (3) 27th March 1806 (a).	(a) Of the two courts, the Muffasil was abolished and annexed to the City Court and Birblum by the Regulation I of 1806. (b) Abolished by an order, dated 28th June 1892 and restored in 1900. (c) Abolished by an order, dated the 29th July 1872, and restored in 1879.
(i) Sadar	7th December 1866.		
(ii) Lalbagh	28th August 1860, 10th May 1900 (b).		
(iii) Jangiporo		
(iv) Kandi	14th February 1857, 27th September 1879(c).		

95. Land revenue policy in pre-British days.—*The system of taking a share of the produce of the lands in the territories of the King or the chief.*—Land was always the principal source of revenue during the early evolution of State. The idea of a "share for the king" has a very remote origin. According to the ancient propounder of Hindu policy :—

"Cultivators must pay to the king a tax (amounting to) one-tenth, one eighth or one-sixth (of the produce)" (*Goutama Dharma Sutra*). But "a king who rules in accordance with the sacred law may take the 6th part of the wealth of his subjects" (*Vasistha Dharma Sutra*). According to Manu "the king is to receive a recompense..... of grain or 8th part or 6th or a 12th according to the difference in the soil and labour necessary to cultivate it" but it was also permissible to raise the share to one-fourth of the crops at a time of urgent

necessity as in war or invasion.* In other ancient countries the same system was followed." It would appear that in the greater part of the ancient world, one-tenth of the produce of the soil, was regarded as a proper contribution to the public exchequer, one-tenth is said to have been taken in ancient Greece, in ancient Persia, in China, and in Burma and one-tenth was the nominal demand in similar circumstances under the republic of Rome. One-tenth was again the levy of the Sacerdotal class under the Jewish Theocracy and one-tenth was the impost with which Samuel threatened the children of Israil as the price if they insisted on the appointment of a king".* In subsequent years this rule about share underwent changes. In the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Abul Fazl has recorded that the Hindu custom was to take one-sixth of the gross produce. A first

*Famines in India by R. C. Dutt.

different elaborate and tedious methods of division of the produce were followed but in subsequent years to avoid troubles the method of visual estimation was resorted to and this was the first step towards the dissolution of the system though it still persists in the "*Kut Khamar*" or "appraisement" procedure followed at places. The beginning of the departure from the system of a levy of share-produce to a regularly assessed land revenue may be fairly traced to the Settlement of Emperor Akbar. But he did not at once enforce the method of cash payment. It was a matter of opinion with the raiyats. Akbar for the first time fixed the share of Government at one-third of the produce. This was in all probability a theoretical demand as the revenue actually obtained hardly came up to one-sixth of the produce. "In the first place we are told in the *Ain-i-Akbari* itself that no measurements were made in some provinces and the gross produce could not have been even approximately estimated. In the second place, where measurements and estimates were made, they had not the scientific accuracy of the measurement of more recent times, and it was possible for the millions of cultivators and the thousands of landlords or village headmen in every province to make the State Officers accept their own figures and estimates. And thirdly and lastly, Akbar's figures only represented the demand. It was the custom in the past centuries to fix the demand high in order to collect as much as possible and it may be safely asserted that neither the collections of Akbar nor those of Aurangzeb who raised the demand still higher, ever actually represented more than a sixth or eighth or tenth of the real produce of the great empire"* In spite of the view expressed by the late Mr. Dutt it must be stated that the share held as obtainable by the State was high. In Akbar's settlement of Bengal under Raja Todar Mull in 1582 A.D., the lands were divided into 4 classes (1) *Pulaj* (lands always under cultivation), (2) *Phirawati* (lands cultivated periodically), (3) *Chichar* (lands cultivated only occasionally according to permissible circumstances), (4) *Banjar* (waste lands). Tables are to be found in the *Ain-i-Akbari* which furnish the average produce of all varieties of crops at each harvest. The periods of grain crops were ascertained for 19 years (from the 6th to the 24th year of Akbar's reign) and the commutation price was

fixed at the average of these prices for these 19 years.

• For fiscal purpose the *Subah* of Bengal was divided into 19 *Circars* mainly based on the natural divisions of the tract made by the Ganges, the Brahmaputra and other bigger and smaller rivers. These 19 *Circars* were again subdivided into 682 smaller fiscal units known as *pargana* committed to the charge of a *zeminदार* not only for the purpose of collection of land tax but for civil and criminal administration as well. The *Parganawar* distribution of the *Aysil Toomary Jumma* (original Royal Revenue roll) was the ground work of the financial system under the *Mughals*. The system, of course, does not exist for practical purposes though the name of the *Pargana* is still held sacred in the Land Registers in the Collectorate and in private papers of the landlords. Grant in his "Historical and Comparative view of the Revenues of Bengal" observes:—"This original assessment resembles the Domesday valuation of England; but it is infinitely more perfect, regular, and minute, as being the operation of many succeeding administrations in a century and half, of the most powerful despotic rule over a dominion gradually improving in its territorial sources of national wealth, and as extending to the whole actual revenue of the country, parcelled out in the smallest measured divisions of land by the sovereign, as sole virtual proprietor, therefore entitled to, and receiving a reasonable proportional share of the gross annual produce of the soil, settled ultimately at one-fourth by pecuniary estimation; exacted from the raiyats or peasantry in the manner of rent, though forming the entire income of the State, to be collected through general official farmers, called *Zemindars* or landholders, acting by special writ, termed *Sunnud* of indefinite duration, and revokable at pleasure, conferring certain jurisdiction, rights and privileges, understood always to include *Nancar* or subsistence, in a real estate, calculated to yield 5 per cent. on the royal collections, as a reward for the more universal permanent trust reposed in them with a *russoom* or commission in money to the like amount, when making themselves answerable by *Bundobust*, or agreement for regular payment of all the dues of the exchequer, according to the ascertained

* *Famines in India* by R. S. Dutt. . . .

fixed demand on the country, after deduction of every other necessary incidental charge of interior management, under the head of *Serinjammy*”.*

96. **First Mughal Settlement.**—The district of Murshidabad as at present constituted falls in *Circar Audambar*, *Circar Mahmudabad*, *Circar Satgaon* and *Circar Sharifabad* according to Todar Mull's divisions. These *circars* comprised 219 *parganas* with a total *Ausil Toomary Jumma* of Rs. 18,72,577. From the description of these *circars* as given in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, it appears that the greater part of the district was included in *Circars Audambar* and *Satgaon* while the other two *circars* contained only small tracts. As stated before, there was no real fiscal unit corresponding to the present jurisdiction of the district. It is not possible, therefore, to find the revenue demand of the tract at the time of the First Mughal settlement. The same reason militates against any comparison with revenue fixed at subsequent Mughal settlements. Even during the British rule, there have been such frequent changes in jurisdiction and the estates from the revenue roll of one district to another have so frequently been transferred that any attempt to compare collections of revenue at different times will be futile.

97. **Second Mughal Settlement.**—In the second revisional settlement made by Shah Shuja in the year 1658 there was further re-distribution of *Circars* and there were additional *Parganas*. In place of 19 *Circars* and 682 *Parganas* as at the time of Akbar, there were 24 *Circars* and 1,350 *Parganas* which have never been stable units. The total revenue was increased by about 15½ per cent. over Todar Mull's assessment. It appears that Shah Shuja did not make any new settlement but merely made a clerical revision and brought all the alterations since 1582 up to date.

98. **Third Mughal Settlement.**—In the third Mughal settlement of Bengal made by Viceroy Murshid Kuli Khan in the year 1722 A.D. fiscal units called *Chaklas* were introduced in place of *Circars* of Akbar's settlement. The entire province of Bengal as it then was, was divided into 13 *Chaklas* and the *Parganas* were re-distributed amongst the *Chaklas*. For the purpose of ensuring facility in the collection of revenue these *Chaklas* were again divided into smaller collecting divisions

called *Eahtimam (Zemindars)* and *Maxkuri* (small scattered *zemindaries*). There were altogether 24 such *Zemindary* divisions. The *Chaklas* continued as administrative units and formed the basis of the subsequent re-distribution into districts under British administration. The *Chakla* of Murshidabad was the largest of the 13 major fiscal divisions. It comprised a large portion of the *Circars* of *Audambar*, *Jennatabad*, *Barbakabad*, *Sharifabad*, *Mahmudabad* and a part of *Satgaon* of the earliest Mughal settlement. It included that part of the *Zemindary* of Rani Bhawani called *Rajshahi* extending over Kasimbazar and two-thirds of Birbhum and two-fifths of Onkerah; on the west of the Ganges it included the *Zemindary* of Fettesing and *Parganas* Asidnagar Satsykeh, etc., with the *Zemindaries* of Rokinpur, Laskarpur and Chunakhali, etc., on the east of the river. This *Chakla* included altogether 118 *parganas* with a total *jumma Toomary* of Rs. 29,99,126 in *sicca* rupees. This does not, of course, convey any idea of the revenue of the tract corresponding to the present district boundary. The district as at present constituted was included in the *Zemindary* divisions of *Rajshahi*, *Laskarpore*, *Rokinpore*, *Fattehsing* and *Chunakhali*. Short accounts of these *zemindary* divisions are given below:—

Rajshahi.—The *Zemindary* of *Rajshahi* was at the time of Murshid Kuli Khan in 1725 A.D., with Brahman Raja Ramjiban. He deposed the hereditary *Zemindar* Udoynarayan who had revolted and was brought to book by Raghunandan who was the *Peshkar* of Murshid Kuli Khan. This Raghunandan was the younger brother of Ramjiban and the *Zemindary* was obtained in the name of his brother. Kalika Prosad, son of Ramjiban, having died without any issue, the *Zemindary* in succession was secured in favour of a supposed adopted son, Ramkanta, after whose death the *Zemindary* came into the hands of his widow, Rani Bhawani. The *Zemindary* in its original dimensions extended over a large portion of the *Chaklas* of Murshidabad, Ghoraghat and Mahmudabad comprising 181 *Parganas* having an area of 12,900 square miles with an *Ausil Toomary Jumma* of Rs. 16,96,087 in *sicca* rupees in respect of *Khalsa* lands which was subsequently augmented to Rs. 20,86,949, the *jaigir* lands having

*P. 285. Fifth Report, Firminger, Vol. II.

been assessed to revenue. Kasim Ali, however, thought that this assessment was greatly inadequate to the actually improved state of the lands. He directed a fresh *Hustabood* to be prepared after local enquiries and this was done by an *amin* in 1168 B.E. (or 1761 A.D.) showing the total *Hustabood Jumma* of Rs. 30,83,410. This investigation did not altogether satisfy him. He was under the impression that there still lay enormous concealed resources. A *sref nicca* of $1\frac{1}{2}$ anna per rupee was imposed, and the new exaction came to Rs. 2,92,418. In 1763 A.D. the revenue demand was fixed at Rs. 35,08,770 (Thirty five lakhs eight thousand seven hundred and seventy only).

Laskarpore.—This *Zemindary* measuring about 499 square miles situated on the eastern bank of the Ganges opposite the original island of Kasimbazar was granted by Murshid Kuli Khan on a Brahmin named Anup Narain. It consisted of fifteen *Parganas* with an *Ausil Toomary Jumma* of Rs. 1,25,516, (one lakh twenty five thousand five hundred and sixteen only) in respect of *khalsa* lands which was augmented to Rs. 1,72,365 (one lakh seventy two thousand three hundred and sixty five only) by the addition of *Towfir* and assessment for *Jaijir* lands. After the death of Anup Narain, the *Zemindary* was divided between his two sons Narendra Narain and Mudi Narain in the proportion of $5\frac{1}{2}$ annas and $10\frac{1}{2}$ annas shares. Kasim Ali enhanced the revenue demands to Rs. 2,40,694 (two lakhs forty thousand six hundred ninety four only) in 1763 A. D.

Rokinpur.—This *Zemindary* consisting of 62 *Parganas* with an area of about 600 square miles was originally assigned by Murshid Kuli Khan to Shoy Narain, a Kayastha by caste, who was a *Kanungo* or Registrar of all the lands of the *Subah*. The Settlement was made "very improperly and unconstitutionally" as observed by Grant "either as a matter of special favour or more probably as a favour for the lesser portion assigned to him of the *Russoom* or usual commission of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the revenue, when this emolument of office came to be divided unequally between the two branches of the same family, for the political purpose of creating rivalry and by that means, lessening the power of either to abuse the highest confidential trust under Government." This *Zemindary* had small divisions of lands scattered over the greater part of

Bengal. All these minute divisions subsequently formed important *Pargana* units such as, Radhaballavpore, Cantoonagar, Baikanthapur, and Rajnagar. After Shoy Narain, the *Zemindary* descended to Luchman Narain who was succeeded by Surja Narain, an adopted son. The *Ausil Toomary* for *Khalsa* lands was Rs. 2,42,943 which was increased to Rs. 2,94,781 by addition of *Towfir* and assessment for *jaijir* lands. Kasim Ali further augmented the revenue to Rs. 3,33,725. (Three lakhs thirty three thousand seven hundred and twenty five).

Futtesing.—The earliest history of the *Zemindary* has already been given. Sabita Roy, a Jijhotia Brahmin, the founder of the Jemo Raj family, came here and established himself after securing the *Zemindary Sanad* of the *Pargana* from Emperor Akbar in recognition of the services he rendered to Raja Mansinha in subduing the rebels of Bengal. After Sabita Roy, the *Zemindary* was possessed by his numerous descendants. Murshid Kuli Khan settled the entire *Zemindary* with Ananda Chandra Roy at Rs. 1,41,826. It included eleven *Parganas* with an area of about two hundred and fifty-nine square miles in the *Chakla* of Murshidabad. On the death of Ananda Roy the *Zemindary* passed to one Hari Prosad Roy, son of Surjamoni Choudhury, who was the Manager of Ananda Roy. Hari Prosad Roy having died childless, the *Zemindary* was settled by Nawab Alivardi Khan with Nil Kanta Roy, a cousin of Hari Prosad, on his mother's side. Dispute soon arose between Nil Kanta and Parbati, widow of Hari Prosad, about the right in the *Zemindary*. It continued for several years and ultimately settled by arbitration by Dewan Ganga Gobinda Singh and Kanta Babu, the founders of Paikpara Raj and Kasimbazar Raj families, respectively. As a reward for the labours of the arbitrators, they got two large slices of lands and two new *Parganas*, Radhaballavpur and Kantanagar, were named after them. At the time of Kasim Ali's settlement the revenue demand was increased to Rs. 1,68,134 (Rupees one lakh sixty-eight thousand one hundred thirty four).

Comparison of Pargana Revenues and the Revenue administration from 1722 to 1765 A.D.—Grant in his analysis has given the *Parganawar jumma* in all the *Zemindari* divisions that were created by Murshid Kuli Khan. At the time

of the Revenue Survey we find that the district included sixty-six *Parganas* (during the present survey operation as many as eighty *Parganas* were recorded) with a total revenue demand of Rs. 12,98,709 8as. 14 gds. (Rupees twelve lakhs ninety-eight thousand seven hundred nine annas eight fourteen *gandas*). Although most of the *Parganas* as found at the time of the revenue survey can be traced to

one *Zemindary* division or the other, it is not possible to compare the revenue demands in each on account of the very considerable change in the *Pargana* limits by processes of subdivisions and amalgamations. A comparative analysis of some of the more important *Parganas* which might be of some interest is given but it is difficult to say if the *Pargana* area continued the same throughout the period.

Name of pargana.	Revenue at the time of revenue survey.	Circular in which it was included in Akbar's time.	Zamindary in which it was included in Murshid Kuli Khan's time.	Revenue in 1722 A. D.
	Rs. a. p.			(Sicca rupees.)
1. Akbarshahee ..	10,412 8 9	Audambar ..	Rajshahy and Rokinpoor	8,239
2. Behroul ..	23,383 7 0	Shareefabad ..	Rajshahy ..	16,920
3. Chunakhali ..	27,991 3 0½	Audambar ..	Ditto " ..	23,713
4. Futtehsing ..	1,24,387 0 7½	Audambar and Shareefabad.	Futtehsing ..	1,41,826
5. Goas ..	1,22,651 3 9	Shareefabad and Barbakabad.	Rajshahy ..	58,743
6. Nownuggur ..	57,110 12 0	Audambar ..	Rajshahy in Chuk. Murshidabad.	44,374
7. Putkabaree ..	12,532 12 6	Satgaon ..	Ditto ..	10,431
8. Rokinpoor ..	77,164 4 11½	Jennatabad ..	Rokinpoor ..	67,641
9. Barbaksing ..	31,562 13 6	Shareefabad ..	Beerbhium ..	38,823

Murshid Kuli Khan by his new settlement secured an increase of 13½ per cent. over the previous revenue. The increase might be considered as moderate in view of the fact that it was secured after a period of about sixty years. But severe measures were adopted in realising this increase. Shore in his minute dated 18th June 1789 observes: "The *Zemindars*, with few, if any, exception, were dispossessed of all management in the collections, and his own officers were employed to scrutinise the lands and their produce. The severities inflicted upon renters in arrears, and upon the *Zemindars* to compel them to a discovery of their resources were disgraceful to humanity; and, as if personal indignities and tortures were not sufficient, the grossest insults were offered to the religion of the people." We must, however, take Shore with caution for he cited no authority for the statement; yet it could be agreed that the increase was appreciable and that imprisonment was the punishment for arrears of revenue. Suja Khan, his successor, was not severe; on the other hand, he restored most of the dispossessed *Zemindars* to their original management. The next ruler Aliverdi Khan was compelled by

sheer necessity to impose additional imposts on the *Zemindars* to relieve the country of the effect of the invasion of the Marhattas which lasted for a period of over ten years. But the highest augmentation of revenue was secured during the reign of Kasim Ali Khan or Mir Kasim in 1763 A.D.

The Mughal assessment of land revenue up to 1722 A.D. had been based on a principle which gave the sovereign a fixed proportion of the produce and all increase of revenue accrued solely from extended cultivation and increased population ascertained by comprehensive enquiries about the real and existing resources of the country. Any increase of revenue demanded from the *Zemindar* made on this basis did not in fact affect the rate of rent of the *rai-yats* although it tended to reduce the profits that had accrued to the *Zemindar*. The Abwab *Subahdary* or Viceroyal imposts known as *serf-sicca* for the first time introduced by Jaffar Khan (Murshid Kuli Khan) in 1722 A.D., brought about a complete departure from the hitherto accepted principle of assessment. The standard assessment (*Ausil Toomary Jumma*) due from the *Zemindars* was thus enhanced

by a certain percentage (Rs. 9/6 per cent.) and in return for that, the *Zemindars* were also authorised to enhance the rents of the raiyats in the same proportion. This new principle of assessment at first introduced to secure a moderate enhancement was carried in subsequent years to an inordinate extent which as observed by Sir John Shore, "neither the agricultural resources of the country nor any extension of commerce and increase of specie could justify". The culmination was reached during the reign of Kasim Ali (1760-63) who in one or two years demanded an augmentation of revenue which exceeded the total increase during the two preceding centuries. To quote Shore:—"Cossim Ali attempted to realise for the State, nearly all that the *ryots* paid. In the early part of his administration he deputed his own agents to ascertain every source of emolument enjoyed, or exaction practised, by the *Zemindars* and officers employed in the collections. He even endeavoured in some instances, to deprive the *ryots* of what was allotted for their subsistence and emolument." This assessment of Kasim Ali gave a misleading idea of the revenue paying capacity of Bengal at the time. About 20 years later on the accession of the *Dewani* to the East India Company when the directors were bent on evolving a definite land-revenue policy in Bengal, it stimulated the famous Grant-Shore-Cornwallis controversy.

99. Revenue Administration under the British.—The grant of the *Dewani* in August 1765 marked the beginning of the British revenue administration in Bengal. By virtue of their contract, the East India Company became the agent of the Mughal Emperor for the collection of the land-tax of the province. Clive on accepting the office of the *Dewan* on behalf of the Company, appointed Muhammad Reza Khan as *Naib Dewan* (Deputy Finance Minister) on a salary of nine lakhs of rupees *per annum*. He was in office from 1765-1772. In 1771, the Court of Directors reduced his salary to five lakhs of rupees *per annum*. A comptrolling council of revenue with Mr. Becher as Chief was appointed at Murshidabad for the whole of the province under orders of the Board of Directors in 1770 A.D.

The district of Murshidabad was then within the four *Zemindaries* of Rajshahi, Laskarpore, Rokinpore, and

Futtehsing. As far as can be gathered the position in these stood thus:—

Rajshahi.—Muhammad Reza Khan's rent-roll shows Rs. 24,51,022 marking a fall of over 10 lakhs of rupees from the assessment of Kasim Ali; Grant observed that this was a deliberate under-assessment and that the reduction was granted fraudulently by Muhammad Reza Khan and his agents. From this view Shore in his able minute entirely dissented.—"I have no hesitation in acknowledging my opinion of the propriety of a remission generally, since I entertain the strongest conviction that Cossim Ali's demand was a mere pillage and rack-rent; no satisfactory proofs have yet been produced to refute this assertion, which is established on strong presumptive evidence". In 1769, the Governor Verelst in collaboration with Becher drew up a lengthy letter which shows that considerable reduction of revenue had been allowed to the *Zemindars* in consideration of the distressed condition of the country. The *Zemindary* of Rajshahi was divided into 12 divisions (or *zillas*) and let out to people who engaged to pay into the treasury Rs. 26,94,602-15-13. Becher found out that the *zilladars* had collected more than was due and had oppressed the *raiya*s. An abatement was made of Rs. 93,602-15-13 and three years' settlement was made with Rani Bhawani as follows:—

For	Rs.
1769	... 26,01,000
1770	... 26,76,000
1771	... 27,51,000

Laskarpore.—In the first year of Muhammad Reza Khan's *bundobust*, the *Zemindary* yielded Rs. 2,36,630 in place of Kasim Ali's for Rs. 2,40,694. In the following year, it was increased by Rs. 8,801-0-0. This was further increased immediately after the famine. There is no doubt that this was rack-rented. For in the three years' settlement proposed by Becher the *jumma* was fixed at Rs. 2,24,272.

Rokinnur.—Muhammad Reza Khan's *bundobust* shows Rs. 3,09,602 in place of Kasim Ali's *bundobust* for Rs. 3,33,725. But two years after, the *jumma* fell to Rs. 2,32,421. In the three years' settlement as proposed by Becher the revenue was again raised to Rs. 2,67,421, which, after meeting *Seranjummy* charges of Rs. 50,065 left

a net *Mulgoozary* of Rs. 2,17,355 to the exchequer.

Futtehsing.—Muhammad Reza Khan made settlement at a reduced *jumma* of Rs. 1,60,637.

According to Grant's estimate there was enormous defalcation in almost all the *Zemindari*s. He drew his estimate mainly from the *Amini* investigation of 1776-77. Although he places no faith in the statistics supplied by the investigation, by a peculiar logic, he considers them as proof of the resources of the country to meet the highest revenue ever imposed on the *Zemindari*s mainly at the time of Kasim Ali. Shore in his minute challenged the accuracy of Grant's statistics and estimate. There is an element of uncertainty about Grant's statistics. He gave out that he got the figures from some Persian accounts secured through private purse but he never produced these books of accounts to any authority to justify his figures. He admitted that the papers which he secured were presumed to have been destroyed at the time of Kasim Ali. Grant did not place the documents on the table and the secrecy that hedged round the same gave a good handling to his critics to insinuate that he concocted the books of accounts—so essential for the proof of his theories—through the instrumentality of expert Indian Agents. Shore, on the other hand, has shown by the authentic figures from the records of the revenue Accountant-General and the detached records of particular districts that the decrease in the revenue as settled by Kasim Ali did not synchronise with the transfer of the *Dewani*. Grant in his analysis suggested enormous misappropriation of Government revenue by Muhammad Reza Khan, the princely salaried servant of the Company. A counter observation made by Shore is worth quoting:—

“The profits of agency have always been taxed in Bengal. *Nuzzars* and *Nuzzaranahs* are as ancient as the Government; some allowance, though how to estimate it I know not, may therefore be made on this account, as a deduction from the revenue of the State; but whatever may be assumed on this ground, the actual distress which Muhammad Reza Khan suffered, as long ago as the year 1775, and the repetition of them since that period, are

such as he would not have submitted to, if he had possessed the means of stopping the clamours and importunities of his creditors. I know that at this moment his most valuable effects are mortgaged for debts which he cannot discharge, notwithstanding the liberal income which he derives from his public allowances and *Jaigir* and, I have myself interposed, on more occasions than one, with his other friends, to avert the operation of the jurisdiction of the supreme court upon him, to which he had made himself amenable by express bonds extorted from his necessities. This observation is suggested by a remark of Mr. Grant”.

For a period of seven years from 1765-72, the collection of revenue was entirely in the hands of the *Naib Dewan* Muhammad Reza Khan. The Company grew suspicious of Reza Khan. Two Councils of Revenue one at Murshidabad and another at Patna, were appointed. The Murshidabad Council consisted of four members—R. Becher, (Chief), J. Reed, J. Lowrell, J. Graham. English Supervisors were appointed “to enquire into the history of the provinces...to prepare a rent-roll and to enquire into titles to and all matters connected with the settlement of lands whether revenue paying or revenue-free.” The Supervisors' report only brought out the corrupt practices of the collecting agencies. In 1772, the Company dispensed with the services of Reza Khan and abolished all *Mufassil Kanungos* whose duties were to check and supervise the *Zemindari* accounts in regard to the collection of land revenue. The Supervisors were elevated to the position of Collectors. This, however, did not improve matters as there was no reliable basis for computation of revenue demand. The Company decided upon farming out the *Zemindari*s locally to the highest bidders by public auction for a period of 5 years. This expediency was apparently resorted to in order to find out the revenue bearing capacities of the *Zemindari*s. Hastings was of opinion that this system yielded good results as by this “a competent knowledge has been obtained of the stated capacity of the lands, throughout the provinces, which will be of great advantage in forming the next settlement when the term of the present one shall have expired.” But

the other majority members of the Council made a most stringent and unsparing criticism of the policy in a minute dated 15th September 1775, by affirming that in all abuses already proved the Governor's and Collector's native dependants known as *Banians* were the ostensible men in whose names the farms were really held by their masters. At the same time this new policy only tempted inexperienced outside speculators whose only hope in meeting the high demand of the Government revenue lay in extorting whatever they could from the cultivators during the term of the lease. Thus the first attempt of the Company to manage its own fiscal affairs resulted in almost the wholesale replacement of a body of skilled collecting agencies such as the hereditary *Zemindars* by an extraneous and inexperienced agency who very often failed to pay the over-rated land revenue for which they contracted as a result of the competition. New administrative changes were introduced. A controlling committee of revenue at Calcutta was set up with six subordinate Councils at Calcutta, Murshidabad, Patna, Dacca, Burdwan, and Dinajpore. The posts of English Collectors were abolished; native *Amils* were appointed. But the result was no better. The Council soon realised that the agency was not so much at fault as the mode of assessment and that short term settlements were destined to fail financially and administratively. Mr. Barwell, a member of the Council, advocated settlement with the *Zemindars* for a period of one or two generations as a matter of favour, another member, Francis, made out a powerful case for the *Zemindars* who according to him as a matter of right were entitled to settlement in perpetuity. Hastings having agreed with the theory of the claims of the *Zemindars* advised the Court of Directors in a minute dated May 29, 1776 for the creation of a Provincial Court of Council for thorough enquiries about the revenue bearing capacities of the lands and the periods for which settlement could be conveniently made. The Court of Directors, however, thought none of the courses advisable and directed that the lands should be let out for the succeeding year on the most advantageous term but not by public auction. Annual settlements were thus made mostly with the *Zemindars* and this continued

up to 1781. Further administrative changes were introduced with the sole purpose of centralising the control at Calcutta. Provincial Councils were abolished. Collectors were re-appointed to the various districts but they had nothing to do with settlement. The *Zemindars* were also at liberty to pay the revenue direct into the exchequer at Calcutta. *Mufussil Kanungos* were re-appointed to assist the Collectors. The settlement was generally made with the *Zemindars* for a period not exceeding three years. It showed large increase on the previous annual settlements, but at the same time heavy arrears of revenue accrued. Shore in 1782 observed:—"The real state of the districts is now less known and the revenue less understood than in 1774. The system is fundamentally wrong and inapplicable to any good purpose."

With the passing of the Act in 1784 for the "better regulation and management of the affairs of the East India Company" bold administrative changes were introduced. The provinces were divided into compact districts each under the control of the Collector who was responsible both for the settlement of revenue as well as its punctual realisation. The Committee of Revenue retained general powers of supervision and sanction. The geographical limits of the districts were so adjusted that the revenue of each approximated from eight to ten lakhs of rupees.

100. **Decennial Settlement and Permanent Settlement.**—On June 12, 1786, the Committee of Revenue at Calcutta gave place to the newly constituted Board of Revenue. Annual settlements still went on till the beginning of the year 1790 when regulations were issued for the settlement of Bengal and Bihar for a period of 10 years with the *Zemindars*. The system was practically worked out and developed by Shore. His sole aim was to mark time and thereby gather greater experience as to actual state of affairs. He was conscious of the severe calamities that had visited Bengal since the accession of the Company to the *Dewani*—the terrible famine of 1770 which, as observed by competent authorities, carried away one-third of the population, and the recrudescence of the same evil in a lesser form in 1784 and 1787. In the meantime Lord Cornwallis had arrived in

India on September 12, 1786, with definite instructions from the Board of Directors to conclude a permanent settlement of Bengal and Bihar with the *Zemindars*. Shore, as the Chief Adviser of Lord Cornwallis, argued very strongly against the Permanent Settlement in three successive minutes dated 18th June 1789, 18th September 1789 and the 21st December 1789. His objections were based mainly on the following grounds:—

- (1) that the experience hitherto acquired as to the actual revenue bearing capacity of the lands was insufficient and incomplete;
- (2) that Permanent Settlement would result in an unfair distribution of assessment as in the absence of any survey it was to be made on the basis of indeterminate boundaries and unascertained areas and assets and that the proposed Regulation could only protect the *Khudkast raiyat* leaving the very large body of *Paikast raiyats* at the mercy of the *Zemindars*;
- (3) that it was first necessary to discover the real capacity of every village which could be reasonably done by making the settlement for a period of ten years and compelling the *Zemindars* to deposit detailed lists of villages within the estates showing the boundaries, areas and assets which could be tested;
- (4) that ten years' settlement would foster the same spirit of confidence in the *Zemindar* as permanent settlement and that it would in no way stand in the way of extension of cultivation. On the other hand, Permanent Settlement would perpetuate all the existing abuses.

Lord Cornwallis in reply to Shore's criticism came forward with his two minutes dated 18th September 1789 and 10th February 1790. His arguments were mainly based on the following:—

- (1) that the Court of Directors were determined to make the settlement permanent with the

Zemindars provided that their servants did not betray the trust placed in them;

- (2) that the experience gathered since 1765 was sufficient and there was nothing wanting that could be gained in ten more years;
- (3) that ten years' settlement would be equivalent to farming and that it would not encourage clearance of the vast jungly and uncultivated tracts of Bengal which is one of the main objects which the Directors had in view and that the *Zemindars* would still fear additional assessment at the end of that period;
- (4) that under Permanent Settlement Government revenue would be safe-guarded against the effects of droughts and famine;
- (5) that the powers conferred on the proprietors to alienate the lands at will would consolidate their position; thus profits would increase and the interest of the Government would be safe-guarded. The prudent landlords would thrive while the bad ones would give way meaning thereby a positive advantage to the country.

Throughout this controversy between these two eminent personages one is impressed with the force of Shore's reasonings backed by experience with which he stood out for a policy of caution while Lord Cornwallis's determination to carry out the policy of the Directors entrusted to him persuaded him to override the experience of Shore. Thus, on March 22, 1793, in conformity with the orders of the Directors, the Decennial Settlements of Bengal and Bihar were declared to be Permanent.

101. Insufficient Revenue Statistics of the district.—As has already been noted, the present district was mainly comprised in the *Zemindari* divisions of Rajshahi, Laskarpore, Rokinpur, and Futtehshing. Hunter in his Statistical account of the district very much regretted his failure to supply comparative statement of revenue of the district at different periods under the British administration such as he had been able to give for other districts. No

materials existed for years earlier than 1837 and those that he could get hold of for subsequent periods were manifestly incomplete to support any definite conclusions. The thorough search of the old correspondence of the Collectorate regarding revenue matters made during this settlement operation bore very little tangible results.

It is not definitely known for what revenue the three *Zemindaries* of Laskarpore, Rokinpur and Futtehasing were permanently settled. It may, however, be safely assumed that the sums for which the *Zemindars* engaged were lower than the last revenue *bundobust* of Muhammad Reza Khan for this is found to be the case for almost all the the *Zemindari* divisions for which statistics are available.

For the *Zemindary* of Rajshahi, Rani Bhawani engaged in 1771 for Rs. 27,51,000. The Rani gradually fell into arrears and for several years Government either managed the *Zemindari* in *Khas* or let it out to revenue contractors. Finally, the Rani made over the *Zemindary* to her adopted son, Raja Ram Krishna. At the Decennial Settlement in 1790 the Raja engaged for Rs. 23,28,101 and this was made permanent.

At the time of the Permanent Settlement a number of *Talukdars* or subordinate landlords were declared independent of the *Zemindars* and entitled to hold their lands and pay the Government revenue direct to the district Treasury instead of through the *Zemindars* as heretofore. Moreover, Section 7 of Regulation I of 1793 empowering Government to put to sale the whole of the lands of the defaulting *Zemindar* or such portion of them as might be sufficient to make good the arrear revenue was rigorously followed and lands in lots were frequently put to sale in liquidation of the arrear of Government revenue. Thus, we find that in 1801 the single *Zemindari* of Rajshahi alone was split up into 1003 estates. There is no doubt that similar results followed in the case of other *Zemindaries*. The *Zemindar* of Rajshahi was frequently defaulting; as a typical case, I quote below a letter of Mr. C. Oldfield, the Collector of Murshidabad, to Mr. H. Colebrooke, Collector of Rajshahi, dated the 30th January, 1794 which will show the state of affairs:—

"I am very sorry so soon to be under the necessity of again applying to you

for your assistance in enforcing payment of the demands of Government on account of *Nij Chukla Rajshahi*, from Raja Ram Kissen, *Zemindar* of Rajshahi, as he has not paid any part of the *kist* of *Pous* and is also in balance on account of that for *Aughran*, 1200 B. S., although this is 20th *Magh*. I can no longer defer putting the Regulations in force against him, and in conformity to the orders of the Board of Revenue under date 20th August, 1793 have accordingly to request you to call upon him for the immediate payment of the amount hereunder specified and in case of non-compliance that you will proceed against him as directed by the 23rd Article of the Regulation for conduct of Collectors passed on the 8th June 1787.

The particulars of demand above alluded to are as follows:—

	Rs.	a.	g.	k.
On account of balance of kist of Aughun, 1200 ..	7,777	15	15	2
Amount of kist of Pous ..	1,40,058	14	5	1
Total demand ..	1,47,836	14	0	3

From the balance sheet of Murshidabad district as given by Hunter in his statistical accounts, it appears that the revenue collection in 1835-36 amounted to £1,22,870 or approximately *Sicca* Rs. 12,28,700. In Regulation I of 1793 there was a proviso that the Governor-General-in-Council will impose such assessment as he may deem equitable on all lands at present alienated and paying no public revenue which have been or may be proved to be held under illegal or invalid titles. Consistently with that, Regulation II of 1819 was passed but most of the invalid *lakhiraj* lands in the district of Murshidabad were resumed between 1845-47 and this brought about some increase in revenue. In 1851-52 the revenue receipt for the district was £1,28,789. The revenue demand for the district as per District Administration Report for 1849-50 was Rs. 12,96,365 4as. 10p. and the total number of estates on the rent-roll was 2,656. From the statistical and geographical reports of the district as furnished by the Revenue Surveyor, Captain Gastrell, it appears that the district comprised an area of 1,686,053.16 acres (of which 90,780 acres were covered by the rivers Bhagirathi and the Ganges) or approximately 2,634.45 square miles.

There were 69 *Parganas* and 3,126 revenue survey villages with a total number of 2,720 *mahals* borne on the revenue roll of the district of which 165 were Government, *Khas mahals*. *Sudder Jama*, was Rs. 12,92,574-3-8 with a *thanadari jama* of Rs. 3,864-7-4. The *thanadari jama* was at first assessed at the Decennial settlement for the maintenance of the police in certain estates. It is not, however, a distinct *jama* but forms part of the *Sudder jama* of the estate and is collected at the same time. There are no well-demarcated *thanadari* lands. In 1866-67 Gangetic Diara Survey operations were undertaken. As a result of that there was some increase in revenue on account of resumption of alluvial lands that formed in the beds of the river. In 1870-71 there were 2,853 estates borne on the revenue roll of the district with a total revenue demand of £1,34,390 18s. 0d. From the *Parganawar* statistics the district area is found to be 2337.04 square miles and the Census Report of 1872 shows 3,753 "villages, *mouzas* or townships". The Boundary Commissioner's report of 1872 shows the area of the district as 2462.44 square miles.

102. Effect of the Permanent Settlement and subsequent Regulations.—The effect of the permanent settlement on the *Zemindary* of Birbhum as stated elsewhere is typical of almost all the *Zemindary* divisions of Bengal. It will give some idea of the extent to which the *Zemindars* as a class were affected. It will now be worthwhile to consider the case of tenants. In the permanent settlement regulation with the exception of a clause reserving the rights of the Government to make regulations for safeguarding the interests of the dependant *talukdars*, *raiyats* and other cultivators of the soil without any objection on the part of the *Zemindars*, little provision was made with regard to the *raiyats* and no definition was given of the nature of their holdings. No doubt Section 60 of Regulation VIII of 1793 recognised the right of the *raiyats* to demand *pattas* from the *Zemindars*, that all the existing leases were to remain in force until the expiry of the lease and that there were certain restrictions for cancelling the *pattas* of the *Khudkhast raiyats*. But even the *Khudkhast raiyats* were at a disadvantage to assert their rights. Sir J. E. Colebrooke speaks of what he calls "the melancholy results of the arrears of the

permanent settlement in the lower provinces" in the following words:—

"The results were twofold; they consisted, firstly, in the sacrifice of what may be denominated the yeomanry, by merging of all village rights whether of property or occupancy in the all devouring recognition of the *Zemindar's* paramount property in the soil; and secondly, the sacrifice of the peasantry by one sweeping enactment, which left the *Zemindar* to make his settlement with them on such terms as he might choose to require." Regulation VIII of 1793 directed the *Zemindars* to deliver *pattas* to the *raiyats* describing the area, condition and the lump rent payable in respect of the holding and that the landlords were prohibited from imposing new *abwabs* on *raiyats*. But the landlords evaded the provisions of the Regulation. *Pattas* were seldom granted at the customary rates and the *raiyats* also refused to accept them under the impression that thereby their unlimited occupancy right would be jeopardised. They also did not approve of the consolidation of the rents and *abwabs*. They wanted to keep the old rent in tact and avoid addition of fresh *abwabs*. The dispute between the landlords and tenants grew acute. There was withholding of rents to a very large extent. The economic distress of the country at the time was rather in favour of the tenants, who could refuse payment of rents. Hunter in his Bengal Manuscript records observes as follows: "Those of the resident cultivators, who had the most courage or the least fixed property to leave behind, refused to pay the customary rates, quitted their hereditary holdings and took up lands at market-rate as non-resident tenants in some other villages". The majority of the *Zemindars* in the absence of collection from the tenants failed to pay the stipulated land revenue to Government. They appealed to the Government to strengthen their hands against the refractory tenants and the Government in their anxiety to secure the minimum revenue demand of the land came to the aid of the landlords and passed Regulation VII of 1799 (commonly known as *Haptam*). This Regulation gave the landlords the unrestricted right of distraint of the personal belongings of the *raiyats* and in certain cases to arrest their persons for arrears of rent without reference to any court. The civil and criminal courts were also directed

to give all sorts of relief to the *Zemindars* against the contumacy of the tenants. Justice Field in his *Landholding* observes :—

“There is scarcely a country in the civilised world in which a landlord is allowed to evict his tenant without having recourse to the regular tribunals; but the Bengal *Zemindar* was deliberately told by the Legislature that he was at liberty to oust his tenants if the rent claimed by him were in arrear at the end of the year.” This was followed by Regulation V of 1812 (commonly known as *Pancham*). Both these Regulations legalised the treatment of the *Zemindars* to which the cultivators as a class were succumbing. Section 62 of Regulation VIII of 1793 provided for the maintenance of a *Patwari* in every village as a Government servant but a *Patwari* for all practical purposes deteriorated to the position of a paid agent of the *zemindar*. To amend matters the Bengal *Patwari* Regulation 12 of 1817 was passed but soon it was discovered that it afforded little protection to the tenants in the matter of realizing rents and the illegal cesses demanded by the *Zemindars*. In 1822, Regulation XI of 1822 was passed. This was subsequently repealed by Act XI of 1841. By virtue of Regulation XI of 1822 the auction purchaser could at his option wholly avoid any tenure unless it fell within the scope of section 32 of the Regulation. Even the *Khudkhast raiyats* who were inducted after the Permanent Settlement could be evicted by the auction purchaser and if not evicted the rents could be assessed at the discretion of the purchaser. The full realisation of the position came in 1859. In that year the Bengal Rent Act X of 1859 was passed. By that the rights of *raiya*ts who had been in possession for a period of 12 years were saved. It provided that the auction purchasers were not entitled to evict an occupancy *raiya*t or enhance the rent of any such *raiya*t otherwise than as prescribed by the provisions of the Act. It also provided for the delivery of *pattas* to the *raiya*ts and the prevention of illegal exaction and extortion in connection with the demands of rents.

103. **The period from 1793 to 1859.**—The entire period of a little over 60 years from the promulgation of the permanent settlement Regulation to the passing of the Bengal Rent Act, X of 1859, is

characterised by the anxious efforts of the Government to secure the minimum revenue demand. Before the accession of the Company to the *Dewani* there were elements of uncertainty and confusion regarding the rights and privileges of the *raiya*ts and their relations with the *Zemindars*; this state of affairs had to be allowed to continue in spite of the best intention of that far-sighted administrator Sir John Shore, that before any permanent settlement was effected with the *Zemindars*, these rights and privileges should be defined and adjusted. The Court of Directors believed that relation between the landlords and *raiya*ts would be adjusted mutually by contracts. The Permanent Settlement Regulations passed for the purpose rather came handy to some *Zemindars* pulling down the *raiya*ts, when in course of barely half a decade after the Permanent Settlement it was found that a large number of estates in the province were sold off for arrears of revenue. The situation was aggravated when pressed by the high assessment of revenue in the Permanent Settlement the *Zemindars* started creating intermediate rights of smaller units under local magnates. These—the main class of which was *Patni* legalised under Regulation VIII of 1819—came to closer grips with the peasantry in their attempt to make the most of their situation. Act X of 1859 as stated was the first recognition that the errors which Sir John Shore had pressed to avoid were creating troubles. The position was made worse later when the rise in prices made the fixed monetary rent too low a value of the share of the produce the landlords could claim and stirred them on to make larger and larger demands for enhancement. When to all these was added the high handedness of the Indigo planters, agrarian troubles became the order of the day and between the years 1860 to 1880 the disturbed relations of landlords and tenants led to various awkward situations. The case of *Thakurani Dasi vs. Biswaswar Mukharji* brought out the weaknesses and the strength of the contending parties and the Rent Law Commission was appointed which ultimately resulted in the passing of the most comprehensive tenancy legislation of any country, viz., the Bengal Tenancy Act. There were able and earnest advocates of the rights of cultivators and much was done to safeguard their interests. In all these various vicissitudes of fortune Murshidabad landlords and tenants

had their part and that will be commented on in its proper place.

The question as to how far the Permanent Settlement as a legal measure was detrimental to the tenantry has been much debated. Sir J. Colebrooke has been quoted to have expressed on "the melancholy errors of the Permanent Settlement," "on the sacrifice of the Yeomanry, etc." I am afraid, as far as I could judge from a somewhat intensive study of the conditions in this district, the charge cannot in my opinion be fully endorsed. Rarely one meets a village where the tenantry has not continued for generations. It is easier to trace old connection of the peasantry with a village than that of the landlord. That the tenantry could hold to their lands from a time prior to the safeguarding Bengal Tenancy Act is a proof that the circumstances were not so unfavourable as are sought to be made out. The village rights exist—except in the case of pasturage—no worse than what existed before. In the matter of common pasturage more tenants are found to take up and break down such land for tillage than the landlords could ever expect and for this Permanent Settlement in my opinion is less responsible than various other circumstances with which the Permanent Settlement had little or no connection. This will be borne out by a study of the circumstances in the Temporarily Settled or even *Khas Mahal* Estates. It was asserted that "the Permanent Settlement left the *Zemindar* to make his settlement with them on such terms as he might choose to require." The continuity of the tenantry from father to son for generations is a proof that in the largest majority of cases the terms were not unfavourable. The average rent rate is about rupees three and odd per acre. Judged by the outturn and the rent rates in the temporarily-settled estates in the Province this is not high. Here, too, thus his terms cannot be said to have been harsh, while in every village one may get from any old tenant that in the majority of cases in the past the relation between the landlord and the tenant was sweeter and much more friendly evincing greater good will on either side than what could be claimed to-day. If people's verdict be any evidence—to my mind there can be no better evidence—the position has gone from bad to worse in more recent times when tradition was lost and law was substituted to regulate the relation.

For all that Permanent Settlement cannot by any process of logic be held responsible. Black sheep there were, are and must be in future. The exchange of *patta* and *kabuliyats*—which was the one omission to which all the alleged ills of the tenantry are attributed—could have availed little when large ignorance, little education, still less capacity for organised action were the order of the day. Those who know how in spite of the strictest injunctions of law to-day rent receipts in proper form are not granted, and *abwabs* are collected must realise that law is incapable of enforcing what can only be enforced by organised and educated social sense. The Permanent Settlement by securing the necessary conditions of growth has done more than anything else to create the beginning of that social sense. The clear provisions in the Permanent Settlement regulations have enabled the Government to step in and protect the cultivators and now that a piece of legislation like this is entirely in the hands of the people it is up to them to speed up the perfection of what in the largest interests can be held to be conducive to the real welfare of the country as a whole.

My conclusion is that the Permanent Settlement as a fiscal measure did nothing to the detriment of the *ryots*. It took away no rights which the tenantry then possessed, deprived them of no security which they otherwise had. The processes of rent realisation in the beginning had to be made harsher as were the processes for the realisation of Land Revenue—but much of that hardship was due to rationalisation of business methods which had to come. On the other hand I believe that the ultimate effect of the Permanent Settlement certainly was for the good of the tenantry. It provided the State at once with the moral background to interfere whenever it thought that the tenants had a grievance and the Tenancy legislations embody in the main the effect of the strenuous endeavours in the interests of the actual tiller.

104. The Permanent Settlement as a fiscal measure.—As in the case of the District of Birbhum we examine the effect of the Permanent Settlement in a few cases in the district to determine how far as a fiscal measure it was satisfactory. Eight representative estates of

the district are chosen to test the effect on revenue on the basis of the present

day standards. The figures stand thus:—

Tauzi No.	Present revenue.	Total area in acres.	Total existing assets.	Percentage of revenue on assets.	Revenue calculated at 70 per cent. of the present assets.	Loss of revenue to the State.
	Rs. a.		Rs. a.		Rs. a.	Rs. a.
2	10,221 0	9,710.20	30,276 2	33.75	21,193 0	10,972 0
4	14,322 11	9,511.31	34,058 4	37.63	26,640 0	12,317 5
7	16,039 0	9,831.40	33,650 3	47.66	23,556 0	7,517 0
390	34,705 14	34,899.98	86,078 10	40.42	60,255 0	25,459 2
251	978 13	2,132.64	3,964 3	24.69	2,774.0	1,795 3
252	219 7	405.66	905 12	24.17	634 0	414 9
423	488 14	637.37	1,864 9	26.22	1,305 0	816 2
1344	24 12	43.61	116 11	21.36	81 0	56 4
	77,090 7	....	1,94,914 6	....	1,36,438 0	59,347 9

The last four estates in the statement are resumed *lakheraj mahals*. The assets of each estate were calculated by totalling up all the existing *raiya* rents with the assets for usable *Khas* lands calculated at the average incidence of *raiya* rents of the *Mahal*. Further

statistics about these estates regarding the incidence of rent and the way in which the surplus revenue payable to the State has been intercepted by the proprietors and tenure-holders are given below:—

Tauzi No.	Average incidence of rent per acre.	Incidence of revenue per acre.	Interception of Revenue.				
			By proprietors. (a).	By tenure-holders.			
				1st grade. (b).	2nd grade. (c).	3rd grade. (d).	4th grade. (e).
	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.
2	4 3.	1 1	6,242 0	1,347 0	3,072 0	275 0	36 0
4	4 8	1 8	7,693 0	4,137 0	385 0	15 0	87 0
7	4 2	1 10	1,935 0	4,522 0	963 0	97 0	..
390	3 8	1 0	9,763 0	12,250 2	2,909 0	476 0	61 0
251	1 11	0 7	254 0	844 0	697 0	..	..
252	2 11	0 9	414 9	..	..	..	..
423	2 15	0 12	728 0	52 0	36 2	..	..
1344	3 1	0 9	52 0	4 4	..	..	..

The alleged loss is calculated on the assumption that 70 per cent. of the assets would be taken as the share of Government revenue. Calculated on that basis it will appear that the loss works out at approximately 77 per cent. of the existing revenue. From statistics prepared by this department it is found that in these areas about 12 per cent. of cultivable lands is still lying uncultivated. When that is cultivated the assets of the estates will go up.

But 70 per cent. is a high rate to-day. In the resettlement made of lots in

Sunderbans, which have fallen in after 99 years of lease, the revenue calculated is under the revised instructions issued by the Government at about 50 per cent. of the assets. In provinces where a Revenue Act in recent times was passed the tendency is to limit the Government demand to 50 per cent. If that be followed here the revenue would go up by about Rs. 20,367 (rupees twenty thousand three hundred sixty-seven). In other words at 70 per cent. of the assets the loss of revenue in these estates is 77 per cent. of the existing revenue for them, while at 50 per cent. it is about

26 per cent. The total revenue of the permanently settled estates in the district is Rupees nine lakhs seventy-one thousand eight hundred twenty-six. Hence, if the assessment had been at 70 per cent. and if the assets in all of them bore the same proportion to the revenue as in the cases examined, the gain to the exchequer would be about seven lakhs. If on the other hand 50 per cent. be the limit of assessment under the same conditions the gain would be about a lakh and thirty-four thousand. The amount of increase, however, will vary if in the rest of the estates the existing revenue bears a different proportion to the assets.

The exact figures must be worked out if the problem has to be tackled as a live issue. It is safe, however, to conclude that on the existing system of assessment of revenue there has been a loss. The extent depends upon the data then accepted and the state of the development of the particular estate or area. Assuming even that it can be shown that the revenue may be augmented on the basis of existing assets several practical problems will immediately arise. It is certainly not a fact that the surplus assets have been intercepted all by the *Zemindars*. A number of intermediaries intervenes. Every interest-holder thus has a right matured by the law established on the land. To acquire this surplus assets each interest will have to be acquired and to that must be added the cost of the *khas* management of the property which so far is being paid by the respective landlords.

105. The Permanent Settlement reviewed.—I repeat what is stated in the report on Birbhum.

We are now left to review the position. It must, however, be definitely grasped that to review the Permanent Settlement we must throw ourselves back, if we can, to the situation of the last decade of the 18th century. We must visualise the breakdown in the revenue system when the battle of Plassey determined the hand which would hold the sceptre. The breakdown was inevitable before the new order could be established. We must recognise the incompleteness of the administrative machinery in those early days, the failure of the experiments made for steady revenue collection, the ignorance of the real state of affairs, the wide divergence in the land system of Great Britain whose people had to determine the policy and that of India whose

people had to pay and then gauge the anticipated political danger in the uncertainty of the assessment of land revenue which was the main source of the revenue of the State and the concern of the largest percentage of people of the country.

It is easy to criticise with a century and half of time to watch the effect and easier still to ignore its good effect as unworked for and static facts and dilate on the weakness, actual or supposed, in the system. If we add to our equipment the 20th century stock of economic conceptions we may draw a dark picture indeed. It is probable that as a fiscal policy for a centralised Government in a modern State that was to follow its implications were not clearly grasped. It reserved no share in the growth of the unearned income which under a stable Government the country could reasonably anticipate as a likely result.

It cannot, however, be maintained that the authorities at the time did not watch with the utmost zeal the interests of the State or were lenient to the landlords. The records of the time for years after the Permanent Settlement show that the jails were full with defaulting proprietors.

It is difficult to trace estates which have been kept in tact since the Permanent Settlement till to-day. The profit to the *Zemindars* depended first on the margin of error in their favour in the *Hustabad* taken as the basis of assessment; secondly, on the uncultivated area which was left included within the estate not assessed to revenue being unproductive and thirdly, on the quantity of areas held under invalid grants, and fourthly, on the capacity of the soil to bear additional rent. That at the time the margin of profit was rigorously low can be judged from the effect already discussed. The hereditary aristocracy received the severest blow—the traditions they stood for disappeared and the whole social organism received a shock to which much of the dismemberment of the cultural and economic trends which has gone on since then can be traced.

It is true that after considerable and often painful sufferings and trials when things readjusted themselves a lot of the troubles of the actual cultivators remained. The unearned income went to sterile channels. But it can hardly be denied that its economic and political effect on the whole was satisfactory. It

gradually stabilised habits, standardised life. Though the security of the tenants' was not made safe by statutory contracts—which later had unfortunate effect—yet at the time when there was more quest for tenants than for land the situation itself was a substitute for law.

Stabler conditions increased the population, converted the quest of landlords for tenants to a ceaseless quest by tenants for land. Other problems arose—the rights of diverse interest-holders complicated issues. Legal enactments followed. Financiers in charge of public exchequers confronted with the puzzling problem of finding sources of revenue looked askance at the Permanent Settlement. People taught in the economics of a western country where conditions are entirely different shouted for agrarian socialism. The life of India is inseparately connected with the land system. In Bengal, it is particularly so. Some of the evils of which the critic complains have little to do with the Permanent Settlement of land Revenue and have to be traced to other sources.

It is not improbable that a cynical nationalist economist of the future may even attribute to the self-imposed limitation of the executive Government, a part of the progress which Bengal unquestionably enjoys. He would probably argue that it tended to conserve automatically a part of the wealth which in taxation would have gone out of his country for expenditure over which constitutionally, till of late, the people had no control. He might even attribute to this measure a part of that culture and general well-being which the people of Bengal—its peasantry, its middle class, its landlords, and even its much abused *mahajans* and lawyers—enjoy. The question of the abrogation of the Permanent Settlement, therefore, needs to be approached with the utmost circumspection. It is not yet a problem demanding immediate solution and it is no use attempting to cross the bridge before one gets to it. It is not necessary, therefore, to discuss it in details and may be touched upon in brief.

106. Alternatives to Permanent Settlement.—The figures of probable profit must depend upon the merits of each case throughout Bengal. The margin of profit depends upon a variety

of circumstances. Where the margin of profit is small, interference with the Permanent Settlement will mean little or nothing to the exchequer. It may on the other hand cause unnecessary unrest. We may examine what alternatives there are to the Permanent Settlement to meet the elastic demands of the exchequer if it be decided that this source must come under review. The following alternatives are to be considered:—

(1) The abrogation of the Permanent Settlement without compensation.

(2) The maintenance of the Permanent Settlement provided that the unearned income does not exceed a particular percentage of profit and inclusion of the excess for assessment.

(3) The maintenance of the Permanent Settlement and securing the permanence of tenancy and fixity of the rent to all the subordinate tenants provided it has reached a certain maximum which will be expressed in a share of produce to be determined for large tracts.

(4) The maintenance of the Permanent Settlement as such but to gradually buy up for the State the right to collect rent direct from the cultivators.

(5) To maintain the Permanent Settlement as such and to add to the cesses which will go on contributing to social work of the tracts.

Of these the first, in a stable society can be ruled out, the second is out of the question for a long time to come as a practical solution. The only possible way would be to buy up on raising loan which the extra profit may wipe out in course of a long period. The third and the fifth alternatives may help in the provincial revenue and deserve to be examined in details, while the fourth alternative will lead to wide diffusion of the benefits of the Permanent Settlement and the general prosperity thus indirectly brought about and add to the tax-paying capacity of the individual citizens. The fifth solution in the shape of road and public works cess and the proposed education cess though applied to the permanently as well as temporarily settled estates is already partly in operation. It seems to me that either the fourth or the fifth or a combination of the alternatives will probably get for the country all

that is expected to raise by taxation and that with the minimum of disturbances.

In the existing state of education and growth it is clear that agrarian socialism in the shape of common sharing of the products of joint cultivation on a large scale for ages yet to come will be out of the question.

I am convinced that the Permanent Settlement though it has defects—and what system has not—was on the whole a sound stroke of statesmanship, was the best that could be had in the circumstances and on the whole had beneficial effect on the people. It, however, at the time gave a very rude and devastating shock to the social organism and probably to that must be attributed a large share of the loss in the industrial and trade organisations of the day.

If it is to be examined afresh the manifold effect of a change should be very carefully weighed and a careful balancing must be made whether, taking the country as a whole, a particular policy will ensure economic betterment for the greatest number far more effectively than under the present system.

The case is somewhat different with the revenue-free estates. Though the area is not large it can at least yield an increase in the revenue not altogether negligible. The grants were originally made in the majority of cases for social purposes either of religion or education. Seldom a modern holder of such an estate renders that benefit to the society but he holds on exempt from any contribution of land revenue.

The position is examined later.

107. Changes in Revenue-roll after 1870.—After 1870 a number of estates was transferred from the revenue roll of the district to other districts such as Birbhum and Burdwan. There was a considerable fall in the revenue demand of the district. In course of the Rajshahi diara survey of 1916-20 some alluvial accretions from the bed of the Ganges on the side of the district were resumed and there was some increase in revenue. In 1928-29 the total revenue demand of the district was Rs. 10,40,502 for 2,378 estates borne on the register of revenue-paying estates of

the district. The records-of-rights prepared during the present operations show the following:—

Estates borne on register.	No.	Area.	Revenue.		
			Rs.	a.	p.
A part I	2234	1,078,834.69	9,71,826	14	½
K. M. Estates	33	12,933.08	34,711	3	2
T. S. Estates	250	27,137.38	58,811	11	5
A part II	171	129,043.02			
B part I	302	31,810.46			
B part II	19	10,593.57			
River area outside the record.	..	17,173.91			
		1,307,526.11			

or 2,043 square miles.

Diara proceedings were undertaken for the Bhagirathi, the Bhairab, the Jel-langhi, the Babla, the Mayurakshi and the Sealmari with the result that 169 new Diara estates were formed covering an area of 7,564.73 acres with a total revenue demand of Rs. 20,285-1 (rupees twenty thousand and two hundred eighty-five anna one).

108. Foreign estates.—There are estates borne on the register of revenue-paying estates of other districts such as Malda, Rajshahi, Nadia, Hooghly, Sonthal Parganas, Birbhum, Dacca and Burdwan having lands in this district. The total area covered by such estates in the district is 1,29,043.02 acres. This is the survival of the interspersed fiscal jurisdiction of the early times which the revenue surveyor so bitterly complained of. For general administrative purposes the tendency of the Government is to treat every district as a distinct unit and so far as the local judicial and executive branch of the administration is concerned the jurisdiction is confined within the geographical limits of the district and it will be an improvement if the fiscal jurisdiction be the same. But their situation and the adjustment of revenue, now and in future changes, are difficulties which are great.

The case is somewhat different with revenue-free estates. There are some lands in the districts of Birbhum and Murshidabad appertaining to revenue-free properties borne on the register of Burdwan Collectorate. The Land Registration registers to be maintained by the Collector are intended to account for every piece of land within the geographical limits of the district but there is no register to enter such foreign revenue-free lands. For such lands separate revenue-free numbers should be assigned and carried to the register of revenue-free lands of the district.

109. Resumed estates.—Most of the invalid *lakhiraj* lands in the district were resumed between 1839 to 1847. There are as many as 74 resumed *lakhiraj* estates with a total revenue demand of Rs. 4,659-11-1. The elaborate rules that were framed for the resumption of invalid *lakhiraj* lands appeared in the Governor General's letter, dated the 6th August 1788 and were recorded in the proceedings of the Board of Revenue, dated 5th September 1788. They were subsequently incorporated in the Regulations XIX and XXXVII of 1793. Registration of *Lakhiraj* lands as required by Section 24 of Act XIX of 1793 was commenced in 1201 B.S. but the majority of the *toidads* bear the date 1208 B.S. The procedure of resumption was to call upon the recorded owner as found in the *Baze Zaman Daftar* of the Collectorate to prove their title to the *lakhiraj* lands. Below is given short accounts of some of the more important resumed *lakhiraj* estates of the district.

Tauzi No. 251.—Resumption proceedings were drawn up for 4,236 *bighas* and 2 *kattas* of land claimed as *Debottar* land of *Kiriteswari Thakurani* alleged to have been granted by Surja Narain Ray, *Zemindar* of Rokinpur, on 11th *Magh* 1155 B.S. in *Mouzas* Paidear, Lakshinarayanpur and Surjanarainpur. Notices under Regulation II of 1819 were served on the owners. The alienation was made by the *Zemindar* himself and as it was not a case of *Badshahi* grant, the entire area covered by it was declared as invalid *lakhiraj* by the Special Deputy Collector on 18th July 1839. The lands as actually surveyed was 4,248 *bighas* and 7 *kattas*. There were 380 *bighas* of unculturable land, 41 *bighas* and 14 *kattas* of *Chakran* land and 14 *bighas*, 15 *kattas* of *Sikmi-lakhiraj* land. For the purposes of assessment these lands were deducted. The area actually assessed was 3,736 *bighas* 12 *kattas*. The assets for the lands were Rs. 1,869-1-7 to which Rs. 97-6-9 was added on account of *Falkar* and *Jalkar*. The net assets thus come to Rs. 1,966-8-4. Half of this, namely, Rs. 958-4-2 was taken as the share of Government revenue. To this again Rs. 22-9-8 was added on account of *Bajeapti Sikmi-lakhiraj* lands. The newly created estate was permanently settled with Rani Mon Mohini Debya from 1250 B.S.

Tauzi No. 252.—1,556 *bighas* of lands were claimed as *lakhiraj* by Kazi Jamaluddin Mea, Munshi Faijuddin Ahmad and others but they had no authoritative title deed to produce in support of their claim. Accordingly the lands were declared on 31st October 1838 as liable for assessment. A survey was made on 27th May 1841 but only 612 *bighas* and 15 *kattas* of land could be traced. The rest was not in possession of the owners. For the purpose of calculation of assets the following rate, per *bigha* was followed:—

	Rs.	a.	p.
Bastu ..	4	0	0
Udbastu ..	2	0	0
Dhani ..	1	2	2
Dihi ..	1	8	0
Garden ..	5	0	0
Bamboo ..	4	0	0
Tank ..	1	1	1
Cultivable fallow ..	0	10	0

and revenue calculated at 50 per cent. of the assets came to Rs. 233-11-9. But when the records went up to the Commissioner for sanction, he was pleased to direct fresh enquiry and survey with the result that 823 *bighas* and 14 *kattas* of land was found in possession of the owners and the following rate of assessment was followed:—

	Rs.	a.	p.
Udbastu ..	2	8	0
Garden ..	3	0	0
Dihi ..	1	8	0
1st class cultivated land ..	0	10	0
2nd class cultivated land ..	0	6	0
Cultivable fallow ..	0	3	0

Total assets of the estate based on this new rate came to Rs. 847-14 and the revenue of Rs. 423-15 was permanently settled with the proprietors from 1254 B. S.

Tauzi No. 389.—720 *bighas* and 4 *kattas* of land as shown in *Taidad* No. 116 of 1202 B. S. were claimed as *lakhiraj* by one Gobinda Sarma Bhattacharji in *mouzas* Mohespore and Jote Bhola appertaining to *Pargana* Goas; but the owner failed to produce any authority in support of his claim. As such it was declared invalid by the Special Deputy Collector on 27th April 1839.

After actual survey 790 *bighas* and 6 *kattas* of lands were found in possession of the proprietors and the following rate of assessment was adopted:—

		Rs.	a.	p.
Bastu	3	0 0
Udbastu	1	8 0
Garden	2	0 0
Dhani	2	0 0
Tank	2	0 0
One cropped land	0	10 0
Thatching grass	0	10 0
Kalai	0	10 0
Gahama	0	15 0

The total assets came to Rs. 630-7-2 and the revenue of Rs. 315-3-7 calculated at 50 per cent of the assets was settled permanently with the proprietors.

110. Case for subjecting all revenue-free lands to assessment of Government revenue.—By the ancient law of the country the ruling power was entitled to appropriate a certain share of the produce from every piece of land. In certain cases the ruling power gave up its interests and the rights of assessment in favour of an individual, a community or a corporate body in perpetuity or for a fixed term as a reward for distinguished services to the State or to provide for religious, charitable or educational institutions and the *Badshahi* grants so made were locally denominated as *Altamgha*, *Jaigir*, *Aima*, *Madad-i-mash*, etc. In subsequent years this right of alienation which could only be executed by the ruling power came to be grossly misused by the *Zemindars* (who were merely officers of the State at the time) and other Government Officials placed in charge of superintendence of revenue collection. Most of the alienations were made to the personal advantage of the grantee or for the clandestine appropriation of the grantor with the result that there was a gradual diminution of Government revenue. The effect of such dishonest alienation was marked immediately after the accession of the Company to the *Dewani*. Accordingly, the Government at various times declared that all grants for holding lands free from revenue made since the date of the Company's accession to the *Dewani* but without their sanction were illegal

and void and that they were liable to the Government revenue. At the same time grants of revenue-free lands made before the date of the *Dewani* were held as valid to the extent of the intentions of the grantor, provided the grantees had obtained possession. These two broad principles were incorporated in the Regulations 19 and 37 of 1793. The invalid grants were resumed and assessed to revenue while those satisfying the requirements of the *Badshahi* grants Regulation were formed into revenue-free estates. The point to-day, however, is whether there is any case for the perpetuation of the revenue-free grants. The *Badshahi* grants were declared valid apparently out of deference to the customary law of the country that prevailed under the ancient Indian rulers. But the entire custom governing the economics of the social organism have changed to-day. It is, therefore, open to question if there is really any moral bar apart from the legal one to subject this exempted area to bear reasonable share of the burden of assessment. Lands originally assigned to the village communities by the ancient Indian rulers for the watch and ward duties of local areas were resumed when the State took direct charge of discharging these duties. On a parity of reasoning it may be urged that the grant of revenue-free lands made by the ancient rulers for the purpose of education when the spread of education amongst the people was a matter entirely of individual enterprise should not continue when education is taken over as a duty of the State even though the particular assessment may be agreed to be earmarked for the same. Likewise, any alienation, of lands made for religious purposes cannot be justified in the altered state of Government of the country. It is specially so when it will be found that in very few cases the purpose for which the alienation of lands was made by the ancient rulers is being served now. In the district of Murshidabad there are 31,810·46 acres of revenue-free lands and calculated at the average incidence of revenue of rupee one per acre the addition of revenue is expected to be Rs. 31,810 (thirty-one thousand eight hundred and ten). On the basis of existing assets the revenue will probably be larger.

PART III.

Economic life of the people.

111. **The position as it was.**—That the district of Murshidabad once was flourishing can hardly be doubted. But ancient details of her past history are not available and it will not be possible to conclude how far the units of population in the neighbourhood—for even the district boundaries have changed—economically shared in the prosperity as it then existed. It is, however, a historical fact of importance that the district had some very important industries even before the political direction passed on to British hands and it is on record that it had an important trade and commercial life. It is believed that after Satgaon had been ruined by the silting up of the river, Kasimbazar was the great emporium of trade of Lower Bengal.

Rev. J. Long in his Essay on the Banks of the Bhagirathi quotes from Bruton as writing in 1632—"The City of Kasimbazar where the Europeans have their factories, the country affording great quantities of silk and muslin".

Prior to the advent of British factors the Dutch, the French, and the Armenians built factories in the district. The competition in one industry of silk started by the rivalry of the different people brought in European capital and European skill in working through factories and later on through machines. It appears from the records that when Job Charnock was the Chief factor in Kasimbazar in about 1681, out of "£230,000 sent out by the East India Company as investment to Bengal £140,000 was assigned to Kasimbazar". From Geoghejar's "Silk in India" (page 5) it appears that by 1776 "Bengal silk drove all competitors, except Italian and China silks, out of the English market".

In 1779 Col. Rennell wrote "Kasimbazar is the general market of Bengal silk, and a great quantity of *silk* and *cotton* stuffs are manufactured here, which are circulated throughout great part of Asia; of the unwrought silk, 300,000 or 400,000 lbs. weight is consumed in the European manufactories".

In another centre Jangipur silk filatures were in existence in 1773. The place was described by Lord Valentia in 1802 as "the greatest silk station of the

East India Company with 600 furnaces and giving employment to 3000 persons." The result was that we find Captain Hamilton writing at the beginning of the 18th century in "A New Account of the East India Company" (Volume II, page 21) "The country about Kasimbazar is very healthful and fruitful, and produces industrious people, who cultivate many valuable manufactures".

In 1811 a traveller writes "Kasimbazar is noted for its silk, hosiery, kords, and inimitable ivory work".

In 1857 the Revenue Surveyor recorded the following description—

"Silk filatures are found *all over the district*, wherever the mulberry will thrive, the property either of European or native merchants. The large factories belong almost exclusively to the former. The silk of Bengal is chiefly classed according to the old Residencies or head factories of the East India Company, that of Murshidabad being called Kasimbazar. It has already been mentioned that mulberry fields are much more valuable than any others, except the little plots on which *pán* is grown; but as the quality of the silk mainly depends on a full supply of good and fresh leaves to the worms, so the demand for mulberry constantly fluctuates, according as silk-worms are plentiful or otherwise. Sometimes, when worms are plentiful, the leaf is worth Rs. 2 per coolie load; when the worms fail, it is merely used as fodder for cattle, in the latter case not paying for the rent of the land. In favourable seasons, the gain to the mulberry-grower is great. The cocoons, owing to the natives feeding their worms on the least possible quantity of mulberry, have greatly decreased of late years in quality and size. During the time that the company worked the filatures, fresh stock from China and France was yearly brought to recruit the supply in this country. This practice has also been resorted to of late years, in the filatures of some of the European merchants. There are in each year three seasons, locally termed *bands*, of hatching the eggs, spinning and gathering the cocoons. The November *band*, from 1st October to end of February; March *band*, from 1st March to 30th June; July (or *barsat*) *band*, from 1st July to 30th September. The worms thrive best in the cold season, and the silk is then better in quality, and much more valuable. The March

band is not so good, and the rainy-season *band* the worst. A quantity of cocoons are selected and kept for stock, which are termed *sanchu* and are very valuable. Natives travel sixty and eighty miles from their homes to obtain worms of a good breed, or from localities noted for early breeding. These are taken by the purchasers to their homes and carefully kept; a few days after the moths come out, they lay their eggs, which are hatched in about ten or twelve days. The young worms require the greatest care and attention. They must be fed daily. They must be kept perfectly clean, and, above all, defended from the attacks of the ichneumon fly, which selects the finest worms in which to insert its eggs; and all dead worms must be immediately removed. Worms attacked by the ichneumon fly spin as usual, perhaps somewhat earlier, and the change to chrysalis is effected about the time that the fly's grub comes to life. It then feeds on the chrysalis, and eventually eating its way through the cocoon, destroys its value. From the time the worm leaves the egg to its beginning to spin, a month or six weeks elapses, according to the season of the year, the longest period being in the cold season. About three or four days are occupied by them in spinning.

"The manufacturer generally advances money to the *rayat* for the purchase of worms and mulberry plant; and in such cases a small reduction in price is generally made by the *rayat* for his cocoons. But the risk in advancing money is great; because, should anything happen to the worms or cocoons to decrease the quality or quantity of the silk, or perhaps destroy the yield altogether, the *rayats* are generally too poor to repay the advance. In Murshidabad district cocoons are purchased by number. In Rajshahi, the adjoining district across the Ganges, by weight. Of the two, the first system is perhaps more generally preferred by the purchaser. During the November and March *band*, it is usual to put the cocoons in the sun for five or six days. *Charpais* stuck up on end, mats, cloths,—all kinds of things may be seen used for placing them upon. They are then baked, and will with care keep for a month or more, affording ample time for working off. But the rainy-season *band* must be worked off at once, or the chrysalis changes, the moths "cuts out" and the cocoon is spoilt. It is necessary to heat the water in which

the cocoons are kept whilst being spun off, in order to dissolve the gluten that binds the fine fabric together. Under the old system, each pair of *katanis* or spinners had to be provided with a fire place, to heat their basins of boiling water. It required about 100 *maunds* of wood, each *maund* containing 60 *sers*, to work off one *maund* of silk. This quantity of wood used formerly to cost Rs. 12; but of late years (1857) the price has risen to double that sum. The wood is chiefly brought from the forests of Rájmahál. The consumption, however, has been so excessive as to lead to the adoption of a more economical process. Steam is now being introduced to heat the water, the spinning-room being fitted with a furnace, boiler and steam main pipes. These latter pass alongside the rows of basins of water, with which they are connected by smaller pipes furnished with stop-cocks. The rush of heated steam into the basin of water at once heats it to the required temperature. By its use, besides greater cleanliness in working off the silk from the absence of shoot flakes, ash-dust, etc., which were caused by the numerous fires of the old system, there is a great saving in consumption of fuel. The expense in altering the old filatures is doubtless the chief cause why steam has not been already introduced into all, coupled, perhaps, with the indisposition to change felt by the natives. The *kátanis* or winders receive wages at the rate of Rs. 5 per month. The *pákdárs*, who supply or feed the thread with fibres from the cocoons, as one after another is expended and thrown aside, receive Rs. 3 per month. The dexterity they acquire in handling the cocoons and keeping up the supply is astonishing. The *pákdárs* are generally young boys and girls, who get promotion to spinners after a few years. In Rajshahi district, across the Ganges, women and girls are not employed. Advances have also to be made to these people, and their death or desertion often entails serious losses on manufacturers.

"Besides those who are occupied as above mentioned, weaving the silk prepared in the many small native *bánaks* of filatures also affords employment to a great number of hands. *Korás*, *sáris*, bandannas, etc., are prepared by these weavers, of various colours and patterns. The chief colours are white, green, scarlet, and yellow. Silk pieces of almost any coloured tartan can be had to order

if a pattern be given to guide the workmen. Handkerchiefs are made plain or stamped, of various colours, the stamp used being a coarse wooden one."

Even as late as 1876 the statistical Reporter reported—

"There are 45 filatures belonging to or under the management of Europeans in Murshidabad district, and 67 filatures belonging to natives. The number of basins in the former is not less than 3,500; and in the latter, not less than 1,600, making a total of 5,100 basins. In addition to these, there are some 97 small filatures worked by natives in their homes, containing about 200 basins. Computing according to the house valuations recorded under the Road Cess Act, the value of the whole of the filatures may be set down at not less than Rs. 4,50,000. Each basin is worked by two persons; the total number of persons employed is thus 10,600. One-half of these represent the skilled workmen; there is, besides, a large number of peons, overseers, and clerks. The quantity of silk manufactured yearly can not be accurately ascertained, but it probably amounts to 3,000 maunds (246,000 lbs.) in an ordinary year. Estimated at a low price, say Rs. 14 per *ser*, owing to the unfavourable state of the market, the value of the silk produced will be found to amount to the large sum of Rs. 16,80,000 (£168,000). The amount paid to rearers of silk worms on this quantity of silk is about Rs. 10,80,00, and to the spinners about Rs. 1,80,000. If to these sums is added the cost of establishment, Rs. 2,40,000, the expenditure involved in manufacturing the product of an ordinary year will be found to amount to about Rs. 15,00,000 (£1,50,000). The margin of profits is not large, considering the outlay and the risks of the trade. These figures refer to spinning only.

"The weaving of silk cloths forms another branch of the industry of considerable importance. Looms are found in no less than 137 villages of the District. The villages of Basuá, Bishnupur, and Margrá, in the Rampurhat subdivision, and Mirzápur in the Jangipur subdivision, especially contain a large number of weavers. In these two subdivisions alone there are 1,450 weavers, and the number in the whole District may be computed at 1,900, besides the adult members of their families, who generally assist them in weaving. These weavers work under advances from silk

merchants. They are supplied with raw material by the latter, and return the manufactured cloth, receiving wages for their labour. Last year from eighty to one hundred thousand pieces of silk were woven the value of which could not have been less than Rs. 6,00,000 (£60,000). The amount spent amongst weavers for wages was about Rs. 1,00,000 (£10,000).

"The extent of the mulberry cultivation may be estimated at 50,000 *bighas* (17,000 acres), an estimate more probably under than above the mark. The rent of this land probably amounts to Rs. 1,50,000 (£15,000); while an average profit per annum of Rs. 10 on each *bigha* (£3 an acre) may be accepted as the gain of the cultivator of the present time (1876)".

Along with silk indigo flourished for a considerable period. In 1857 the report of the Revenue Surveyor had the following:—

"The chief indigo factories are in the *Bagri*, or eastern half of the District. The rich low lands along the Ganges, the *chars* or islands in its course, and the low lands near *jhils* and water courses, refreshed by inundation deposits, offer the best prospect to the planter. It often happens, however, that sand deposited is not good soil; that *chars* which yielded a splendid return one year, are moved lower down the river to another next year; or that large tracts of land are found, on the subsidence of the rivers, to have been washed away. In addition, the casualties of wind and weather; too much sunshine; too much rain; too quick a rise of the rivers, forcing too early a cutting of plant, and affording little or no time to work it off; bad weather during the making season preventing good deposit of fecula, and a hundred other causes, all combine to make indigo planting as hazardous as it often is lucrative."

Less extensive yet finding employment for a considerable part of the population were ivory-carving, brass-work. The district was once famous for lace-work—cloths, gloves, slippers, caps, etc., were beautifully embroidered with gold and silver lace. Workers on conch-shells—almost as good as those in the district of Dacca though of less artistic type flourished in various parts specially of Domkal and Hariharpara police-stations. Musical instruments were also manufactured in a number of places.

Of ivory-workers the following quotation from the remarks of Professor Royle in Lectures on the Arts and Manufactures of India (1852) when exhibits were sent to the London Exhibition of 1851 is made—

"A variety of specimens of carving in ivory have been sent from different parts of India and are much to be admired, whether for the minuteness of size, for the elaborateness of detail, or for the truth of representation. Among these the ivory-carvers of Berhampore are conspicuous. They have sent a little model of themselves at work, and using, as is the custom of India, only a few tools. The set of chessmen carved from the drawings in Layard's "Nineveh" were excellent representations of what they could only have seen in the above work, showing that they are capable of doing new things when required; while their representations of the elephant and other animals are so true to nature, that they may be considered the works of real artists and should be mentioned rather under the head of fine arts than of mere manual dexterity."

In the exhibition of 1888 the ivory-carvers of Murshidabad were declared to be perhaps the best in India "fully displaying the finish, minuteness and ingenuity characteristic of all true Indian art".

112. Health as it was.—From the point of view of health at the period the district certainly had a reputation for good health. Orme treating of the months immediately following the battle of Plassey in 1757, states that out of the English troops quartered at Calcutta and Chandernagar two-thirds were in hospital owing to intemperance produced by the distribution of the prize-money, while of 250 men at Kasimbazar 240 had been preserved by the excellency of the climate from the effects of at least equal intemperance. We find in 1763 applications from the writers in Calcutta "requesting permission to go to Kasimbazar for the recovery of health".

113. Health as it is.—In 1876 the following observations were noted by Sir W. Hunter in his Statistical Account "There are certain spots in the district which have been desolated by fever within the present century, and which still remain deserted. Of these the most conspicuous is Cossimbazar, where the old stagnant channel of the Bhagirathi still attests the cause of the pestilence which

overthrew this once flourishing city. It is said, that the place was depopulated by a malarious fever in 1814, the year which immediately followed the change of course of the river. There are still a few miserable inhabitants, who haunt the banks of the Cossimbazar lake, as the stagnant pool is yet called; but their sickly condition can never be ameliorated until either that lake be drained, or a current of fresh water be diverted into it. Baranagor, the residence of the celebrated Rani Bhawani, is said to have been destroyed in the beginning of this century by a similar catastrophe. The village of Mirzapore, in the thana of the same name, has also been ruined by fever; though in this case the cause of the malaria was not equally manifest. Prior to 1862, Mirzapore was considered a very healthy place, and had a large population, chiefly composed of silk manufacturers and weavers. But in that year a virulent outbreak of malarious fever took place; and it is said that in a few months half the inhabitants either died or left their homes. Medical relief was at length sent, and the mortality greatly diminished; but at the present time the village cannot boast of a single healthy person. A neighbouring village called Belghatá has met with the same fate. Both these two villages have dirty holes and old ponds, with innumerable clumps of bamboos and other trees on the sides."

In Col. Gastrell's Geographical and Statistical account of the district of Murshidabad in 1860 it is noted—

"The district of Murshidabad cannot be called healthy. The western side of the Bhagirathi has more claims to the title than the eastern, but on neither bank do the inhabitants appear robust and strong; they are all weakly-looking and short in stature. Fever and cholera are the great scourges of the district, more especially in the towns and villages on the Bhagirathi, and above all in the city of Murshidabad and its environs. In fact in the large bazars cases are to be found all the year round. As a general rule, the months of March, April and May, preceding the rainy weather, and October, November and half of December, which follow the cessation of the rains, are the most unhealthy months. No sooner does the Bhagirathi fall sufficiently low to allow the *jhil* waters to drain off into it, than sickness commences all along the river banks. It is to this influx of *jhil* water that the natives

themselves attribute the sickness so prevalent before the cold season has fairly set in. When to this is added the numerous half-burned bodies that are daily thrown into the river, which is then almost a chain of stagnant pools, there is little cause to wonder at the sickness of those who habitually use this water for drinking and cooking purposes."

A special enquiry about the health of the district was made by Captain G. E. Stewart, I.M.S., and Lt. A. H. Proctor, I.M.S., in connection with the Bengal Drainage Committee. The conclusions arrived at were—

"Malaria appears to be prevalent, and there is a large mortality directly due to Malaria over the whole area visited but particularly in the area lying south of the retired line of the embankment between the Bhagirathi river and the Gobra Nullah and in the Hariharpara Thana. The area lying north of the retired line of the embankment appears to be more healthy. Average spleen rates have been shown to be highest in villages with the most jungle, and also in villages and areas where the sinking of the subsoil water since the rains has been least. It is probable that it is to the combination of these two factors that the large amount of malaria is due, and not to either of them by itself."

The conclusions of the Drainage Committee were—

"Taking the average annual district death-rate from fever (1901-1905) as 29·7 per mille, it may be concluded that the thanas which exhibit a rate of 25 and under are fairly healthy, and those in excess of 40 noticeably the reverse. The healthy thanas of Khargaon, Kandi, Barwan, Gokaran and Bharatpore (constituting the Kandi subdivision) occupy a compact block in the south-west corner, while Raghunathganj and Mirzapore, along with Shamsheganj, Suti and Sagardighi (the rates for which are only slightly higher) lie to the north-west—all (except Raghunathganj) to the west of the Bhagirathi. The only other thanas on that side of the river are Nabagram, which is neither specially healthy nor the reverse, and Asanpur, which falls within the area of high rates. The feverish thanas group themselves in a well-defined tract, running north to south along the east bank of the Bhagirathi from Bhagawangola, through Manullabazar, Shahanagar,

Daulatbazar, Asanpur (west of the Bhagirathi), Sujaganj and Gorabazar. The average annual mortality from fever (1901-1905) in these thanas runs higher than any rates in either Jessore or Nadia, with the one exception of the Gangni thana in the latter, which exceeds the rate of Bhagawangola only. Hariharpara adjoining the east is only slightly less unhealthy. The eastern portion of the district, Gowas, Jalangi and Naoda, stands midway in point of health between the two areas above defined."

The facts may be summarised as follows:—

(a) Some portions of the district are extremely unhealthy, more so than Jessore or Nadia; other portions are comparatively healthy; (b) fever is similarly distributed; (c) local investigation has shown that the fever is malarial, but the presence or absence of *Leishman-Donovan* infection is an open question, (d) the most malarious thanas are Bhagawangola, Manullabazar, Shahanagar, Sujaganj, Gorabazar, Hariharpara, Asanpur, and perhaps Jalangi; and (e) the least malarious areas are comprised in the whole of Kandi subdivision and in the thanas of Shamsheganj, Suti, Raghunathganj, Mirzapur and Sagardighi."

The position has not very materially altered since the above result was recorded. Even the decade ending with 1931, in the years 1921 and 1928 the death rate per mille was 31·1 and 28·5, respectively. The average for ten years, however, was 22·8 which was somewhat lower, yet it continues to be high. The conclusion as to the present health of the district must be that it is poor.

114. **The causes of decline.**—The decline is apparent. If one goes round the district it will thrust itself on the attention of the on-looker. If one squats down and talks to old villagers, as a Settlement Officer often has occasions to do, their simple experience of life as they will narrate it will bear this out. But experts differ. My layman's view is that the disease is mainly due to poverty and ignorance coupled with lack of corporate will and strength to bring about a better state of affairs. If the economic position can be improved health will improve. It will be considerably hastened if there be sufficient educational propaganda about the

principles of right living. The deterioration in the river system is a primary cause of unhealthiness and of economic poverty. Other causes too have been added up. The position certainly can improve if the river system can improve. The position of drainage, etc., has already been discussed.

I would quote from pages 36-43 of the Malaria Commission (League of Nations) on its study tour in India (August 23rd to December 28th 1929).—

"The independent evidence of Lower Bengal and Southern Assam, which is so strikingly confirmatory, although collected under widely different conditions and relating to different species, leaves little room for doubt of Bentley's statement that the absence of Malaria in Eastern Bengal is due to the circulation of silt-laden water flooding the fields which grow wet crops.

"If that opinion be accepted, the results are far-reaching for Bentley's theory goes farther. He holds that the conditions in the western portion of Lower Bengal a century ago were similar to present conditions in the eastern portion. At that time, the land on the west was just as fertile as it still is in the east. It was just as freely flooded during the rains, since the "dead rivers," which we have described as ordinary delta branches of the Ganges-Brahmaputra, were in fact irrigation canals and formed part of an ingenious and highly effective system of flood-irrigation.

But this system has been destroyed—

(1) Because the *Khalkundi* and *Sayer* taxes were abolished at the time when permanent settlement of taxes was made. The profit from these taxes was used to maintain the canals for irrigation and navigation purposes and the system was thus deprived of its financial basis.

(2) Because a third tax was retained, the *poolbundi*, for the maintenance of bridges and embankments, which are so dangerous for canals if they are not constantly dredged.

(3) Because roads, railways and embankments, which blocked still further the canals and kept the silt-laden fertilising flood-water off the arable land, were constructed.

(4) The permanent settlement prevented the deterioration of the soil being noticed except by the actual tiller of the soil (a person without political influence who suffered most thereon).

This deterioration has had the triple effect of impoverishing the population, lowering its intellectual standard by driving the better class to the cities, converting the breeding-places from "Winter resorts" into summer resorts (to use Ramsay's expression) and thereby converting the hitherto potential malaria vectors into actual ones.

Bentley's scheme to eradicate malaria in Lower Bengal is the logical outcome of this opinion. No special anti-larval measures are needed; merely the re-establishment of the old system of irrigation by dredging the canals and improving embankments, roads, railways and bridges, so that they no longer obstruct the free flow of water will do. It is an economical and agricultural measure, which will not prevent anopheles breeding, but which will render them harmless.

The only serious danger remaining after this has been done will be the *bunded* tanks. In Lower Bengal these *bunds* are pierced by sluices, which are at present useless because there is no silt-laden water to enter through them. But in the Surma, inhabited by Bengalis, where such tanks also exist and where there are floods, tanks are still dangerous; in fact, they are the only source of malaria in the plains. The water is used for drinking purposes and is intentionally kept clear. It is evident, therefore, that the tanks will require special supervision, even after Bentley's scheme has been worked out."

A limited scheme is being worked in the district. It does seem that the idea is correct but how to carry it into effect is the problem.

115. **The present state of industry, trade and commerce.**—It has been shown what the main industry, trade and commerce had been in the past. The silk industry is getting through a moribund existence. That which inducted foreign traders long before even political power passed into non-national hands enthruses but few to-day. Protective tariff against Indian stuffs in the foreign countries was the first blow to prosperity. Even so late as 1892 the French Government had imposed no

serious tariff but since then the wall was raised high against import of Indian—chiefly Bengal—silks. France, China, Japan raised their exports and even flooded the Indian markets. Italy with a cheap but poor type of silk captured an appreciable part of the silk market in India, while to add to all these the local quality has deteriorated. The silk-worms suffer from diseases for which no effective remedy has so far been found. Disease-free seeds have been sought to be distributed but for some reasons or other, which cannot be discussed in details here, the improvement has not been very appreciable. All the European concerns have practically disappeared. Far less area is now being cultivated with mulberry. The mulberry land which had to be laboriously prepared is lying fallow. The high rent which it used to yield to the landlords remains unrealised.

Indigo has completely disappeared. What remain are some ruined buildings overgrown with trees and some big watering tanks now full of weeds to remind one of the past glory of this industry.

Ivory industry has practically disappeared, not even half a dozen artizans now work at the coarser types of production. There has been no demand and no market. The skilled artist has disappeared in consequence.

The brass-metal industry is still alive though largely affected by the inrush of aluminium and porcelain wares.

The cotton weaving as a staple industry has disappeared though a few still remain for coarser varieties of napkins and *lungis*.

Blanket weaving in the subdivision of Jangipore had at one time a market but

there has been little effort at improvement and the supply is poor.

The conch-shell industry survives almost in its primitive state but it has declined heavily in value as its exports to other parts of India which had been the chief feature in the past have been rigidly restricted now.

Fishing was the main and often the subsidiary industry for a large section of the people. *Bils* were common. *Bhandardaha Bil*, *Bishnupur Bil*, *Bil Belun*, *Chaltia Bil*, *Chanda Bil*, are mostly shallow now with considerable portion brought under the plough and in most the supply of fish reduced by the decadence of the Bhagirathi and other rivers which through flood and inundation had kept the supply in abundance.

The only substitutes so far introduced are the steel trunk and box industries from iron-sheets indented from foreign land.

Paddy husking as the indigenous system is disappearing and mills are being substituted. Some improvement has been effected in the conditions of milkmen through export of milk-products from Beldanga, Rejinagar, Bazarsahu and other places.

On the whole there can hardly be any doubt that more has been lost than gained and the proportion of the wealth of the district from industry, trade and commerce is considerably lower than what it was before.

116. The distribution of population by occupation.—*High percentage of agricultural occupation.*—The Census of 1931 recorded the occupational figures thus—

Population of Murshidabad arranged occupationally—Census, 1931.

Names of occupations.	Earners (Principal occupation).	Working dependents.	Total of earners and working dependents.	Non-working dependents.	Total population.	Persons having a subsidiary occupation.	Remarks.
A.—Production of raw materials	270,559	2,415	272,974	17,669	Percentage of column 4 to the total population is 19.91.
I. Exploitation of animals and vegetation.	270,546	2,415	272,961	..	..	17,668
(1) Pasture and Agriculture	265,720	2,376	268,096	..	..	16,381
(2) Fishing and hunting	4,826	39	4,865	..	..	1,287
II. Exploitation of minerals	13	..	13	..	..	1
B.—Preparation and supply of material substances.	82,001	613	82,614	10,952	Percentage of column 4 to the total population is 6.03.
III. Industry	37,920	267	38,187	..	..	4,143
IV. Transport	3,698	26	3,724	..	..	716
V. Trade	40,383	320	40,703	..	..	6,093

Names of occupations.	Earners (Principal occupation).	Working dependents.	Total of earners and working dependents.	Non-working dependents.	Total population.	Persons having a subsidiary occupation.	Remarks.
C.—Public Administration and liberal arts.	8,823	93	8,916	..	..	1,742	Percentage of column 4 to the population is .72.
VI. Public force ..	1,930	1	1,931	..	..	354	
VII. Public Administration ..	1,351	1	1,352	..	..	102	
VIII. Profession and liberal arts ..	6,542	91	6,633	..	..	1,286	
D.—Miscellaneous	32,629	1,145	33,774	..	..	1,445	Percentage of column 4 to the total population is 2.48.
IX. Persons living on their income ..	392	22	414	..	..	26	
X. Domestic service ..	20,197	245	20,442	..	..	658	
XI. Insufficiently described ..	6,386	31	6,417	..	..	515	
XII. Unproductive ..	5,654	847	6,501	..	..	247	
District total	394,812*	4,266	399,078	971,499	1,379,677	31,898	*This figure excludes and that for non-working dependents includes 69 males and 1 female, shown as earners under DXII.
Percentages	28.81	..	29.12	70.88	100	..	

"Dividing the total population in the same proportion as in column 4 above the figures show that the percentage of population stands thus :—

I.—Agriculture, Fishing, Exploitation of raw materials	68.37
II.—Industry, Trade, Transport	20.69
III.—Profession and Public Administration	2.00
IV.—Public Force	0.48
V.—Domestic service	5.12
VI.—Others	3.34
	100.00

They show the high percentage of population engaged on agriculture. It will be shown later what that agriculture means.

The figures of actual workers and dependents show that only about 29.12 per cent. of the people are earners and working dependents, while 70.88 per cent. of the people are non-working dependents. While one is prepared to conclude that a certain percentage in the family,—the children, the aged and the infirm—must necessarily be dependents, the high percentage of dependents betrays a weakness in the economic structure and an unaccounted for unemployment.

117. Occupation in the district of Murshidabad compared.—It will be interesting to compare the percentage*

of occupation in some of the western countries which is the main arena of material prosperity :—

Name of the country.	Agriculture and farming.	Industry, Trade and Transport.	Professions and public administration.	Armed forces.	Domestic service.	Others.
Austria (1920) ..	32	46	11	(1)	11	..
Belgium (1920) ..	19	65	7	2	5	2
Bulgaria (1926) ..	81	13	3	1	1	..
Czecho-Slovakia (1920) ..	40	47	5	2	4	2
Denmark (1921) ..	35	44	6	1	13	1
England and Wales (1921) ..	7	68	10	1	12	2
Estonia (1922) ..	66	19	4	2	2	7
Finland (1930) ..	63	22	3	1	2	9
France (1926) ..	38	50	6	2	4	..
Germany (1925) ..	31	58	6	1	4	..
Greece (1928) ..	54	26	4	1	2	8
Holland (1920) ..	24	59	7	1	8	1
Hungary (1920) ..	58	28	4	2	4	3
Iceland (1920) ..	56	23	4	..	15	1
Irish Free State (1926) ..	52	26	6	1	10	5
Italy (1921) ..	56	35	4	2	2	..
Latvia (1925) ..	68	19	4	1	2	5
Lithuania (1923) ..	79	10	1	1	5	2
Norway (1930) ..	35	48	6	(1)	10	1
Poland (1921) ..	76	15	2	2	2	2
Portugal (1911) ..	58	31	2	1	7	..
Rumania (1916) ..	80	13	2	2	3	..
Scotland (1921) ..	10	66	6	1	9	8
Spain (1920) ..	56	29	4	2	3	5
Sweden (1920) ..	41	45	5	1	7	1
Switzerland (1920) ..	26	61	7	(1)	6	..
United Socialist and Soviet Russia (1926) ..	67	9	2	(2)	..	8(3)
United States of America (1920) ..	22	51	8	1	10	8(3)

*From "The Intelligent Men's Review of Europe to-day" by G.D.H. and Margaret Cole (page 142).

(1) Included in previous column.
(2) Not included.
(3) Including clerks.

The figures quoted will show that the only countries where the percentage of population employed on "Industry, trade and transport" is near about that in Murshidabad are Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and United Socialistic and Soviet Russia. Probably the little countries in the list may be left out and the only country worth taking for discussion is Russia. If one remembers the population per square mile in the different countries the actual position in the terms of the units of population will be found worse than what the percentage indicates. Then, again, the Industry, Trade and Commerce in Murshidabad are of the flimsiest and cannot compare with those in Russia, while large scale farming specially under the agrarian socialistic organisations in Russia deals with large farms, using often modern machinery and getting the utmost out of the land. In Murshidabad as shown later the land is held by small agriculturists. The local area per tenancy is small, the total quantity of land per head is smaller, and even the quantity of land one has is split up into a number of small and scattered plots. The implements used are the most primitive though in view of all the circumstances, not excluding the economic capacity of the cultivators, probably the best suited but naturally inefficient.

118. Position of agriculture analysed.—Now the main occupation in the district is agriculture. It is worthwhile to analyse the position in agriculture in greater details.

It will appear that of the total number of 1,136,863 interests of all classes in the district the number held by—

- | | | |
|---|----|---------|
| (1) Rent-free <i>raiyats</i> is | .. | 24,488 |
| (2) <i>Raiyats</i> at fixed rent is | .. | 95,501 |
| (3) <i>Raiyats</i> , with settled
<i>raiyats'</i> interest and | } | 669,037 |
| (4) <i>Raiyats</i> with rights of
occupancy is | | |
| (5) Non-occupancy <i>raiyats</i> is | | 15,348 |
| (6) Service <i>raiyats</i> | .. | 10,657 |
| (7) Other classes of <i>raiyats</i> is | | 13,499 |

[It will be seen that the interests of *raiyats* of all classes represent near about 73 per cent. of the total interests of the district. Of these again the first four classes represent over 69 per cent. of the total number. The rent-free *raiyat* is the completest type of peasant proprietor but *raiyats* of the other three classes have the full right of transfer,

security against eviction, guarantee against undue increase of rent. The *raiyat* at fixed rent is not even liable to any increase in rent except if found to hold more land at any time that was settled with him. The number of interests held by proprietors of estates is only 1 per cent. of the total, while that held by tenure-holders of various grades has about 7.3 per cent. of the interests to themselves.

It can safely be said, therefore, that the district is the district mainly of peasant proprietorship.

119. Incidence of rent.—The rent of the *raiyats* varies in different parts of the district. The rent incidences stand as stated below :—

		Raiyats at fixed rent or rate of rent.	Settled and occu- pancy raiyats.	Non- occupancy raiyats.
		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
<i>Sadar subdivision.</i>				
1. Berhampore Town	..	2 5 4	3 3 9	4 4 1
2. Naoda	..	1 14 7	2 11 11	4 12 7
3. Domkal	..	1 15 4	2 12 4	3 15 3
4. Hariharpara	..	2 1 8	2 12 7	3 14 1
5. Beldanga	..	2 13 6	3 6 11	6 14 1
6. Jalangi	..	1 12 9	2 9 8	3 13 4
Average	..	2 4 1	2 15 8	4 6 5
<i>Lalbagh subdivision.</i>				
1. Bhagawangola	..	2 0 10	3 9 4	5 6 7
2. Lalgola	..	1 14 6	2 15 5	4 8 11
3. Raninagar	..	1 10 3	2 10 0	2 10 1
4. Jiaganj	..	2 15 0	3 0 0	3 10 2
5. Murshidabad	..	2 5 4	2 14 1	3 11 3
6. Nabagram	..	3 5 9	3 13 11	3 7 8
Average	..	2 8 2	3 3 1	4 5 1
<i>Jangipore subdivision.</i>				
1. Samserganj	..	2 1 0	3 3 9	4 2 11
2. Raghunathganj	..	3 8 10	3 7 10	4 13 5
3. Suti	..	2 4 4	2 14 4	4 1 6
4. Sagardighi	..	3 2 1	3 11 7	4 1 6
Average	..	2 11 4	3 5 10	4 2 9
<i>Kandi subdivision.</i>				
1. Kandi	..	3 11 6	4 14 9	6 2 7
2. Bharatpur	..	4 0 6	4 10 3	3 8 6
3. Burwan	..	4 3 9	4 9 6	4 10 11
4. Khargram	..	3 2 11	4 5 1	3 0 2
Average	..	3 13 5	4 9 5	5 9 4
Total for the district		2 15 1	3 7 0	4 8 4

It will appear that the highest rent-rate is mainly in the subdivision of Kandi; second comes the area of north-west *Rarh* represented by the subdivision of Jangipur; next comes the block of north-east *Bogri* with the exception of Nabagram which is geologically and geographically a *Rarh* area, though it is lower and much allied to *Bogri*. This area is in the Lalbagh subdivision. The last comes the area of the Sadar subdivision which is *Bogri* proper. Judging

by the nature of the soil, the value of the land and its productivity one may certainly observe that the varying rent-rates represent in the main the quality of the land in the various parts.

It will be seen from paragraph 57 that an acre of the net cropped land area consists of—

	Acres.
One cropped area ...	67
Twice cropped area ...	33

Paddy outturn is at 15 (fifteen) maunds of *Aus* and 18 (eighteen) maunds of *Aman* assuming that the land is well watered and manured, i.e., the year had a good rainfall and the people had the economic capacity to manure. Taking both *Aus* and *Aman*, the average outturn may be taken in a normal year of rainfall and with decent manuring about sixteen maunds per acre allowing for the lower value of *Aus*. The price of paddy at the average of 10 years (1921-30) is Rs. 3-2-6 per maund. Its value is Rs. 50-8 (rupees fifty and annas eight). The price of straw is at the rate of Rs. 8 (rupees eight) per acre in the minimum. The value of second crop is at an average of about Rs. 60 per acre. As only a third of the area has a second crop the

gross value of the produce per acre is about Rs. 78-8 (rupees seventy eight and annas eight).

The average incidence of settled raiyat's rent in the district is Rs. 3-7-0. The rent thus represents only about 4 per cent. of the total value of the produce. Rs. 2-15-1 per acre or about Rs. 3 (three) in round figures is the rent-rate of tenancies at fixed rent. This type of tenancies is in the main supposed to have continued at the same rent from the time of the permanent settlement. The value of the produce per rupee at the time of the Permanent Settlement was at least a third of what it is to-day. Hence the rent incidence to-day represents a far smaller share of the value of produce than it did at the time of the Permanent Settlement. It is only when the prices go down to about Re. 1 (rupee one) per maund that the rent represents a larger share of the value of the yield of the acre.

120. **Land of small tenancies.**—An attempt was made to group tenancies according to sizes. The rules that determined the procedure were as noted below :—

"Grouping of all tenancies in the following classes should be done for each village by a special staff :—

1 acre or less.		Over 1 up to 2 acres.		Over 2 up to 3 acres.		Over 3 up to 4 acres.		Over 4 up to 5 acres.		Over 5 up to 15 acres.		Over 15 up to 25 acres.		Over 25 acres.		Remarks.
No. of tenancies.	Total area.	No. of tenancies.	Total area.	No. of tenancies.	Total area.	No. of tenancies.	Total area.	No. of tenancies.	Total area.	No. of tenancies.	Total area.	No. of tenancies.	Total area.	No. of tenancies.	Total area.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
																17

This should be done from the Janch Form, page by page, in a separate sheet of paper for each village and the total of all pages struck which will give the abstract for the village.

Lands in *Khas* possession will be taken into consideration in case of all except *raiya*s. For the latter the area sublet will be treated as separate tenancy only when the under-*raiya*t has a right of occupancy. Difficulty will arise in the case of interests of different classes.

(1) For proprietors and tenure-holders the *khas* lands include or may include a number of plots of land or classes which may modify largely the areas of these *khatians* without in any way affecting generally the area under cultivation or which can be brought under cultivation.

The size in such cases will be determined by the area covered by cultivated or cultivable lands in such *khatians*. From the *khatians* of landlord classes, therefore, will be excluded all areas which are of classes not to be ordinarily met with or included in *raiya*ti holdings. For example, *halats*, rivers, *khals*, homesteads of landless labourers, *Kabarsthan*, *Smashan*, etc., should be left out. For a landlord's *khatian*, therefore, if there are plots consisting of—

Plot No. 220	..	2.24 acres <i>Aman</i> .
" 230	..	1.40 acres <i>Nutan Patil</i> .
" 520	..	5.20 acres <i>Nadi</i> .
" 524	..	3.24 acres <i>Rasta</i> .
" 325	..	1.25 acres homestead of landless workers.
" 420	..	0.25 acres <i>Kabarsthan</i> .
" 422	..	0.15 acres Temple.

13.73

it will be considered as a tenancy of 3.64 acres and will be noted in columns 7 and 8 and not as a tenancy of 13.73 acres to be noted in columns 11 and 12.

(2) In case of *raiyyati* holdings the total area of the *raiyyati* holding will be taken into consideration and not the area in *khas* possession when a part is sublet to under-*raiyyat* without right of occupancy.

(3) Non-cultivators or tenants not coming under the Bengal Tenancy Act will be excluded. Their interests should be excluded but all classes of cultivators including service tenants must be included. The under-tenants of service *raiyyats* will have the same treatment as under-*raiyyat* without right of occupancy.

(4) The statistics thus will include all the interests (a landlord who has sublet the entire area will be treated as an interest holder in column 1 without area) except the District Board, Public Works Department interests or the like, the *dakhalkar*, *Basat*, outside-record interests and interests of under-*raiyyats* without right of occupancy. To ensure that

all the interests of the village and thus ultimately of the police-station are accounted for, a summary should be added at the end:—

Total number of interest in the village	X
Number excluded—	
Under-raiyyat without right of occupancy	a
Basat	b
Dakhalkar	c
P. W. D.	d
D. B.	e

Number accounted for in the statistics
 $X - (a + b + c + d + e)$.

The statistics will be compiled Thana-war and then Districtwar.

Appendix VIII shows the details of these figures. It will appear that excluding the interests and the areas held by bodies or individuals who are not connected with the agriculture of the district and whose legal status is not determined by the Bengal Tenancy Act, the total number of interests comes to 985,596 and the area covered by them is 1,215,314 acres or in other words the area per interest comes on the average to about 1.23 acres.

The size of the tenancies will be apparent from the summary noted:—

Size of tenancies—Percentages.

Size.	Subdivision.	No. of Interests.	Area held (acres).	Percentage of the total.		Average area of each tenancy in acres.
				In interest.	In area.	
1 acre or less	Sadar	203,156	70,598	20.7	5.8	.35
	Lalbagh	142,349	52,130	14.4	4.3	.37
	Jangipur	129,689	44,722	13.1	3.7	.34
	Kandi	203,918	58,614	20.7	4.8	.29
	District	679,112	226,064	68.9	18.6	.33
Over 1 acre and up to 2 acres	Sadar	45,369	64,373	4.6	5.3	1.42
	Lalbagh	38,338	54,459	3.9	4.5	1.42
	Jangipur	33,246	47,505	3.4	3.9	1.43
	Kandi	37,656	52,575	3.8	4.3	1.41
	District	154,609	218,912	15.7	18.0	1.42
Over 2 acres and up to 3 acres	Sadar	18,745	45,914	1.9	3.8	2.45
	Lalbagh	16,077	39,263	1.6	3.2	2.44
	Jangipur	13,823	33,758	1.4	2.8	2.44
	Kandi	14,547	35,465	1.5	2.9	2.44
	District	63,192	154,400	6.4	12.7	2.44
Over 3 acres and up to 4 acres.	Sadar	9,478	32,753	1.0	2.7	3.45
	Lalbagh	8,294	28,718	.8	2.4	3.46
	Jangipur	6,743	23,388	.7	1.9	3.47
	Kandi	7,034	24,270	.7	2.0	3.45
	District	31,549	109,129	3.2	9.0	3.46

Size.	Subdivision.	No. of Interests.	Area held (acres).	Percentage of the total.		Average area of each tenancy in acres.
				In interest.	In area.	
Over 4 acres and up to 5 acres.	Sadar	5,631	25,324	·6	2·1	4·50
	Lalbagh	4,388	19,042	·4	1·6	4·34
	Jangipur	3,849	17,228	·4	1·4	4·48
	Kandi	4,061	18,140	·4	1·5	4·46
	District	17,929	79,734	1·8	6·6	4·44
Over 5 acres and up to 15 acres.	Sadar	11,366	89,128	1·2	7·3	7·99
	Lalbagh	8,835	68,790	·9	5·6	7·78
	Jangipur	7,096	54,374	·7	4·5	7·66
	Kandi	7,185	53,828	·7	4·4	7·50
	District	34,482	266,090	3·5	21·8	7·71
Over 15 acres and up to 25 acres.	Sadar	1,189	22,295	·12	1·8	18·75
	Lalbagh	752	14,141	·08	1·1	18·80
	Jangipur	609	11,465	·06	1·0	18·82
	Kandi	432	7,962	·04	·7	18·43
	District	2,982	55,863	·3	4·6	18·73
Over 25 acres	Sadar	707	39,182	·07	3·2	55·42
	Lalbagh	457	29,914	·05	2·5	65·45
	Jangipur	347	19,292	·04	1·6	55·59
	Kandi	230	16,734	·04	1·4	72·76
	District	1,741	105,122	·2	8·7	60·38
Total	Sadar	295,641	389,566	30·0	32·1	1·32
	Lalbagh	219,490	306,428	22·3	25·2	1·41
	Jangipur	195,402	251,732	19·8	20·7	1·28
	Kandi	275,063	267,588	27·9	22·0	·97
	District	985,596	1,215,314	100	100	1·23

121. **Size of tenancies in foreign countries.**—From the figures published it will be found that the percentage of interests and areas held by holding of about 25 acres and less and those above the same area stand thus (further details are not available) in some of the European countries.

(1 Hectare=2·4711 English acres.)

GERMANY.

Distribution of agricultural and forestal holdings according to size of agricultural area in 1925.

Classification of holdings according to size of agricultural area.	Number.	Total area.	Agricultural area.
		Hectares.	Hectares.
From 5 to 50 acres	1,846,220	554,552	372,038
From 0·5 to 2 hectares	1,181,211	1,788,260	1,215,634
From 2 to 5 hectares	894,454	3,970,830	2,924,056

Classification of holdings according to size of agricultural area.	Number.	Total area.	Agricultural area.
		Hectares.	Hectares.
From 5 to 10 hectares	596,184	5,687,337	4,176,436
From 10 to 20 hectares	359,971	7,073,847	4,981,098
From 20 to 50 hectares	174,155	7,304,354	5,076,709
From 50 to 100 hectares	25,870	2,665,819	1,691,920
From 100 to 200 hectares.	8,901	1,986,703	1,240,824
From 200 to 500 hectares.	7,563	3,409,587	2,376,381
From 500 to 1,000 hectares.	2,922	1,957,195	1,312,317
1,000 hectares and above.	183	379,271	229,719
Total ..	5,096,534	36,777,755	25,598,032
Under 5 acres ..	18,872	12,303	628
Non-agricultural area	27,678	4,820,111	..
Total general ..	5,143,084	41,610,169	25,598,660

NORTHERN IRELAND.

Distribution of agricultural holdings according to size in 1925.

Classification of holdings according to size.	Number.	Area in Hectares.
Under 1 acre	25,517	4,119
From 1 to 5 acres	12,578	17,771
From 5 to 10 acres	16,845	55,465
From 10 to 15 acres	14,557	77,616
From 15 to 30 acres	28,918	265,033
From 30 to 50 acres	16,704	267,715
From 50 to 100 acres	11,137	307,852
From 100 to 200 acres	2,792	147,472
From 200 to 500 acres	687	81,133
Above 500 acres	192	83,431
Total	129,927	1,307,607

IRISH FREE STATE.

Distribution of agricultural holdings according to size in 1929.

Classification of holdings according to size.	Number.	Total area in Hectares.	Agricultural area in Hectares.
Under 1 acre	54,904	15,065	14,763
From 1 to 2½ acres	15,481	11,016	10,534
From 2½ to 5 acres	19,330	32,142	29,914
From 5 to 10 acres	37,489	125,382	116,519
From 10 to 15 acres	39,893	213,391	191,985
From 15 to 30 acres	91,807	846,442	727,526
From 30 to 50 acres	63,405	1,017,332	889,725
From 50 to 100 acres	60,909	1,450,625	1,221,512
From 100 to 200 acres	21,179	1,185,952	931,482
From 200 to 500 acres }	8,287	1,316,963	744,689
Above 500 acres			
Total	402,744	6,214,302	4,878,649

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

Distribution of agricultural holdings according to size of agricultural area in 1927.

Classification of holdings according to size of agricultural area.	Number.	Agricultural area in Hectares.
10 ares and under	94,118	4,997
From 11 to 99 ares	337,705	179,887
From 1 to 5 hectares	635,613	1,845,328
From 5·01 to 10 hectares	209,836	1,584,174
From 10·01 to 30 hectares	160,506	2,621,161
From 30·01 to 100 hectares	25,780	1,254,331
Above 100 hectares	4,881	1,166,195
Total	1,468,439	8,656,073

CANADA.

Distribution of occupied agricultural holdings according to size in 1921.

Classification of occupied holdings according to size.	Number.	Total area in Hectares.
From 1 to 5 acres	21,503	19,502
From 5 to 10 acres	22,555	67,850
From 10 to 50 acres	82,713	1,192,181
From 50 to 100 acres	158,292	5,611,243
From 100 to 200 acres	229,648	14,491,703
From 200 to 300 acres	31,482	3,995,479
Above 300 acres	164,897	32,490,373
Total	711,090	56,968,331

UNITED STATES.

Distribution of agricultural holdings according to mode of tenure in 1925.

Holdings farmed by—	Number.	Area in Hectares.
Full owners	3,313,490	169,745,532
Part owners	554,842	40,691,158 (a) 38,988,131 (b)
Managers	40,700	17,440,903
Cash tenants	393,452	21,930,334
Share tenants	2,069,156	63,336,407
Other tenants		
	6,371,640	352,132,465

(a) Owned land. (b) Rented land.

122. Comparison with France.*

Some time ago there appeared in a publication the averages of holdings in France. No recent figures are available but as the destruction of lives during war and other consequences have tended to reduce rather than increase the pressure on land one might presume that the tendency to larger sizes is operative. Yet the old figures will bear comparison.

Sizes.	France.	Sadar.	Lalbagh.	Jangipore.	Kandi.	District.
		Holdings.	Holdings.	Holdings.	Holdings.	Holdings.
Under 5 acres	10 per cent.	282,379 28·8 per cent.	209,446 21·1 per cent.	187,350 19·9 per cent.	267,216 27·1 per cent.	946,391 96 per cent.
From 5 to 15 acres	15 per cent.	11,366 1·2 per cent.	8,835 ·9 per cent.	7,096 ·7 per cent.	7,185 ·7 per cent.	34,482 3·5 per cent.
From 15 to 25 acres	40 per cent.	1,189 ·12 per cent.	752 ·08 per cent.	609 ·06 per cent.	432 ·04 per cent.	2,982 ·3 per cent.
Over 25 acres	35 per cent.	707 ·07 per cent.	457 ·05 per cent.	347 ·04 per cent.	230 ·04 per cent.	1,741 ·2 per cent.

The figures demonstrate what must be apparent as a fact that the small-sized tenancies are the rule in Murshidabad as against the large-sized ones in European countries. We may analyse the difference with France. The main reasons are—

(1) the population is sparser in France being about 197 per square mile than in Jangipore, Lalbagh, Sadar and Kandi subdivisions where 690, 605, 629 and 715 persons, respectively, inhabit per square mile;

(2) the percentage of population living on agriculture is far lower in France which is about 38 per cent. than in the district of Murshidabad which is at least 68 per cent.; and

(3) the laws of inheritance for Hindus and still more for the Muhammadans tend to disintegrate and while law Napoleon in France has certain similar tendencies they are counteracted by marriages which go to reunite and conserve family properties. In Russia and countries developing on socialistic lines large aggregates are being definitely aimed at to do away with the wastage involved in small farming.

What the wastage means will be gathered from the fact that on average each tenancy has four plots—each plot being of a size varying between ·5 to ·3 of an acre generally and at times even smaller. This plot is not a physical plot again but is one designated to show an area growing the same crop held by the same person and under the same tenancy conditions. Within this plot again there may be and very often are smaller physical plots cut up by *ails* or raised earth—ordinarily used to hold water for irrigation—so that the plough

can't pass from one such segment to another. Over and above these, it must be remembered that the homestead lies in one portion of the village whence the cultivator starts and his plots of the same tenancy—small as they are—generally lie scattered over different parts of the same and not unoften neighbouring villages.

The laws of inheritance both for the Hindus and the Muhammadans tend to disintegrate properties. In the case of the latter inter-marriages between cousins, which is permitted, can re-unite, in the case of the former such marriages are prohibited and the tendencies persist.

With a holding as small as stated, with that small area split up into strips and these strips lying scattered over different parts of the village how far effective and economic cultivation is possible must be left to be imagined.

123. More than one cropping and irrigation.—From an analysis of the crops grown as shown in details in the *Jinswar* (Appendix V), it will appear that the percentage of areas yielding more than one crop is for the district 32·83 per cent. of the net cropped area. Of the net cropped area the area under paddy is 715,598 acres or 76 per cent. Of the paddy area the area under *Aman* is 59·4 per cent. and that under *Aus* is 40 per cent. It has been shown that the percentage of the people (workers and dependents) which live on agriculture is 68·37. The total cultivated area (including current fallow) per head of agricultural population is 1·05 acres. Assuming that the average family consists of five individuals—two adults, one youth and two children, the average land per head being 1·05 acres the average of the family comes to 5·25

acres. Of this *Aman* paddy represents about 2.25 acres of area. The area irrigated out of the total area under cultivation is 167,044 acres. As the area under irrigation is mainly in the *Rarh* area and the cultivated area in that tract is about 506,607 acres we get that the average area irrigated out of the area brought under cultivation is small indeed in spite of the fact that paddy needs water at every stage.

The figures for irrigation for the different police-stations stand thus:—

Thana.	Total cultivated area.	Total irrigated area.	Per-cent-age.
Berhampore ..	54,775.56	1,243.99	2.27
Naoda ..	46,556.44	..	..
Domkal ..	61,356.71	..	..
Hariharpara ..	49,212.45	..	..
Beldanga ..	72,014.71	856.46	1.19
Jalangi ..	39,244.07	..	..
Sadar Subdivision ..	3,231,139.94	2,100.48	.65
Bhagawangola ..	55,617.32	..	..
Lalgola ..	33,341.41	..	..
Raninagar ..	60,424.22	..	..
Jiaganj ..	6,942.81	280.58	4.04
Murshidabad ..	26,450.30	..	..
Nabagram ..	54,456.51	17,328.40	31.82
Lalbagh Subdivision ..	237,232.57	17,608.98	7.41
Samsarganj ..	41,740.78	353.61	.84
Raghunathganj ..	49,394.90	1,415.37	2.86
Suti ..	48,527.91	779.02	1.60
Sagarighi ..	64,586.14	9,523.26	14.74
Jangipore Subdivision ..	204,249.73	12,071.26	5.90
Kandi ..	43,512.78	21,007.19	48.27
Bharatpur ..	68,083.28	47,458.71	69.70
Burwan ..	52,889.01	35,934.46	67.94
Khargram ..	61,081.36	30,863.11	50.52
Kandi Subdivision ..	225,566.43	135,263.47	59.96
Murshidabad District	990,183.67	167,044.19	16.87

124. Conclusion.—It will appear from what is stated above that the total area of cultivated land per family comes to 5.25 acres. Of this area about 5 per cent. is left fallow from year to year for recoupment. Of the remaining area, which is cropped, 32.83 per cent. yields a second crop, while 76.00 per cent. yields paddy—generally nothing but paddy. Of the total cultivated area for the family a very small portion has any chance for irrigation now.

The result of all this is that the income from this type of agriculture is poor and that for about 270 days in the year the adults in the family have no directly remunerative work to engage themselves in. The inevitable consequence is that for the large majority of

the people the economic solvency is precarious. In those cases where the area per capita is larger than the average the position is a little better but then there is corresponding worsening of the condition in the cases of those who have less than the average.

125. Agricultural indebtedness.—To go into the question of agricultural indebtedness it will be convenient first of all to discuss the different methods by which loans are obtained. The following may be taken as a fairly exhaustive list of the various methods by which loans are secured:—

(1) *Mortgage of movable properties.*—Simple and usufructuary.

(2) *Pledge of ornaments and utensils.*—By this transaction loans for small amounts are secured and the transaction is generally confined to neighbours and co-villagers.

(3) *Simple bonds.*—Registered or unregistered, having attesting witnesses.

(4) *Dastabaz or Hatchitta.*—On an one anna stamp as an acknowledgment of debts.

The document does not contain any witness nor does it mention any interest. Although no witness is required to attest the document money is advanced in the presence of some persons to safeguard against future contingency. The interest although not mentioned in the *dastabaz* is orally stipulated. On *dastabaz* Civil Court decrees are also secured, if proved, with interest to the extent of 25 per cent.

(5) *Pro-note.*—Interest varying between Re. 1 to Rs. 3.2 per month per cent.

(6) *Dadan.*—By this transaction money is advanced specially to jute and mulberry growers in the district at sowing season, mostly by persons who deal in jute and cocoons. The stipulation is that the cultivators should make over the crops when ready at an advantageous rate. The transaction is practically for a period of 3 to 6 months in the year and for that period alone the investors secure to them, an interest varying between 12½ to 25 per cent. by speculation.

(7) *Duno, Dera and Showa* (2, 1½, 1½) business for paddy and cereals. By this transaction investors advance paddy or cereals to the cultivators according

to requirement and realise in kind immediately after the harvest time 100 per cent., 50 per cent., or 25 per cent. in excess, in accordance with local customs. If payment fails either on account of failure of crops or other unforeseen circumstances interest runs at compound rate. This is a common method of lending business in vogue in almost every agricultural village in the district. There are big lenders (*Goladars*) in the village who store paddy and cereals in their barns for this business alone. The majority of the cultivators are forced to borrow by this method just to keep themselves on for some part of the year when they have neither any stock nor any outside employment. In any abnormal year of under-production they are forced to borrow more and more till at last, when the total advances exceed the capacity of their holdings, they are compelled to sell their lands to the *Goladars*.

(8) *Mortgages of immovable property*.—The rate of interest varies according to amount from 9 per cent. to 18 per cent. At times even higher interest is charged.

(9) *Loan Offices and Co-operative Banks*.

The only available statistics are as to loans secured by mortgage as also through Banks. For obvious reasons no figures can be gathered under any of the other sources mentioned above.

The following statistics were gathered for the district as a whole from the District Sub-Registrar's office :—

Year.	Number of mortgages executed.	Total amount covered by the deeds.
		Rs.
1922	10,152	14,56,262
1923	9,133	15,25,854
1924	11,142	16,27,009
1925	9,432	16,93,794
1926	10,274	17,85,658
1927	13,317	20,68,293
1928	20,941	26,03,066
1929	11,839	18,55,806
1930	11,371	16,06,175
1931	7,672	14,55,555

It may be reasonably assumed that the mortgages of the last 6 years all remain unredeemed and that on the average 3 persons are concerned in one mortgage deed. Thus the total indebtedness for 226,242 persons in mortgages alone come to Rs. 1,13,74,553 which works out at an average of Rs. 50 per head. The amounts under mortgages vary with the rise in prices. In 1927, 1928 and 1929 the prices were the highest and the amounts under mortgage were correspondingly on the increase. There was a corresponding fall in prices in 1930 and 1931. Simultaneously, there was a marked fall in the amounts under mortgage.

The following statement will show the total amount of the loans issued to members of all the co-operative societies in the district :—

Year.	No. of societies.	No. of members.	Loan advanced.	Balance pending.	Working capital.	Remarks.
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
1924-25	407	8,942	2,50,644	6,00,412	6,93,799	Out of 407 there are 387 agricultural societies with working capital of Rs. 5,97,123.
1925-26	427	10,084	2,75,579	6,37,318	7,55,269	Do. 405 Do. Rs. 6,25,773.
1926-27	475	11,343	3,51,234	7,63,461	8,89,610	Do. 455 Do. Rs. 7,58,712.
1927-28	623	13,931	4,14,874	10,14,635	11,82,210	Do. 599 Do. Rs. 10,22,063.
1928-29	673	15,323	3,15,279	10,54,809	13,18,246	Do. 640 Do. Rs. 11,32,905.

There are 2,290 villages in the district with an average area of 9 square mile. Thus on the average a group of 3 villages is served by one society.

The balance pending at the end of every year will show the indebtedness of the members of the societies, assuming, of course, as under the rules of the co-operative department, that the members

have no other liability. Thus, in 1929, the average indebtedness per member was about Rs. 70.

The existing total indebtedness of (226,242 plus 15,323) or 241,565 persons in the district under mortgage and co-operative banks alone amounts to Rs. 1,24,29,162. The total population of the district as per last census is

1,370,677 (683,483 males and 687,194 females). This shows that more than 1/6th of the population of the district is involved in debts through mortgages and banks. As regards the liabilities of the remaining portion of the population no statistics are available but as already stated the inequitable kind of indebtedness of the agriculturists is the "*Duno, Dera, Showa*" transaction.

It will, however, be clear that the statistics of debt are very difficult to collect. Most of the sources of debt stated above are beyond the reach of any official agency. The total amount of indebtedness, therefore, is difficult if not almost impossible to calculate. I can only note that so far as the agricultural people are concerned there is poverty no doubt but stating generally the burden of debt did not seem to be heavy. In over sixty per cent. of cases the holdings were found to continue in the same family in possession of the heirs, entitled to inheritance by law. This would have been otherwise if there had been heavy debts which ultimately would certainly have resulted in the parting with land. A certain amount of debt is more in the nature of capital borrowed to run the business repaid annually from the produce. In the absence of any other agency to supply cheap capital in time of need the *Mahajan* fills the gap. Here, too, debt is not necessarily unproductive or a consequence to be regretted. It is, however, difficult to be precise.

I must note, that freedom from debt cannot be secured by legislation. It can only be by the augmentation of the income of the agriculturist and training him in habits of thrift and profitable expenditure. Interest on loan should be reduced but that can only be by providing means for cheap credit without tempting extravagance. Much was expected of the educational aspect of the co-operative movement. But it must be admitted with regret that the result so far and in this district has been disappointing.

126. Position as it stands.—It can hardly be questioned that the economic position is unsatisfactory. The main source of income is agriculture. That agriculture is precarious. In the *Rarh* tract it depends largely on irrigation. Sources of irrigation are drying up. Getting about the district one finds rarely a new tank. Every village on the other hand has scores of good tanks wholly or largely silted up. Mulberry growing and silk reeling and weaving

had been one of the main pre-occupations of the people. They are fast declining. Though bell-metal industry still exists it has declined in competition with other articles of similar make. Ivory works, lac, mango crops are on the decline. Trade and commerce have gone down since the days when Murshidabad was the capital and the district one of the chief centres of foreign trade. It is true that some fresh avenues have been opened. But these are not sources of fresh wealth but only aids in distribution such as the professions and the services. At the top of all, population has gone on increasing and added to the complexities of the problem. The result is that people fall back upon land. The land is divided into small plots. The holdings which consist of a number of scattered strips are uneconomically situated. They receive little attention, they go down in productivity; yet land is the main stay of the bulk of the population.

127. Remedy.—Certain remedies can be applied without any considerable disturbance to the social and economic structure, while certain others must depend upon more radical methods.

In the former category must be put (a) partial consolidation of holdings; (b) larger introduction of cottage industries to keep the tenants and the people employed in their spare hours; (c) introduction of money crops; (d) provision of better cattle both for agricultural purposes and milk; (e) improvement in the sources of irrigation in the *Rarh* and of drainage in the *Boqri*.

What can be suggested in the latter category will be touched in brief later.

128. Consolidation of holdings.—

In Appendix XVII is given a summary of the position as regards consolidation. So long as the laws of land for the two main communities—Hindus and Moslems—remain what they are the forces for splitting up continue. So long again as there will be different qualities of land with differential advantages—such as advantages for irrigation, advantages to grow different type of crops needed for domestic use, proximity to homestead areas—the forces to sub-divide will operate. So long again as the pressure of population on land will continue subdivision will be inevitable. Over and above that the impediments to subdivision of tenancies—an essential prerequisite to consolidation—hamper such desires as even in the present circumstances may exist. Consolidation really

to requirement and realise in kind immediately after the harvest time 100 per cent., 50 per cent., or 25 per cent. in excess, in accordance with local customs. If payment fails either on account of failure of crops or other unforeseen circumstances interest runs at compound rate. This is a common method of lending business in vogue in almost every agricultural village in the district. There are big lenders (*Goladars*) in the village who store paddy and cereals in their barns for this business alone. The majority of the cultivators are forced to borrow by this method just to keep themselves on for some part of the year when they have neither any stock nor any outside employment. In any abnormal year of under-production they are forced to borrow more and more till at last, when the total advances exceed the capacity of their holdings, they are compelled to sell their lands to the *Goladars*.

(8) *Mortgages of immovable property*.—The rate of interest varies according to amount from 9 per cent. to 18 per cent. At times even higher interest is charged.

(9) *Loan Offices and Co-operative Banks*.

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1924	11,142	16,27,009
1925	9,432	16,93,794
1926	10,274	17,85,658
1927	13,317	20,68,293
1928	20,941	26,03,066
1929	11,839	18,55,806
1930	11,371	16,06,175
1931	7,672	14,55,555

It may be reasonably assumed that the mortgages of the last 6 years all remain unredeemed and that on the average 3 persons are concerned in one mortgage deed. Thus the total indebtedness for 226,242 persons in mortgages alone come to Rs. 1,13,74,553 which works out at an average of Rs. 50 per head. The amounts under mortgages vary with the rise in prices. In 1927, 1928 and 1929 the prices were the highest and the amounts under mortgage were correspondingly on the increase. There was a corresponding fall in prices in 1930 and 1931. Simultaneously, there was a marked fall in the amounts under mortgage.

The following statement will show the total amount of the loans issued to members of all the co-operative societies in the district :—

Year.	No. of societies.	No. of members.	Loan advanced.	Balance pending.	Working capital.	Remarks.
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
1924-25	407	8,942	2,50,644	6,00,412	6,93,799	Out of 407 there are 387 agricultural societies with working capital of Rs. 5,97,123.
1925-26	427	10,084	2,75,579	6,37,318	7,55,269	Do. 405 Do. Rs. 6,25,773.
1926-27	475	11,343	3,51,234	7,63,461	8,89,610	Do. 455 Do. Rs. 7,58,712.
1927-28	623	13,031	4,14,874	10,14,635	11,82,210	Do. 599 Do. Rs. 10,22,063.
1928-29	673	15,323	3,15,279	10,54,609	13,18,246	Do. 640 Do. Rs. 11,32,905.

There are 2,290 villages in the district with an average area of .9 square mile. Thus on the average a group of 3 villages is served by one society.

The balance pending at the end of every year will show the indebtedness of the members of the societies, assuming, of course, as under the rules of the co-operative department, that the members

have no other liability. Thus, in 1929, the average indebtedness per member was about Rs. 70.

The existing total indebtedness of (226,242. plus 15,323) or 241,565 persons in the district under mortgage and co-operative banks alone amounts to Rs. 1,24,29,162. The total population of the district as per last census is

1,370,677 (683,483 males and 687,194 females). This shows that more than 1/6th of the population of the district is involved in debts through mortgages and banks. As regards the liabilities of the remaining portion of the population no statistics are available but as already stated the inequitable kind of indebtedness of the agriculturists is the "Duno, Dera, Showa" transaction.

It will, however, be clear that the statistics of debt are very difficult to collect. Most of the sources of debt stated above are beyond the reach of any official agency. The total amount of indebtedness, therefore, is difficult if not almost impossible to calculate. I can only note that so far as the agricultural people are concerned there is poverty no doubt but stating generally the burden of debt did not seem to be heavy. In over sixty per cent. of cases the holdings were found to continue in the same family in possession of the heirs entitled to inheritance by law. This would have been otherwise if there had been heavy debts which ultimately would certainly have resulted in the parting with land. A certain amount of debt is more in the nature of capital borrowed to run the business repaid annually from the produce. In the absence of any other agency to supply cheap capital in time of need the *Mahajan* fills the gap. Here, too, debt is not necessarily unproductive or a consequence to be regretted. It is, however, difficult to be precise.

I must note, that freedom from debt cannot be secured by legislation. It can only be by the augmentation of the income of the agriculturist and training him in habits of thrift and profitable expenditure. Interest on loan should be reduced but that can only be by providing means for cheap credit without tempting extravagance. Much was expected of the educational aspect of the co-operative movement. But it must be admitted with regret that the result so far and in this district has been disappointing.

126. Position as it stands.—It can hardly be questioned that the economic position is unsatisfactory. The main source of income is agriculture. That agriculture is precarious. In the *Rarh* tract it depends largely on irrigation. Sources of irrigation are drying up. Getting about the district one finds rarely a new tank. Every village on the other hand has scores of good tanks wholly or largely silted up. Mulberry growing and silk reeling and weaving

had been one of the main pre-occupations of the people. They are fast declining. Though bell-metal industry still exists it has declined in competition with other articles of similar make. Ivory works, lac, mango crops are on the decline. Trade and commerce have gone down since the days when Murshidabad was the capital and the district one of the chief centres of foreign trade. It is true that some fresh avenues have been opened. But these are not sources of fresh wealth but only aids in distribution such as the professions and the services. At the top of all, population has gone on increasing and added to the complexities of the problem. The result is that people fall back upon land. The land is divided into small plots. The holdings which consist of a number of scattered strips are uneconomically situated. They receive little attention; they go down in productivity; yet land is the main stay of the bulk of the population.

127. Remedy.—Certain remedies can be applied without any considerable disturbance to the social and economic structure, while certain others must depend upon more radical methods.

In the former category must be put (a) partial consolidation of holdings; (b) larger introduction of cottage industries to keep the tenants and the people employed in their spare hours; (c) introduction of money crops; (d) provision of better cattle both for agricultural purposes and milk; (e) improvement in the sources of irrigation in the *Rarh* and of drainage in the *Bogri*.

What can be suggested in the latter category will be touched in brief later.

128. Consolidation of holdings.—In Appendix XVII is given a summary of the position as regards consolidation. So long as the laws of land for the two main communities—Hindus and Moslems—remain what they are the forces for splitting up continue. So long again as there will be different qualities of land with differential advantages—such as advantages for irrigation, advantages to grow different type of crops needed for domestic use, proximity to homestead areas—the forces to sub-divide will operate. So long again as the pressure of population on land will continue subdivision will be inevitable. Over and above that the impediments to subdivision of tenancies—an essential prerequisite to consolidation—hamper such desires as even in the present circumstances may exist. Consolidation really

to be helpful must attempt to do away at first with the obstacles that hamper. It has to be remembered that the circumstances in the Punjab and other tracts are entirely different from those that prevail in the permanently-settled tracts of Bengal.

Some attempts, however, may be made to facilitate consolidation by assistance and advice in Government managed estates. The law about subdivision may be altered to help in consolidation when the will is there. If effective results can be achieved the *raiya*s in the permanently-settled estates will easily emulate.

129. Introduction of cottage industries.—The analysis of the position of agriculture must have made it clear that while on the one hand agriculture provides a living precarious to many, it does not, on the other hand, keep an individual employed for more than about ninety days in a year in the existing circumstances. While attempts at improvement of agriculture must be made, some means must be provided to keep the cultivator engaged in the spare time and to add to his income. The best means in the present circumstances must be larger introduction of cottage industries. If large scale industries or commerce or fresh avenues for employment be forthcoming in future the income may be augmented thereby. But till then and even for those who must necessarily be left in the villages the introduction of cottage industries is essential. Hence till large scale industry and commerce, etc., can absorb a number of the population it is better to take steps to develop cottage industries which can find occupation for and add a little to the income of the people. The industries that succeeded in the past as well as those that might be suitable in the present circumstances might be thought out.

Silk certainly takes the first place. One moving about the district cannot but be conscious of the great contribution that silk made to the wealth and the occupation of the people of the district as a whole. Every possible effort should be made to revive the industry.

Bell-metal.—It is one of the thriving industries. Khagra bell-metal articles have a value which is recognised in markets well outside the district and even the province. Islampore and its neighbourhood similarly have a great reputation. All over the district artisans

can be found working on the metal. A more detailed examination of the needs and what improvements small implements and machines can bring about are well worth investigation.

Lac.—For about forty years lac was largely grown specially in the Jangipore subdivision. The trade in lac is now in a moribund condition. But other uses of lac exist and while the suitability of the area for growing it is unquestioned an attempt to find means to utilize its cultivation is desirable.

Ivory.—There was at one time a good trade in ivory works. The artisans developed a skill which had been the marvel of many. Probably an organisation to direct the taste and provide a market might still revive it. It must however be admitted that the number of people to be benefited in an industry like this will, however, be small.

Cloth-weaving.—There are still weavers in isolated villages doing an amount of weaving of coarse cloth. In Lalgola and Bhagawangola one can from the oldest residents gather the description of well planned organisation which at one time supplied the demand for cloth for the whole district. It is true that mills supply the need largely but artistic works can yet find some market and small factories can yet work successfully.

Jams and jellies.—In Pargana Chuna-khali, in large tracts throughout the district specially in Lalbagh and Jangipore subdivisions good mangoes are grown in abundance. Much of that is wasted as often the market is glutted for the few weeks when the supply of ripe mangoes exceeds the demand. If jams and jellies can be made the waste can be avoided and a price obtained by the people which otherwise is lost.

Iron and steel boxes.—At one time in Jiaganj the manufacture of steel boxes had a brisk business. It is decadent now but it can be revived. The demand is still there.

Blanket.—There are indigenous "*Gaureris*" or sheep rearers. In Jangipore thoroughly good blankets used to be manufactured and had been in high demand. There was lack of organisation, however, and the industry has lapsed to inanity. Quite a good market exists for the stuff these people prepared once. A re-organisation would assist.

Jute manufactures.—As cottage industry an attempt is worth making here of producing mats, durries, and

small *Asans*. Bhagawangola jute is a good variety and it is probable that its utility in cottage industry may be helpful.

Creameries.—The district of Murshidabad was once noted for its milk-men. The caste of *Goalas* was not only thriving as dealers in milk but the money they obtained by the supplementary trade helped them to become thoroughly good agriculturists. They export a good deal now of milk and *Chhanda* but the supply can readily be organised by the establishment of creameries with machines which can be worked with little capital cost.

Pisciculture.—The district still has a large number of deep and well-watered *bils* and water channels. Cultivation of fish on scientific basis can certainly be successful.

Manufacture of Gür and Sugar.—The refining of sugar and more extensive use of machinery for the manufacture of *Gür* holds out some prospect of remunerative employment.

Small factories for the manufacture of parts of machineries may prove remunerative.

These are some of the methods which strike one as likely to add to the earnings of the people of the district. They cannot go far and must have to be supplemented by more radical methods of large scale enterprises, both of industry and commerce. But till then these and others of that type might be taken up for profitable employment of a part of the time now wasted. People of the district might think out other small cottage industries suitable for the area.

130. Introduction of money crops.—An analysis of crop-statistics has shown that the main crop is paddy. The tenants have to meet all their requirements from the sale of this one crop. This crop again he sells immediately after harvesting and thus practically at the lowest prices of the year. With this money he can hardly meet his demands. To better his position and his efficiency changes which can help him to get a better money value for the paddy are necessary and secondly, other crops which will be his money crops in the main must be introduced.

The crops which can grow in this area are wheat, jute, mulberry, sugarcane and potatoes. In the subdivision of Jangipore there had already been good yield of lac, but unfortunately the market having gone down the industry is not

flourishing to-day. A lack of standardisation of the quality of product is responsible to a large extent for the decline in the demand for lac. Probably with little more scientific methods the cultivation and the improvement in the quality of lac can be effected with a better demand for the product and a good price for the cultivator. Over and above the crops stated, the district is famous for its mangoes. Though one finds in certain areas of Lalgola and Bhagawangola certain new orchards being laid out most of the orchards are old. In passing through the town of Murshidabad one may find himself in a wilderness of uncared for mango-gardens. Much can be done if mangoes can be grown on a really commercial basis to be used not merely for raw use as ripe and unripe fruits but also, as stated before, preserved in various forms of jams and jellies, etc. This can be an additional source of remuneration to the people. Other types of fruit orchards may be grown as the soil seems to be very suitable for fruit gardening and well laid out plans aided by genuine instructions and encouraged by help will go a great way. So far as the crops stated above are concerned wheat and oats are grown along the banks of the rivers and certainly are not poor in quality. Other areas may be so used. Jute in and about Bhagawangola and Lalgola is considered to be of more than average quality. While the restriction of the total output may be permissible, encouragement in the growth of better variety, where the soil is suitable for them, need not be overlooked.

Sugarcane.—In the *Rarh* area sugarcane is largely grown. Introduction of better types, facilities for better irrigation, some ideas of better manuring would probably add to the total area now under cane.

Potatoes.—In the agricultural notes I have already pointed out the great strides taken in the cultivation of potatoes. With some additional methods in particular for irrigation considerable addition to the outturn and extensive cultivation is possible. A great draw-back in the cultivation of potatoes is that no definite method has yet been successfully evolved to preserve potatoes for a considerable period of time. If it can be made to last a few months longer by some chemical assistance or method of storage its output can

certainly be increased and price raised adding to the income of the cultivators.

Mulberry.—Mulberry had been in the past a great source of income to the people. Mulberry leaves brought money to the cultivators. Mulberry lands brought high rent to the landlords. Cultivation of mulberry is, however, linked up with the manufacture of silk. Unless the decline in the manufacture of Bengal, silk can be checked, mulberry cultivation naturally has no future. Attempts are being made to improve Bengal silk and if they succeed cultivation of mulberry can certainly be increased. In Appendix No. XVIII to this report are added short notes on the position of silk industry and cultivation of mulberry, sugarcane, potato and *patal*. Such additional crops certainly can go a great way to add to the limited resources of the cultivators as well as others connected with land and though improvement need not be spectacular the project will be certain to be very helpful in effect.

131. Live stock and milk.—The district was once famous for its milk products. It still exports milk and its products. Its *Goala* population is a hereditary population dealing in milk and in rearing of cattle. The population is decaying and needs help.

Milk as one of the main factors in the diet in the past is passing out of use. The main reasons are the lack of good milking cows, good breeding bulls and lack of pasturage and fodder crops. Rich and large tracts such as the *Hijol* and other marshy areas where valuable pasturage could be had in summer existed in the past but unfortunately with mere extensive cultivation the position is changed. In spite of this with the skilled milkmen with some efforts to secure good fodder crops and little more educative propaganda the breed can be improved considerably. If to that some aids to the preservation of the various products of milk can be introduced there is every reason to believe that by the sale of live-stock and of products from milk an appreciable section of the population can have their financial position bettered.

132. Radical methods.—The more radical methods, however, would need a more elaborate system of planning. Obviously one cannot in a report like this go into details. I should think they must include among others—(1) control of birth; (2) provision for greater variety of occupation by industries, trade, etc.,

(3) the resurrection, if possible, of the river system and improvement in the irrigation, drainage and health of the district.

Birth control.—The first obvious course to take to bring about a change in the condition of the people would be to control the growth of population. I should think that no system of effective reconstruction can take place if every improvement in the economic position of the cultivator is to be set at naught by the influx of a large population. I should advocate that the Government should take effective steps to familiarise the people with the modern ideas of control of birth. Probably it is more necessary to-day than the setting up of hospitals and provision for the diseased. Quite apart from the number of people to be fed the great strain on the physical and mental resources of the mothers of the poorer classes of the population is enormous. It must be the constant care of the State to relieve the strain and no efforts must be spared to effect an amelioration.

Variety of occupation.—The next step certainly would be to withdraw population from the only stable occupation, viz., agriculture. While agriculture may be made and ought to be made more efficient and paying, it is impossible with this large population living on land to bring about any marked improvement in their condition. There must be a variety of occupations which will not only tend to distribute wealth but help the growth of wealth. It is not feasible for me here to indicate the ways and means. Much has been done in theory to point out a way and help in the solution. It is, however, certain that if the number of people living on land continues to be as high as it is now even with improvements in agriculture not much can be done. I should think that this district along with others must be made to give up a large slice of its people for large scale industries, commerce, trade and other varieties of occupation. These must be developed if a real betterment in the condition of the people is desired.

River resuscitation.—The last and most important is to see if the rivers can be resurrected. The first and the foremost river in the district is the Bhagirathi. The problem, however, is difficult and attempts were made in the past at a solution without much effect. This has already been dealt with in the chapter on drainage.

PART IV.

The present Operation.

CHAPTER I.

Survey of the Lands and framing of the records.

133. **Inception of proceedings.**—It was intended that the districts of Birbhum and Murshidabad should be taken up separately. The original idea was to take up Birbhum in 1917. On account of the curtailment in the Settlement programme, however, the programme was deferred till 1921. In accordance with that idea inception proposals were submitted to the Government for the district of Birbhum in the Director of Land Records' letter No. 5130 of the 17th June 1920. The area recommended to be taken up for this district was 1,612 square miles which covered the entire district except the portion done by Mr. P. M. Robertson, Deputy Collector, the final report of which was submitted to the Government by the Director of Land Records in his letter No. 3F-153 of the 9th October 1915. Similarly, a separate inception proposal was submitted to the Government for the district of Murshidabad in the Director of Land Records' letter No. 5059 of the 13th June 1920.

The proposal for the inception of the operations in the district of Birbhum was approved by the Government in their letter No. 2472T.R. of the 15th October 1920 and that for Murshidabad in their letter No. 2726T.R. of the 28th October 1920. In pursuance of these orders work was started in the district of Birbhum and completed up to the stage of Khanapuri for the first block while traverse was completed of the first block of the district of Murshidabad when on account of the bad condition of the provincial finance work was stopped in both and the entire position was reviewed. In their letter No. 6795L.R. of the 20th July 1922, the Government conveyed their decision that in the interest of economy these part done districts should be taken up but amalgamated to form one combined operation which would reduce the supervision and building charges and directed a joint programme and estimate to be submitted. The proposal for a joint programme,

therefore, was submitted to the Government with the Director of Land Records' office letter Nos. 5054-55 of the 25th August 1923.

134. **Area taken up.**—The area of the two districts which was taken up under the joint programme came to 3,281 square miles. In both the districts certain previously surveyed areas had to be excluded.

In the district of Murshidabad it covered initially 401 square miles and represented—

			Sq. miles.
(a) Tauzi Fatesing.	No. 253,	Done by Rajshahi Settlement party.	44
(b) Riparian area along the Padma and tributaries.		Ditto	315
(c) Area finally published in 1915-19.		Done by petty Settlement party.	38
(d) Riparian area		Done by Nadia Settlement Party.	4
			<hr/> 401 <hr/>

Later, the riparian area in the district of Murshidabad done by Rajshahi Diara Party was taken up and completed. In the district of Birbhum the area excluded was originally about 136 square miles of which a record-of-rights had been prepared in the year 1909-14. In course of the operation done in the first block of this district it was found that in some scattered parts of the previous survey there was some confusion. Consequently an area of about 3 square miles covered by eleven villages of Bhadrapore group, village Haripore, and village Kumar Nabagram referred to in paragraphs 4, 5, 6 of the Final Report of the Minor operations of the district (1909-14) were taken up. The only area in the district ultimately excluded from the district operations was 133 square miles covered by Sonthali villages of which a rent-settlement under section 112 of the Bengal Tenancy Act was done by Deputy Collector, Mr. P. M. Robertson. The proposal was approved by the Government in their letter Nos. 11131-32L.R., dated the 6th December 1923,

135. **The Blocks in the joint operation.**—In pursuance of the Government order a joint programme was made. So far as the district of Murshidabad, is concerned (1) police-stations Raghunathganj, Samserganj and Suti of the

Jangipore subdivision and Lalgola and Bhagawangola of the Lalbagh subdivision were included in the first block; (2) police-stations Sagardighi of the Jangipore subdivision, Murshidabad, Raninagar and Jiaganj of the Lalbagh subdivision and the whole of the Sadar subdivision were included in the second block; (3) police-stations Nabagram of the Lalbagh subdivision and the whole of the Kandi subdivision came in the third block; while (4) the fifth block included the riparian tracts done by the Rajshahi Party in Lalgola, Bhagawangola and Jalangi police-stations. The other blocks included parts of the district of Birbhum. A brief resumé of the problems met with in carrying out the programme is given below. The more important of them has been dealt with in the Chapters to which they relate.

136. Traverse.—The traverse was carried on in the year previous in each case. The only difficulty met with was in the stage of sub-traverses round about *basti*. In the absence of these, considerable difficulties arose specially where the villages were thickly populated and covered large areas. The *kistwar* was delayed to some extent as fresh sub-traverse had to be arranged. It is essential in these areas for the Officer in charge of Traverse Party to put down definite instructions about the number of sub-traverses to avoid time being wasted at *kistwar*.

137. Kistwar.—The work of *kistwar* was done by the method now in force—with plane table and Gunter's chain. The thick bamboo clumps in Murshidabad, Jiaganj, Naoda, Hariharpara and several others while wild vegetation and decaying orchards in some others impeded progress. The large number of settlement plots averaging 2,200 to 2,500 per square mile in a number of police-stations with almost thrice the number of plots with physical boundaries or *ails* made the work of *Amins* difficult. The progress was at times slow and the earning of the *Amins* at times was depressingly low. To increase the rate was difficult as in handling a variety of areas it was difficult from mere shortness of outturn to determine whether the nature of the work or the incompetence of the individuals was responsible for the result. To give some relief to really deserving *Amins* instructions were issued in such cases to provide

them with work in simpler areas after a difficult one was dealt with.

138. Khanapuri and Bujharat.—The difficulty at *Khanapuri* to begin with was in the nature of the *Thak*. Most of them were not in scale and were written in Persian with the statements and figures in non-Bengali characters. They had to be carefully translated and checked before distribution while in some cases they were found missing and staff had to be sent to the Record room of the Board of Revenue to get such materials to supplement the entries as could be found there.

At this stage besides disputes about possession numerous claims about rent-free, *chowkidari* and *thanadari* lands had to be dealt with.

While, on the one hand, the rent-free claims had to be disentangled from those paying rent they had to be scrutinised, on the other, against being revenue-free. Cases where the area exceeded one hundred standard *bighas* were reported separately to the Collector for entry in register B, Part I.

There were numerous cases where the rent-free holders were merely *raiyats* and they had to be recorded as such. A belief had grown up amongst a large number of officers that a rent-free tenancy must necessarily be a tenure. Definite instructions had to be issued and they had to be impressed that the elements which distinguished a tenure from a *raiyati* tenancy, as given in section 5 of the Bengal Tenancy Act and the criteria stated, applied as much to the former as to the latter.

139. The staff of Khanapuri and Bujharat.—The ordinary *Khanapuri* was done by the *Amins* working under the *Kanungos*. The work of *bujharat* was done by *Kanungos* as well as *Sardar Amins* working under them. The Circle Officers except in one case were all Gazetted Officers. They worked under charge officers who were members either of the Indian Civil Service or of the Provincial Executive Service.

140. Sardar Amins.—If a careful selection of *Sardar Amins* be made and they are treated with consideration and good-will, the *Sardar Amins* turn out work that is thoroughly satisfactory. The system has the merit of cheapness of cost and thoroughly good quality.

In one block the plots *bujharated* by *Sardar Amins* came to 520,000 and the cost incurred approximated to Rs. 21,500 which included the pay of *Sardar Amins*, their *Badar Amins* and of the Cooly peons together with the cost of the supervision by the *Kanungos*. If the work had been done by the *Kanungos* on the ordinary procedure, the cost would have been about Rs. 29,000. There was saving thus of about 83 per cent. on the cost.

Later, their capacity developed and selection being more rigorous both the outturn and the quality improved. In the next block the total number of plots *bujharated* by them came to 1,135,000 and the cost incurred was about Rs. 25,400 which included all the items referred to above. If this work had been done by the *Kanungos* the cost would not have been less than Rs. 57,700. A saving of about 56 per cent. was the result. The Attestation officers were specially instructed to report on the quality of work in the villages *bujharated* by *Sardar Amins* and the report was that the standard for the largest majority was thoroughly up to expectation.

It can be asserted without hesitation that with a careful selection of *Sardar Amins* and with energetic and vigilant supervising *Kanungos* the quality of work of *bujharat* would not in any way suffer in quality if done by them. As the work is considerably cheaper and some savings have to be effected the system deserves acceptance with limits.

141. Circle Officers.—A Revenue Officer as Circle Officer was not exactly a successful experiment. The difficulties are more those of the situation than of the *personnel*. A Circle Officer has to supervise the work of *Kanungos*. Naturally he need to be senior to them. A senior man has not the same energy and outlook as is needed in a Circle Officer. Besides, no extra allowance is attached to this work, on the other hand, his expenses are heavier. A *Kanungo* in a *Halka* can do with either a bike or a small pony. In a Circle the pony must be thoroughly good or the biking must be strenuous and he must camp out. For a *Kanungo* neither is possible without a fresh draw on his purse. On the other hand the lack of discipline which is almost inherent in life in this country makes the work of the *Kanungo* supervising the work of other *Kanungos* difficult. He is met more with criticism than with loyal obedience.

The work of Circle Officers is one of constant supervision and guidance. Circle Officers with experience of attestation and thus of the entries of records seem always to lead to an improvement in the entries. There is, however, a tendency of leaving too many of the disputes with the *Kanungos* and Circle Officers confining themselves to mere inspection, of which there is a certain standard of work in *partalling* laid down for officers but for *Khanapuri* and *bujharat* no standard exists. Instructions were issued to get the Circle Officers to dispose of at least 50 per cent. of the disputes personally in course of their tours of inspection.

142. Boundary disputes.—The existing practice was altered and the alternative followed of disposing of boundary dispute cases as far as possible at the cadastral stage, permitted under Rule 257, Survey and Settlement Manual, 1917. To keep boundary dispute cases pending for attestation stage had in my view serious disadvantages. The records of the village affected would be changed and re-attestation was inevitable. Where re-enquiry was thought essential there was no officer on the spot to do it. The corrections of records according to decision in boundary disputes was not given the importance it deserved. In previously surveyed areas it was found that plots were in the map but not in record. The situation brought about by the existing practice introduced in Eastern Bengal, in my opinion, was risky. I went back to the alternative procedure which in my considered opinion was decidedly better. The advantages are that if the cases are disposed of at Cadastral stage the appeals are heard mostly in the field season when the maps and records can yet be corrected and rearranged by *bujharat Kanungos* at any rate before attestation. The correction of the record could be checked on the spot at least by the Attestation Officers and *Peshkars* before final *janch*. Any re-enquiry found necessary on appeal can be done by the Attestation Officer. Every alteration in maps and records can be done before attestation and the check on the correction can be ensured. The only difficulty in the procedure is about new Cadastral officers. I empowered officers with at least three years' settlement experience and the Munsiff to dispose of all cases up to 20 acres finally and refer cases with bigger

areas to the Charge Officer for approval. In cases of inexperienced officers the final disposal was made either by the neighbouring experienced officer or the Charge Officer. The result was satisfactory. The total number of boundary dispute cases instituted at the cadastral stage was disposed of before the settlement year was out.

The importance of boundary disputes is great. The decisions have the force of a Civil Court decree. It is essential that maps and records should incorporate the final decisions. To ensure check special rules were devised and a *Kanungo* was put in final *janch* to check the boundaries with reference to the decision.

143. **Roads.**—The mapping and the preparation of records of roads and roadside lands always raised difficulties. On the one hand there were pillars or none at all and on the other was cultivation within the area claimed as appertaining to road and roadside lands.

The District Board insisted on their maps being relaid. Their maps were scrutinised. The maps based on the Land Acquisition plans were relaid, the maps, which judicial decisions had held to be reliable, had their copies sent to officers for reference. In some cases it was found that their relay would take the road over *pucca* buildings and places, and it was clear that though in parts the maps were correct they were not reliable right through. In this and in cases of other maps prepared by the District Board the relay was not made, record was directed to be prepared according to present possession and the officers were free to attach any importance they thought fit to attach in the circumstances of each dispute.

In the contiguous area of the district of Birbhum a peculiar case came up at Daskalgram. It appeared that all the roads which existed before 1850 and which were Imperial Roads were not taken over by the District Board. It is maintained by no body but still exists in parts. It is shown in Revenue Survey maps which unfortunately, in case of roads, does not show the dimensions. The limits thus could not be relaid. There was no other previous map to help. The only course open was to map as much as still existed as road and record it as Imperial road in khas possession and map a width of corresponding magnitude in continuation where it

was lost over waste lands and where the people agreed. But where portions had either been ploughed up or built upon nothing could be done. As Imperial roads were generally roads of long distances, the abandonment in this case apparently without deliberation was unfortunate. Nothing more, however, could be done than what we did.

The roads, hitherto, were divided into classes: (1) Imperial roads which existed when Act 42 of 1850 was passed and where the right of property vested in the Government even when the management was by the District Board; (2) roads acquired by the District Board in which the right of property vested in the District Board; (3) roads which ran over the lands of private owners where the right of property lay with the latter; (4) roads within the Municipality where the right of property of lands acquired or unacquired rest with the Municipality (*vide* instructions contained in the Director of Land Records, Bengal's letter No. XLIV/17-2763, dated the 23rd February 1926). A fresh question, however, arose as to whether the right of property in roads which were acquired by the District Road Committee between the years 1850 and the year when the District Boards were constituted by Act III of 1885, vested in the Government or in the District Board. The Government Pleaders were of opinion that the right of property still vested in the Government and under section 73 of Act III of 1885 only the right of management was transferred to the District Board. This was a new departure and the records were corrected in the final Block in accordance therewith.

CHAPTER II.

From Attestation to Final Publication.

Attestation.

144. **Problems met with.**—The district of Murshidabad exhibited a variety of land system.

The two main tracts of East (the *Bogri*) and West (the *Rarh*) Bhagirathi have some wide differences in characteristics.

Mokarari and rent-free claims were commoner in *Rarh* than in *Bogri* though the belt to a distance of say five to six miles to the east of the Bhagirathi have more in common with *Rarh* than with

Bogri. Passing farther east there is more affinity with the system in *Nadia* than with that of *Rarh*. The northern tract of both *Rarh* and *Bogri* bordering on the Padma exhibit characteristics common to the riparian tracts of the Padma.

Rent-free and *mokarari* claims are commoner in *Rarh* than in *Bogri*. *Chowkidari Chakran* (service tenancies for watchmen) is almost unknown in most areas in *Bogri* while it is extremely common in *Rarh*. On the other hand claims to *Utbandi* are commoner in *Bogri* than in *Rarh*. The rent rates are lower in the former than in the latter. Some of the important problems and peculiarities are discussed below.

145. The annual programme of work.—It is in my view a mistake to put too heavy number of plots for the programme of a year. An average programme in an original survey should never exceed ten lakhs. Utmost care ought to be taken to see that this is not exceeded. In this district the incidence of plots per square mile varied widely. From an average of about twelve hundred plots per square mile it reached to twenty-seven hundred plots in certain areas in police-station Burwan, the average of that police-station being as high as twenty-five hundred plots. I would note down the difficulties with reference to the figures in one block.

According to the sanctioned proposal the area for the particular block was expected to cover nine lakhs ninety-seven thousand plots. The actual came to fourteen lakhs sixty-seven thousand. The actual thus was more than 50 per cent. above the estimated figure. The difficulty to tackle with this unexpected increase was more than one. The smaller the plots the larger the number of plots, the longer again the time taken for *Khanapuri*. The entire season shifts, and while the plots to be *bujharated* increase, the period to be spent on *bujharat* is reduced. It commences almost at the height of the summer; it races with the rains. While the staff is whipped on to finish up they have all the circumstances against them including even the rapid non-attendance of parties, who with the rains must go to till the land, plough and sow the seedlings. We threaten them with fines, Providence threatens them with starvation. The *Kanungos* are left out late in the

field. The period of final *janch* is pinched. Then they come in spent up and exhausted simply to rush through the final *janch* and get ready as best as they may for another spell of similar experience. Except for Block "B"—the only normal block with a normal number of plots—this has been the case throughout this operation. To complete in the year 1925-26, we had to appoint *Sardar Amins*. The Director of Land Records, Bengal, was good enough to send 7 *Kanungos* from the 24 *Parganas*. The supply of *Sardar Amins* is limited; many of the better ones are anxious to go back to look to their own cultivation and are unwilling to be kept back. It is needless to repeat that the entire situation is unnatural and undesirable.

The staff suffers—to be kept out in the Field throughout summer—and summer in west Murshidabad and Birbhum is as uncomfortable as in any part of Bengal and Bihar, if not more so; to live in leaky houses and tramp about in the rains in malarious regions such as these certainly undermine the health of the staff. It may be done in one year but certainly it is not good business to repeat it every year.

The work suffers—*first*, because the shorter the time left for *bujharat* the more frantic is the effort to finish the programme. The weather conditions being against him an honest *Kanungo* is put to the heaviest strain to get through the programme. The less responsible of them simply scamp through the work, and the less responsible form the majority.

The people suffer—they are extremely reluctant to go about in the rains. Immediately as the rains start they are anxious to attend to their agricultural work, and where so much of agriculture depends upon the proper utilisation of capricious rains it is difficult to meet their objections.

It is uneconomical. I have more than once found in the tours during rains that the outturn hardly averages 40 to 50 plots per day. The *Kanungo* starts out, collects together the men, but is overtaken with a shower of rain. He hastens back to save his map and records. The people disperse to attend to their agricultural work. The *Kanungo* waits till the rains cease. He comes out and finds the men are gone. He collects them back again or goes on as best as he can.

The final *janch*—the most vital scrutiny of records—has got to be carried on by the appointment of *mohurrirs* and *peshkars* who do the work the *Kanungos* should have done. Extra expenditure is incurred while the quality suffers.

The situation thus is that everybody is pushed beyond his depth and is left struggling to get to the firm land, which he never does and the operation is ended. The result is that every one is exhausted. The quality of work suffers; there is no economy and everywhere is left the impress of rush. Yet rationally looked at all these can be remedied by simple adjustment. With the present strength of *Kanungos* and efficient *Sandar Amins* available we can hardly expect more than 70 *bujharat* tables at work. For a *bujharat* table more than 18,000 plots per season cannot be properly dealt with. To yield this outturn at least 5 months will be needed. The department should decide that normally 15th June should be the very last date when all the *Kanungos* must withdraw. That presupposes that *bujharat* must start at least by 15th January. *Khanapuri* thus should be finished by 7th of January. This presupposes again that *kistwar* must be completed in the beginning of December. The *kistwar* area to be done thus must be restricted. The *halkas* should be so adjusted as to have the *kistwar* finished early, the number of *Amins* can go up to even 14 per *Halka*. This will be necessary if the number of plots be large and the area of the *Halka* consequently will be small. With a small *Halka* area it will be quite feasible for a *Kanungo* to inspect this number. In all these all the conditions have been taken to be favourable; but allowances have to be made at each stage for illness, dearth of *Amins*, difficulties in the area. The department, therefore, may definitely decide that unless the strength of the *Kanungos* be increased 11 lakhs of plots should rigidly be the outside limit of work, that the areas of blocks should be so adjusted as to ensure this. Even where the calculation goes wrong and the plots proportionate to the area be actually found fewer it is better to risk that than undertake a programme of more than 11 lakhs. The *kistwar* area must be so limited that the *bujharat* can be started by 15th January at the latest.

This is the crux of the arrangement, for, once the work shifts, the repetition of the confusion to complete *bujharat* is inevitable.

The alternative often allowed and suggested is to leave out plots for *bujharat* for the next field season. This has obvious disadvantages. First, a man, given a definite work to do, looks and arranges his work in a way that it is thoroughly well done, provided it is reasonably within his power to complete it in the time allotted. The quality suffers if he is told to do as much as he can and leave out the rest. Secondly, the uncertainty leads to confusion. The adjustment of areas to be left over for *bujharat* becomes extremely difficult and *bujharated* villages are left intermixed with *unbujharated* villages which impede the progress of attestation when it is taken up. Thirdly, the period of mid-January to end of May or beginning of June is the best for *bujharat*. This area left over for *bujharat* will thus be taken up after the *Pujas*. But the visual inspection is thorough and complete only when there are no crops on the land. In paddy-cultivated areas up to the middle or third week of December the lands are all covered with paddy and no visual check of *ails* and configuration—so important a feature in *bujharat*—is possible. The *raiya*ts will be busy in harvesting and threshing for not less than 3 weeks after that and attendance will be difficult to procure. It is a well-known fact that at *kistwar* these difficulties are often overcome by the *Amin* surveying geographical and not settlement plots. *Bujharat* from October to middle of January is bound to be poor both in quality and in quantity. Fourthly the adjustment of *Kanungos* to the identical *Halkas* in the next field season is often a partial difficulty with the result that the knowledge of men and the locality so essential to proper *bujharat* is lost and has to be acquired afresh. The quality again is affected.

All these are so many spokes to the smooth working of a programme and smooth working is essential to settlement work. It is true that the difficulties are not insuperable but one would not like to have them of choice.

The only result of this limitation of programme to reasonable dimensions,

as stated, is that an operation may be a little lengthened. This may—though not always—mean that the cost rate of recovery will go up by a few annas if it does go up at all assuming the worst one has to determine which is the lesser of the two evils. Is it desirable that the record of the only means of subsistence of the largest bulk of the people should be prepared with greater accuracy and thoroughness even at the risk of adding, say, annas 2 to annas 3 per acre, or should it be scamped to show this paper economy with the risk that people with deficient records will be put to all sorts of trouble including financial loss many times over what, in paper is sought to be saved for, him? I have no hesitation about the choice and I am sure people will have none.

I have assumed the worst—that the cost will increase—but I am prepared to state that a well-organised, smooth-run, operation with reasonable blocks will be less wasteful even on paper, and the expenditure now incurred in shifting *Kanungos* from place to place, in keeping out Cadastral Officers longer in the field and in spending money on tours of superior supervising officers with inadequate results in rains, a large part of the expenditure of engaging *Sardar Amins*, the extra expenditure spent on final *Janch* in appointing men to do the *Kanungos'* work will all go out and reduce the cost rate. Even if necessary the Settlement Officer may revert to general duties, look after the work or the Assistant Settlement Officer in charge may be left to look after for even that will be better. In this operation at least such a scheme would certainly not have raised the expenditure sanctioned by the Government and most decidedly have gone towards the improvement in the quality of the records from the very first block.

146. *Thak*.—A comparison with *Thak* was invariably made. The comparison was at once easy and difficult. In police-station Burwan, Nanoor and parts of Kandi the *Thak* was mostly in Persian drawn without scale and with or without *chaks*. Those without *chaks* hardly offered anything for comparison. Those with *chaks* only the configuration and the estate statement could be checked. While in Nabagram, Kandi and Khargram *thaks* were found which were *Kittawar* or with

detailed cadastral plots of more than 1,000 plots in several cases. The detailed comparison in these cases was an arduous task but generally the comparison showed satisfactory results. The others were the more common types of *thaks* drawn to scale. Comparison in these cases was made as usual with the *thak* discrepancy statement filled in by the *Kanungo*.

147. *Disputes*.—The disputes were generally of individual character. The objections invariably are given to lands being *lakhiraj* or *khas* by landlords' men whenever there is an absentee landlord and an unscrupulous agent. Something is screwed out of the tenants and the landlords' agent discreetly keeps away or makes a poor show of a fight to save himself from his employer. There was one dispute about right of way between two co-sharers of the Jemua *Zemindars* over a path leading to their houses with a tenacity worthy of a better cause. A number of general disputes was filed in Nabagram for *Utbandi* and *Jamai* land. The *Utbandi* was found to be nominal and the cases were disposed of accordingly. The more important were the disputes in several villages in thana Gokarna where the recession of a *bil* had thrown up lands for cultivation. The local *gomasta* apparently in a moment of forgetfulness had established a tenant which in a more wide-awake state he discovered should have been given to the highest bidder. His previous act, of course, did not deter him from pursuing what he had discovered was a more profitable and necessarily just method. Two sets of tenants thus claimed the same land and the claims had to be adjusted on evidence available in each case.

148. *Transfers of occupancy right*.—The transferability of occupancy right has been now legalised. But I must note that there are reasons to believe that though transfers were freely made till about the year 1883-84 the custom of realising *salami* for recognition was practically non-existent. But according to custom as developed of late occupancy holdings are not transferable without the consent of the landlords. Ordinarily the landlords recognise the purchase of occupancy holdings as tenancies on payment of *salami* which varies but in no case exceeds the rate of 25 per cent. of the purchase money. This is the

general rate of *salami*, but in addition to this the purchaser has to pay a *takari* or *sheristha kharach* varying from 6 pies to one anna in the rupee. These are taken by the *gomastas* and are not accounted for in the landlord's papers. .

One peculiarity of the area is the recognition of the purchasers of a part of a holding as tenant by the landlord on payment of the usual fees, when the *jama* is not split up. The purchaser is simply recognised as a tenant but is held responsible jointly with other co-sharers in the *jama* for the entire rent of the holding. The *salami* paid by the purchaser for recognition as a tenant is on the same rate as paid for recognition as a tenant in case of transfer of the entire holding, i.e., annas four on the rupee for the landlord and six pies to one anna on the rupee for the *gomastas*. This system seems to have been in vogue all over Pargana Fatesing till the end of the last century. Though it involved a good deal of inconvenience and harassment to the tenant, he acquiesced in the arrangement from the mistaken notion that splitting up of a holding would take away the *mokarari* character of the holding. The landlords have also recognised the disadvantages of the system, as he had to keep a complicated list of persons who paid rent for any *jama* and in case of rent suits had to make elaborate inquiries to ensure that all the necessary parties had been made defendants. The Jemua Raj has now succeeded in inducing almost all the tenants to take *kharij* for themselves after splitting up of the *jama*—of course on payment of some fees again. Some of these cumbersome holdings, however, still appear in Nasandi and Kuramdi under the Jemua Raj. In such cases the names of the purchasers who have been recognised as tenants appear in the rent receipts under the name of the original tenant as *बिनाम मालिक* so and so. In their *karcha* under the heading for the *jama* appears a list of persons who have been recognised as tenants in the *jama* by purchase with the amount of rent payable by each. This is called *मालिक*. The old system, however, is still in vogue in the *matal* of the Kumar Sahebs of Salar, with the result that in Salar, Hamid Hatt-Philkandi, Madhaipore, and Kandra, filling up of columns 13 and 14 of the *khata* was a matter of elaborate inquiry and calculation. This was found almost impracticable at Madhaipore, where separate *khanda khata* were

opened for the part purchasers who have been recognised as tenants.

Another peculiarity in the *sheristha* of the Kumar Sahebs of Salar is that the purchasers who are recognised as tenants do not appear as *बिनाम मालिक* in the rent receipts but as *मालिक* in the column for *मालिक* *Marfatdar* in their *Sheristha* signifies the person on whose behalf rent is paid and not the man who actually tenders the rent. I must note, however, that differences were found to exist in custom in different parts. Landlords are very lax in exercising their rights over purchasers. There were very few examples of ejection by suit on the ground of purchase, while on the other hand there were some cases in which co-sharer landlords had accepted mortgages on the lands of their own *raiya*s, or had even purchased holdings from them; and yet in most parts of the area and even under the same landlords *kharij* was made and *salami* paid in more cases than not. In general *kharij* was strictly enforced where the demand for land was high, and title enforced where landlords were weak or were afraid of losing tenants. It was strictly enforced in the north where strong landlords such as the Raja of Nashipur and the Jains were in possession, around Berhampore and Beldanga and in Sarbhanga.

But though no right of free transfer could be made out, transfers were in fact numerous. A *raiya* considered his holding as a saleable asset save that provision had to be made for paying the *salami*. This was now often 4 annas in the rupee on the purchase money with an extra anna or even two annas for the *tahsildar* in all but the largest estates. The Midnapore Zemindary Company have abolished this extra. The Nashipur Raj in the north on the other hand charges six annas per rupee *salami* plus two annas for the *tahsildar*. In addition, they, the Midnapore Zemindary Company and a few others, sometimes exact two or three annas per rupee enhancement as well when granting *kharij*. This was not liable to be cut down as the transaction amounts in effect to a resettlement.

It is satisfactory, however, that the free transfer is recognised under the law.

149. Revenue-free estates.—Revenue-free estates are fairly numerous, and occur in almost all parts of the area; but

They are mostly of small extent, and relatively unimportant. They are especially numerous around Murshidabad, being held mostly by the Nawab or by other members of his family; and many are held by the Nawab elsewhere. Of these the "*ramnas*", and the "*agenti lakhiraj*" were mentioned in the Cadas-tral report; the former were ancient deer parks, and cases of considerable area were found to exist in the south (e.g. Ramna Chandpur) as well as the smaller ones reported previously from near Azimgunj; the latter were grants made by the East India Company to the Nawab to pay for expense incurred by him on account of their agency at Murshidabad. These grants originally appeared in the Collectorate papers under "*agenti numbers*", but were subsequently assigned BI numbers, and these BI numbers have now been correctly traced in all cases.

An interesting case arose in *mauza* Mansingpur. Here a revenue-free estate was found to which no BI number had so far been assigned. The proprietor is Sir Madan Singh of Kishengarh in Rajputana, an independent ruling chief, and he has just succeeded in ejecting his former *ijaradar*, Maharaja Bahadur Singh, through the courts though he has not yet exercised actual possession. As a result of this it was at first extremely difficult to find out anything at all about the estate. Tradition has it that Raja Mansinha, General of Emperor Akbar, worshipped at a temple near, both before and after winning a battle at Kandi, and that he granted this estate to one of his principal officers who was the ancestor of the present proprietor. The circumstances are—

The area of the *mauza* according to Mauzawar C Register is 341A—OR—17P. The property is described in the *thak* statement as well as in the Mauzawar C Register as "*Izad*".

From the Robakari of *izad* case No. 50 of 1855, it appears that Prithi Singh Bahadur of Kishengarh was the original owner of the *mahal*. He was found to hold it without any payment of rent or revenue. When papers to prove his title were called for, none were produced. The property was hence declared to be *izad* by the order of the Superintendent of Survey on June 28th 1855. No further proceedings for its resumption appear to have since then been drawn up; nor were any orders about its release passed.

Sir Madan Singh of Kishengarh, who now holds the *mauza* as his ancestral *lakhiraj* property, does not appear to pay any cess for it. No papers to prove his valid rent-free or revenue-free title were ever produced.

It is probable from its history that it is a revenue-free property, but the grant is not forthcoming, and from the enquiry so far held it does not appear that the validity of the grant was ever tested. The matter was referred to the Collector of Murshidabad for obtaining orders of the Board of Revenue.

Izad Lakhiraj—I note the main important cases here over and above the case of Mansingpur which is noted above and is a typical one.

(a) In *mauza* Bil Belun, J.L. No. 58, police-station Khargram a very large tract of marshy area measuring 4,293 *bighas* 18 *kattas* and 8 *chafaks* was declared to be Government property in *izad* case No. 34 of 1854 and a separate Government Estate was directed to be created. No action, however, was taken by the Collector and no *tauzi* number was so long assigned to it. During attestation the entire marshy tract was recorded in the name of the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad as appertaining to revenue free estate No. 462 BI. In course of scrutiny the facts came out and the Collector of Murshidabad was requested to file objection under section 103 A against the entry and on evidence it was found that neither the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad was in possession nor was there any justification for the area being recorded under 462 BI. Thus, as the area is waste land and as title has already been declared in favour of Government in the *Izad* case and as there was no case of adverse possession order was passed in 103 A case in favour of Government and the Collector has assigned *Tauzi* No. 3092 to the said *Bil* area. On the basis of *thak* and Revenue Survey maps the Collector filed 5 boundary disputes against the landlords of the neighbouring *mauzas*, who also filed 3 counter boundary disputes against the Collector. In all these disputes decision was against Government as the culturable area is already in possession of the neighbouring landlords through tenants. Thus 829.33 acres or 2,508 *bighas* 11 *kattas* 12 *chafaks* have been recorded under the newly created Government estate No. 3092, the balance of 1,785

bighas 6 *kattas* 12 *chataks* having been encroached upon by the neighbouring landlords. The Collector did not file any appeal against these decisions apparently because he wants to recover possession through competent court. A copy of the decision in the 103A case which also suggests that the Collector might resort to get back the encroached area was sent to the Collector of Murshidabad with this Office No. 1280 of the 22nd March 1928.

(b) *Izad* lands of *mauza* Rohigram—Jurisdiction List No. 43, police-station Khargram—is an area of about 200 *bighas*. It appears that an enquiry was started at the time of *thakbust* survey. An *izad* case was started (Case No. 11 of 1853). The occupant was called upon to prove his title to hold the land without payment of revenue. He produced a *Sanad* which was declared invalid by the Deputy Collector who enquired into the case. The Superintendent of Survey accepted the finding. But nothing appears to have been done since then to resume the area. While in register C an entry is found: "entered in tauzi No. 5, vide Collector's order in miscellaneous case No. 481 of 1904-05."

The Collector was requested to send the case but the records were reported to be missing.

150. **Tenure-holders.**—Tenure-holders of the first three grades were found to be the rent collectors over almost the whole of the "B" block, which consisted of the entire Sadar and Lalbagh subdivisions except thana Nabagram of the latter, which was taken up in block "C". Khas possession of the proprietors and subinfeudation beyond the third grade were alike uncommon; though where the demand for land was unusually high, as in police-station Sagardighi and around Berhampore, a tendency to further subinfeudation was evident.

The commonest kind of tenure by far was the *Patni*, and under it were very often found *darpatnis* and *se-patnis*. Next to these the most common was the *jote*, though many tenancies of this name were found to be *raiyyati* holdings and could be distinguished only by a consideration of origin. *Maurasis* which were permanent and *Miyadi ijaras* which were temporary were fairly common. In addition rent-free tenures of various descriptions were found almost everywhere. Important families who came in as proprietors are also among the

most important tenure-holders. Perhaps even more important are the Midnapore Zemindary Company. They hold very extensive areas in the east and south under a large number of interests, mainly tenures. Most were acquired from Indigo concerns which sold out *en block* to the Company when that industry became unprofitable; the Company were themselves engaged in it and in the preparation of silk, but save for a short period during the war they have latterly confined themselves to *Zemindary* management: the main effects of this are firstly that they find themselves saddled with a number of *patnis* which cannot be made to pay on the rents received from ordinary cultivation, and secondly that they have been held to have the status of occupancy *raiyyats* in those *jotes* which they originally acquired for the purpose of the *khas* cultivation of indigo. Mr. Smith of Dadpore also holds a noteworthy number of tenures in the south, and some considerable local families draw most of their income from a similar source such as the Sens of Berhampore, the Chaudhuries of Dangapara, the sons of Haji Nakibuddin of Beldanga and many others.

Rent-free tenures are found everywhere, but are more numerous in the north and near the large towns. *Brahmottars* are the most common; very many of these have their origin in grants of Rani Bhawani (e.g., the lands of the *Bhattas* of Bhattapara), and others in grants by the Kassimbazar family; many are now held by other than *Brahmin* families especially in the south near the Bhagirathi—they are said to have been sold during the unsettled times following the decay of the Mughal Empire. Next in number are the *debottars* and *pirottars* dedicated respectively to the Hindus and Moslems for religious purposes, and very generally held by *Mohantas* or by *mutawallis*. The most important are the *Mohantas* of Sadekbagh, Jaffargunj and Debpore, whose lands were originally granted by Rani Bhawani. There is also a fair amount of *mahatran*, chiefly, it appears, granted to Sudras for secular services, and few cases of *Vaidyottar*. Another class of secular grant is the *Aima* which appears in police-station Saktipore (Beldanga) and was noted in the Cadastral report. Other considerable secular grants have been made by the Nawabs, mainly near Murshidabad,

to their relations and subordinates; those made to the Chief eunuchs Darab Ali Khan and Basanta Ali Khan are large and are now *wakf*.

The proof of rent-free character is usually not direct and documentary. In very few cases were the original *sanads* in existence, and in only a few could *taidads* be produced. Generally speaking, proof of adverse possession and references in other registered documents were relied upon.

Of the rent-free tenancies, however, many were held to be *raiyyati* having regard to the use to which they were intended to be put at their inception. This distinction was new to many of the Revenue Officers who did not at first understand it. In all cases rent-free holders appeared to have complete freedom of transfer.

151. Raiyats' rates of cash rent.—Variation in rates were wide. On the whole they followed variations in fertility. They also differed with the age of the *jama*, and of course with the landlord. There has been a steady rise in the rates imposed at inception, and the stronger landlords have been the more successful in enforcing enhancements of their older *jamats*. The rates given below are those prevailing in more recent years; in the case of the older *jamats* it was often impossible to ascertain the rates for different classes of land upon which they were based, as all old papers simply showed a lump rental.

Bastu varies from Rs. 3 to Rs. 7-8 per acre; usually it is about Rs. 5. In the east and south it tends to be slightly higher. In the south-east of police-station Sagardighi it is from Rs. 7 to Rs. 10. In towns and very large villages it is much more; even in places of the size of Saktipore and Satui it rises as high as Rs. 20. Non-agricultural building land varies from Rs. 10 to Rs. 80, according to situation and the use to which it is to be put. *Katcha* shops within the towns are about Rs. 20. The Rs. 80 rate applies to land used for such purposes as the engine-sheds of rice or silk factories.

Udbastu is almost invariably exactly half the *bastu* rate for the locality. Other uncultivated lands (if any) about the homesteads are half of that again.

Mulberry is largely grown, chiefly on either side of the Bhagirathi. Occasionally it is grown on land not specially prepared, and the rates for

this are only slightly higher than for ordinary culturable lands. Generally, it is grown on land drained by deep ditches, the earth from which is used to raise the level of the land; this is known as "*dihi tut*". Rates vary from Rs. 1 to Rs. 5, but are generally from Rs. 2 to Rs. 2-8. On the west of the Bhagirathi and in some places close to the east bank, these rates which are reckoned on the area of the high land includes also the portions of ditch belonging to the holding and used in cultivation. In other places the ditch is separately assessed at low rates.

152. Illegal enhancements.—Illegal enhancements were not numerous, only a few cases being reported. They were perhaps most numerous in police-station Sagardighi, where several cases were found in the Natore, Kasimbazar and Nashipore estates. Several were also found in various parts under the Midnapore Zemindary Company, though they were usually careful to observe the provisions of the Bengal Tenancy Act. In a few cases they secured in effect substantial enhancements by compelling their tenants to submit to a re-shuffling of the lands of their holdings accompanied by an increase in the basic rates for each class of land; once the possession had been changed in accordance with their new arrangements, the identity of the old holdings was completely lost, and the transaction amounted to a re-settlement at enhanced rates. It was, of course, illegal in the case of occupancy tenants, but the tenants either did not know their rights or did not care to oppose the Company. A glaring instance occurred at Garibpur in the course of the present settlement, the change over of possession occurring in some cases after *bujharat*. The village headman appear to have been won over by favourable treatment, and there was little active opposition, and where possession had been given up by the old tenant it was not found possible for us to do more than note on the record the nature of the change while following present possession.

Quite a large number of instances were found in police-stations Naba-gram, Burwan and Khargram. In some instances ingenious effort was made to cover up the illegality. In villages Raghunathpore, Palsa and others in police-station Burwan it was found that registered *kabuliyats* were taken from

the tenants in which there was a long and complete recital that the increase in rent was due mainly to excess area in possession of the tenants, though the tenants asserted that there was neither any measurement nor was any excess area found in their possession. Their statement that there was no excess area was proved by the actual area found in their possession now, which was very much the same as was recorded in the rent-receipts before the so-called measurement.

Another device was to claim enhancement on the ground of construction of embankment which amounted to improvement effected by the landlord.

Clear evidence was taken, and the truth of the improvement effected was thoroughly scrutinised. Where it was found that this was fiction, the enhancement was cut down. Where it was found actually to have been effected, a note of the details of the improvement and the amount of enhancement was left in the column of incidents. In two cases of 178 interests, the existing rent was compromised under section 109C, Bengal Tenancy Act.

153. Peculiar cases of rent.—There were some peculiar cases of rent. A *raiya*t was found to pay one wooden plough, another a pair of shoes, and in a third set of cases materials for worship (*Puja*)—goat, fish, *ghee* (clarified butter)—were all found in rent. The arrangements for *Puja* specially of *Shiva* were found in various forms of rent payable. Some held lands on condition that they paid the full set of materials needed for the worship; in another case the arrangement was that the costs of the worship, less the amount realised in offerings from the devotees, were to be borne by the tenant. The amount varied from year to year, and in some years the offerings entirely covered the cost, and the tenant could hold the land without any rent.

154. Private service tenancies.—There is a large number of private service tenancies. Over and above the common types of service lands held by *Halsahama*, *Mondol*, *Nagdi* (all village servants), barbers and washermen, there is an extensive number of tenancies for services rendered in connection with the worship of various

gods and goddesses. The services rendered are of diverse kinds, e.g., there are tenancies held for—

- (1) Supply of water of the Ganges for the worship of deities.
- (2) To beat drums at the time of worship.
- (3) To gather fruits, flowers and leaves necessary for religious ceremonies.
- (4) To sweep temples and places of worship.
- (5) To supply milk or *ghee* and such other articles necessary for worship, and so forth.

In one case it was found that the *chakran* was given to do fasting on a religious occasion for the landlord; in another, there was a *chakran* to kill serpents in the village.

These were the relics of old village systems. There is now, however, keen competition for land. Most of the *zemindars* are resuming these service tenancies and otherwise providing for the services required. Possibly, in the course of the next few years, most of these will disappear.

155. Chowkidari Chakran.—There are numerous resumed *Chowkidari mahals* in this district. We had such lands in almost all the *mauzas* and often more than one in the same village. In the pre-British days, these lands were grants made to the *Chowkidars* by the *zemindars* for the purpose of watch and ward duties in their villages. How these lands came to be resumed is a much known history. The lands were clearly assigned by the village community in the capacity of a corporate municipal authority for the duties of watch and ward in the village. Mr. D. J. McNeill in his report on the village watch of the lower provinces of Bengal (1868) observes that "the village watchman was in ancient times an officer maintained by the village community in which he lived and his duty was to guard the persons and property of his fellow villagers from the depredations of dacoits, burglars and thieves. As a rule, he belonged himself to some thieving gang and his engagement as watchman was in fact an arrangement by which the village secured a partial immunity from attack by buying over one of the enemy. This supported him generally by an

assignment of land comprised of small lots separated from their holdings and made over to him free of rent in money or kind, the former owner remaining responsible for their full quotas of the revenue due for the whole village. He also received some further remuneration in the shape of contributions of grain at harvest time. And he gradually became entitled by custom to various miscellaneous perquisites." I note that I do not agree that the *Chowkidar* "as a rule belonged to some thieving gang." The services rendered were essentially of a public character but subsequently with the change in the system of Government in the country, other obligations of a private and personal character were imposed on this body of public servants. Under the Muhammadan Rule, the *zemindars* were appointed as a sort of State officials not only to collect money but to conduct civil and criminal administration of the tracts committed to their charge and this arrangement necessitated a large establishment being placed at their disposal. The watchmen in consequence were henceforth employed to perform sundry duties connected with the collection of land tax. Even under the British administration when the proprietary right of the *zemindars* in the lands was declared, the *zemindars* did not lose their character as officers of the State for some time. The Police administration of the country was left in the hands of the *zemindars* till the passing of Regulation XXII of 1793 which declared all *Paiks*, *Chowkidars*, *Pasbans*, *Dusads*, *Nigubans*, *Haris* and other description of village watchmen subject to orders of *Darogahs*. Just as the landlords under the Muhammadan Rule acquired this dual character, the subordinate establishment of watchmen were also placed under the dual obligation of rendering public service as also some personal service to the *zemindars*. Although Regulation XXII of 1793 was passed in order to make the watchmen responsible for the discharge of their public duties to the newly appointed *Darogahs*, no law was enacted interfering with the right of the *zemindars* over the personal service of this body of public servants. On the other hand, it appears that this right was indirectly recognised by Government in Regulation VIII of 1793 which directed all these *chakran* lands to be annexed to the *Malguzari* land and held responsible for the public revenue assessed on the *zemindaries* in common

with all other *Malguzari* lands therein. The result of these legislations as described by Mr. McNeill was that "the State acquired a direct lien upon the lands to the extent represented by the public service due from the occupants, the *zemindars* being left in possession of the lien proportionate to the private service still owing to them by the same occupants". Subsequently, a series of regulations were passed aiming at the reforms of this village police. As the police management under the Zilla Magistrate did not yield satisfactory result at the beginning we find again (some time in 1805) 67 experiments being made in Burdwan, Midnapore, and Jungle *mahals* of Birbhum by vesting the *zemindars* of these *mahals* with the powers of *Darogahs*.

"*Kotwal*" is a term which included the agency for watch and ward as well as detection and prevention of crimes. In the pre-British periods as in other spheres such agencies were maintained by land grants. In the estatewar *Ekwal* papers of 1793 under the general head *Baze Zamin* we get the area of *Kotwali* lands in each village and the *Ekwal* papers do not show any *Chowkidari* lands.

The *Chowkidari Chakran* lands of Murshidabad were resumed in 1894 under Act VI of 1870 and settled with the *zemindars*.

Panchayets were appointed in Unions consisting of several villages and they submitted measurement and assessment papers of all *chakran* lands in the occupation of the Regulation *Chowkidars*. The assessment papers were checked at a certain percentage by a Sub-Deputy Collector; the mean between the existing rates for similar lands in the neighbourhood payable by the *raiya*ts to the *zemindars* and the rate payable by the *Korjadars* to the tenants was taken for assessment. *Nal* of 18 inches to a cubit was taken as the standard for measurement.

The *Chowkidari chakran* lands were finally transferred to the recorded proprietors at half the assessment on the consideration that half the services of the *Chowkidars* were enjoyed by them.

The transfer order was made over to the principal co-sharer. *Panchayets* were at the same time informed of the area, assessment, names of the *zemindars* and they were ordered to assess the villages under Section 15 of the Act.

These transfer orders in form C were delivered to the *zemindars* subject to all liabilities and privileges attached to their estates.

Possession of the Regulation *Chowkidars* was at first not interfered with and the proprietors were informed by letters for allowing the *Chowkidars* to continue to retain possession on payment of fair rent but this suggestion was not accepted by many *zemindars* who let out the lands on *salami* and large rents.

All the Sub-Inspectors in charge of the *thanas* were directed to explain to the Regulation *Chowkidars* that they should make amicable settlement with the *zemindars* on payment of fair rent and that in the event of their failure to come to terms they were asked to cause no disturbances.

Zemindars were requested to settle the lands with the *Chowkidars*; some of them complied with the request but some did not, as the temptation of the large *salami* and higher rents offered by the outsiders was too great to be resisted.

The register (Register 80) maintained by the District Magistrate was taken over and entries verified on the spot. In each interest in which such lands lie the name and the number of the *Chowkidari* Union to which the assessment is payable and the amount of assessment were noted together with the year and the number of resumption proceedings.

There were altogether 492 *Bajeapti Chowkidari Chakran* holdings in the district according to Collector's Register 80.

In course of preparation of the record-of-rights of the district, various discrepancies were come across in the matter of entries as in the Collectorate Register No. 80 of resumed *Chowkidari Chakran* lands such as (a) double assessment for the same lands, (b) lands borne on Register 80 but the assessment is not being realised, (c) cases of wrong entries of lands in Register 80 otherwise resumed and permanently settled, (d) lands for which *Chowkidari* assessment is being paid by the *zemindars* but the same have not been formally transferred under the Act. On the whole the discrepancies were very few and the resumption was accurate and no lands were found which are known as *Chowkidari Chakran*, but which were not resumed, except in one case. The lands lay in thana Bharatpur in villages Chunsahar, Parchati,

and Aocha. The case was thoroughly enquired into, but it ultimately transpired that there was a judicial decision declaring them to be non-*Chowkidari Chakran*. After reconciliation of all these discrepancies, we find altogether 539 *Chowkidari Chakran* Estates covering an area of 6583.91 acres with an assessment of Rs. 14,648 payable to the *Chowkidari* fund of the different Unions in the district. A revised register 80 was written up on the basis of the record-of-rights and handed over to the Collector. It is easy henceforth to keep the register in order if an intelligent watch is kept on the record of changes.

156. Claims to Mokarari status.—The claims for *Mokarari* were large in number. Detailed instructions on the points to be looked into for and against the claims were given to the officers. Printed pamphlets were distributed to the tenants and landlords about the procedure each should follow to support or refute a claim. In one Block which included the entire Kandi subdivision, the most developed of the *Rarh* area, about 44,000 claims were preferred by the tenants and in about 39,000 these claims stood un rebutted. Some of the landlords could get papers later and succeeded in rebutting the presumption under section 103A, but their number was not large.

In areas previously done in Fatesing, which had to be redone in this settlement, the tenants could clearly show that they could raise the presumption, but section 115 was a bar to fresh investigation, and in several cases—on the basis of the record prepared—enhancement was given under section 105, Bengal Tenancy Act. In the previous settlement, it appears that the number of *mokarari* tenants came up to only 3 per cent. while in the present operation in the vicinity it came to 11 per cent. Making allowance for differences in the nature of papers produced for and against the claim, one must conclude that the educative effect of the instructions on the tenants through these pamphlets was appreciable.

Some landlords appeared to have used their whole influence in dissuading the tenants from producing their receipts, while several failed. Some succeeded, at least partially. Among the latter, one Purna Chandra Trivedi of police-station Kandi, Belat Hossain Mondol of police-station Nabagram, and the Paikpara Raj may be mentioned.

Various interesting questions came up, and the officers had to be extremely cautious in coming to a right decision, notes for orders and frequent inspections succeeding in securing uniformity on the whole. The percentage of claims varied in different areas. In police-station Gokarna the number of claims came up to 30 per cent. of interests, while in Kandi, it came down to 16·7 and in Burwan it was still lower. Several of the bigger landlords, like the Maharaja of Kassimbazar and the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad, had made enhancement in several estates and could produce satisfactory papers to rebut presumption.

The majority of cases arose by statutory presumption under section 50, Bengal Tenancy Act. Most landlords were unable to rebut, as their *sheristas* were ill-organised and they had few old papers available. The Midnapore Zemindary Company, the Maharaja of Kassimbazar and the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad were three notable exceptions to this; the excellence of their papers being about in that order. Other landlords chiefly relied upon *jama wasil baki* papers. An interesting point as to the evidentiary value of *jama wasil* papers came up, and orders were issued distinguishing between their uses under section 32 and section 34 of the Evidence Act, and indicating the value of the corroboration which such papers could give to one another when produced for a number of consecutive years. A further point of some importance in the south concerned the status of so-called "*fasli*" holdings; the Midnapore Zemindary Company contended that this entry in very old papers proved the *Utbandi* origin of the tenancies, but it was held that the name alone was insufficient without proof that the rent had at some time varied.

Contractual Mokarari.—The number of cases of contractual *Mokarari* was not large. An exception occurred in Dilua, Jhunka and Rameswarpur *mauzas* where owing to troubles over partition between a number of co-sharers the tenants had been allowed to get out of hand; the *mauzas* were let out in *patni*, and the *patnidar* was eventually forced to allow *mokarari* status by contract to almost all the tenants on their agreeing to a small enhancement. In Dudsor, Sonatikri, and Paresnathpore, some were found supported by registered deeds granted by

Mr. Archibald Hill's predecessor-in-interest of the Midnapore Zemindary Company; the relations between landlord and tenant were embittered here because many others alleged by the tenants to have been granted by him were not admitted by the Company, and in fact the tenants were unable to prove them. A further interesting case occurred in Chak Hijli where an oral grant had been made by the landlord who filed a written statement before the Attestation Officer admitting this; such an agreement not being binding, the parties were advised to take out registered deeds or to apply under section 109C; neither, however, was done in time, so that the status could not be entered in our record.

157. Produce-paying tenancies.—*Bhagdars* are found all over the district. Their numbers are always considerable, but vary widely. Very many of them do not appear on our record, partly because some were held to be labourers and not tenants, partly because in some cases determined efforts were made to conceal their existence, especially in the parts near the borders of Nadia district. It was found all over the area that *bhagdars* were regarded, and regarded themselves purely as tenants-at-will. Under the Bengal Tenancy Act, as it stood before the amendment of 1929, which governed the procedure when the operation in this area was conducted, those of them that cultivated in an independent manner were entitled to the status of *raiyyat* or *korfa* as the case might be; those that were *raiyyats* would acquire occupancy rights according to the usual rules. But the arrangements having been intended by both parties to be temporary, all landlords who are strong enough seem to be dealing with this unforeseen rule of law by compelling their *bhagdars* to deny their interests, or by ousting them from possession at the earliest opportunity; many were opposed to the record even of *bhagdars* who were *korfas*, fearing the result of the amendment to the Tenancy Act which was then pending. Every effort was, however, made to record those that were entitled.

For deciding whether or not a *bhagdar* is a tenant, the usual rule is that one receiving help in cultivation from the landlord is not. But in Block "B", which consisted of all the police-stations of Sadar and Lalbagh subdivisions except Nabagram, there was found a well-established custom of the landlord giving

half the seed without the tenants independence and responsibility in cultivation being in any way lessened. This *was finally taken to be the test; any who received more help than this in cultivating ordinary crops was held to be a labourer.* Save in police-stations Sagar-dighi and Jiaganj where any seed given was usually a mere advance, this help of half the seed was generally given. Near Berhampore and in Kalantar (save in four *mauzas*) manure was also generally given. Waste land was often given to *bhagdars* to bring into cultivation, and in such a case half the cost of first breaking up the ground was usually given.

Usually the landlord receives as rent half the crop actually grown. In the western half of the police-station Sagar-dighi, he generally gets only 8/20ths or 9/20ths of the crop. But on good *Aman* lands in south-east of that thana he will get 11/20ths. On the poor lands of the central area, only 1/3rd of the crop is paid as rent. On the best lands of police-station Saktipore (Beldanga) 7/11ths or 2/3rds is paid. Bye-product usually goes to the *bhagdar* if a tenant, though the landlord sometimes gets part or whole if he supplies more than half the seed. In the east the landlord takes a small unfixed amount of the bye-products if he has animals to feed. In the case of *bhag* labourers there seems to be no fixed custom.

A few cases of *raiya*s paying a definite quantity of produce were found, and these were scattered all over the area. There were also a few cases (reported chiefly from the area between the Bhagirathi and the Bhandardaha Bil) of rent in kind other than agricultural produce, e.g., curds, *gur*, milk, earthen vessels, and articles needed for sacrificial purposes. These were similar to a kind of *Chakran*, of which too there were the usual varieties—mostly for *Halsahanas* and for those performing common village services. A family of *Bayens* in Naopukhuria have held for over 60 years a large *Chakran* for drum-beating during *Pujas*, and have many under-tenants.

158. **Utbandi system.**—In the East Bhagirathi or the *Bogri* area at the beginning of the season orders were issued for the record of *Utbandi* based upon experience gained in Nadia district. According to these all so-called *Utbandi* was divided into six classes; three of real and three of “nominal”

Utbandi. “Nominal” *Utbandi* included all tenancies which though called *Utbandi* yet lacked some of the essentials of that system—usually the annual measurement for ascertaining the area liable to rent, or the right of part surrender. This classification was found to answer satisfactorily. This was indeed to be expected, as the areas in which *Utbandi* is most common are those bordering on Nadia district and in fact the subdivisions of Sadar and Lalbagh appear to be a transition area such that the further from Nadia one goes the less *Utbandi* one finds.

This type is that in which the name “*Utbandi*” persists, but the limits of the holdings are fixed, and a fixed sum of rent is paid every year. It differs from *raiya*ti in name only; and save in name, it was recorded in exactly the same way—even the presumption under section 50, Bengal Tenancy Act, being held to be raised in the same way. It is true that the name may in many cases be an indication of the historical origin of the tenancy, but the supposition was required to be proved in each case. The type was found in every part in considerable numbers. Rates of rent were usually similar to those for *raiya*ti.

In another type of nominal *Utbandi*, the limits of the holding were fixed, but the amount of rent payable varied according to the crop grown, the rates per *bigha* for each crop being also fixed. This type was found in Narayanpore in police-station Jiaganj, in Natkuli of police-station Raninagar, in the Estates of the Mahata and Barman families in police-station Beldanga and in Ramna, Chandpore and Pratappore of police-station Hariharpara.

In a third type of nominal *Utbandi*, the limits of the holding were fixed, but the amount of rent payable varied with the class of land, the rates for each class being also fixed. In these two last types there was usually an annual inspection for the purpose of ascertaining the areas under each crop or of each class existing each year and there was a special rate for *patit*. The third type was found in Hasanabad of Police Station Murshidabad, in Natkuli and in Ramnagar *Doem Kanun* of police-station Raninagar, in Garibpore, Arazi Garibpore and Char Shahazadpore of police-station Domkal, under Amiya Pal Choudhuri in police-station Naoda and in Bidupara of police-station Beldanga.

As regards real *Utbandi*, a few cases were found in most police-stations to the east and south, and in some there was much. The area under *Utbandi*, however, seems to be decreasing rapidly, as the system has become unpopular with landlords, who would rather have an assured income, even though at a lower rate and avoid the trouble and expense of annual measurements.

In Rejinagar, Manganpara and Rampara of police-station Beldanga there is a regular system of annual classification of all kinds of culturable land, with special rate for each class. A further peculiarity is that in the event of the land lying fallow for one year the tenant by paying one pice per *bigha* can secure the rights of re-entry; should the land lie fallow for two successive years it reverts to the landlord's *khas*.

In the West Bhagirathi or the *Rarh* area this system is in vogue in only a few villages in police-stations Nabagram and Bharatpur and in one in Kandi. General orders were issued at the beginning of the season for the record of the *Utbandi* lands on the lines of the Nadia Rules, where the question was fully considered in all its aspects. In most villages such as Panchgram, Kharikadanga and Kishorepur of police-station Nabagram the holdings were found to be of fixed limit and part surrender is unknown, though the rent varies according to the area cultivated. The tenant has also got the right of re-entry. These tenancies were, therefore, recorded as nominal *Utbandi*. The rates were found to be Rs. 2 for *aman* and Re. 1-8 for *rabi* land per *bigha*. So also in villages bordering Bil Basia in police-station Nabagram, the holdings were found to be of fixed limit, though the rent varied from year to year according to the extent of cultivation. The system is the same in the few villages of Khargram bordering Bil Patan. In these *bil* villages paddy is seldom grown, except *boro*. Ordinarily *rabi* crops are grown.

It is in *mauza* Sehalai of police-station Bharatpur and Hijal of police-station Kandi that real *Utbandi* was found, but the system of settlement came into existence within the test period, and as such, though the rent is dependable on the area cultivated, section 180 of the Bengal Tenancy Act has no application, and the interests have been recorded as real *utbandi* not ordinarily so held.

Real *Utbandi* ordinarily so held, where section 180 applies, has been found in mouza Chandnagar of police-station Kandi and in Benodia, Salinda and Raninagar of police-station Bharatpur. In these villages all the essential characteristics of real *Utbandi* were found, i.e., the annual measurement based on *ekandaj* survey and assessment, according to the area under cultivation. The only difference noticed in the system was that in the villages of police-station Bharatpur the assessment is *birubar*, i.e., according to the crop grown in each year (i.e., there are different rates for different crops) while in Chandnagar of police-station Kandi the assessment depended on the classification of the soil, no matter what crop was grown. In the former the rates vary between 10 annas to 12 annas per *bigha*, while in the latter the rate has gone up to Rs. 3 per *bigha* by gradual enhancements. In case the tenants acquired occupancy rights by continuous possession for 12 years, the rates were cut down where enhancements were found to contravene the provisions of section 29 of the Bengal Tenancy Act. In Lohadaha of police-station Bharatpur though some lands are known as *Utbandi*, they are not real *Utbandi*, as no annual measurement is made and the rent is fixed; the tenants pay even for fallow lands. These are recorded as nominal *Utbandi*, where section 180 has no application. The tenants have got the ordinary status. Nowhere *bhiti* or garden lands have been found to have been settled under the *Utbandi* System. In the villages of police-station Bharatpur the tenants are opposed to conversion into *jamas* either amicably or under the Conversion Act. In actual practice, it has been found that in these villages there is widespread collusion between the tenants and the landlords' local agents, and actually the tenants pay much less than what becomes really payable as rent.

159. **Debottar.**—Connected with these relics of old life are the large *debottar* grants or grants of land and income dedicated to a deity. They are generally of two classes, viz., lands granted free of revenue or rent and lands which by testamentary disposition of property were set apart to provide for the worship and which enjoyed distinct privileges against

dismemberment and alienation under the institutes of the Hindu laws.

Of the former class, instances were found almost in every village. Of the latter, there are some large grants, the most important of which is that dedicated to the family God, *Radha-Ballar Jieu* of Kandi, by late Dewan Ganga Gobinda Singh. The *debottar* property yields a profit of about Rs. 60,000 which is entirely spent on the maintenance of the idol and the shrine. Hunter made the following note about it which is worth quoting: "Of shrines, the shrine at Kandi is the most important and is maintained with the greatest liberality. The god seems to live in the style of the Great Moghul. His *masnad* and pillows are of the best velvet and damask, richly embroidered. Before him are placed gold and silver *satras*, cups, tumblers, *pandans*, jugs of various sizes and patterns. He is fed every morning with fifty kinds of curry and ten kinds of pudding. His breakfast over, gold *hukkas* are brought to him to smoke, and the most aromatic tobacco. He then returns to his noon-day siesta. In the afternoon he lunches, and at night he sups upon the choicest and richest viands with new names in the vocabulary of Hindu confectionary. The daily expenses at this shrine are said to be Rs. 500, inclusive of alms and charity to the poor."

The food offered to the idol is distributed after each meal is over. The festive occasions drew crowds from far and near, shops were set up, friends met, children and women formed the bulk. Of course to-day—though the entire income is still meant for the idol and the shrine as in other spheres of life—sterilisation has set in, and there has been deterioration in the quality of food given in the ceremonies and in the details of the festivities generally. Instances of the nature might be multiplied, but I could find none of recent origin. It is not the place to dilate on the ethics of the procedure on the respective merits of pantheism and monotheism, or of the good or evil of idolatry. They might be left to others to discuss. But when one roams about in these rural areas, one cannot but observe that life to-day has lost its picturesqueness and that once interesting social institutions are

fast withering away with nothing substituted in their places.

160. Rent-free claims.—Next to *Mokarari* is the large number of rent-free claims preferred in the area. Rent-free holders are numerous in the area. Mostly they appear to have been granted by the old Hindu Chiefs, an appreciable number being grants made by the Raj family of Nator. The majority of them were granted to *Kanauj Brahmins* to get them settled in the area. Next to *brahmottar* came the *debottar* and *pirottar* grants, while others of the type found were *mahatrans* (granted to non-Brahmins), *Vaidyottar* (granted to medical men), *Vaishabottar* (granted to *Vaisnavas*) and so forth. In only a few cases could the original grants be produced. Ordinarily they relied on proof of adverse possession. Though nominally contested, in the majority of cases the landlords practically admitted the claims. A few cases were generally contested and were disposed of on their merits. Rent-free tenancies are freely bought and sold, and not a few of them are *raiya*.

As stated before rent-free tenures are found everywhere and they have been described as under-tenures.

161. The Aima Estates.—In the eastern portion of the subdivision of Kandi lie a large number of resumed *Aima* Estates. Their number came up to a little over 1,000. They are largely held by once prosperous Muhammadan families, though mostly in a state of utter decadence now. It is believed that a large number of learned men of the Islamic faith were inducted by Muhammadan rulers to settle in the tracts in and about the present jurisdiction of police-station Bharatpur. They were granted lands. These lands were subsequently resumed and made into revenue-paying estates. The lands lie mixed up with other lands, and there has been sub-infeudation. The same individual is a co-proprietor, a tenure-holder, an under-tenure-holder and a *raiya* who has sublet his lands. No special account of the realisation according to the different interests is kept and the individuals, both the rent-receiver and the rent-payer, do not know which plots of lands are held under what interest. The rent receipts that are granted make no distinction,

and the tenants—even of the under-*rai* class—do not know their status. It was extremely difficult to disentangle the interests and identify the plots with the respective rights of the parties. The Attestation Officer dealing with their claim had to go very slow and their outturn averaged not even half of the normal crop.

Quite a number of families still retain the *sanads* where the revenue-free grants were admitted. They recite the reasons for the grants during the Mughal period. Most of them are to men of learning and piety of the Islamic faith. In the largest number of such cases, however, the original purpose is no longer served.

162. The uses of section 22(2) of the Bengal Tenancy Act (as it stood before the amendment).—Generally speaking this section is not of frequent application, but scattered instances were found all over the district and in some particular *mauzas* it was common. The most usual cause of it was the purchase of *rai* holdings by small resident co-sharer landlords either for arrears or by way of investment. In many cases these were quite ignorant of the law on the subject. The Mahata and Barman families in their *mauzas* near Berhampore and Hazi Abdul Aziz of Bhabta in all his *mauzas* had seized every opportunity of buying out their *rai* in order to have more influence over them as *korfas*; the last was very unpopular because of it. The Midnapore Zemindary Company, who are co-sharers in Chua, had long ago bought up many *jotes* in order to ensure that there was plenty of labour for their silk factory. In some cases the purchases were made in course of paddy-lending business. Yet another class of cases arose in Godhanpara and parts of the Central area where the soil is very poor as often no bidders appeared when holdings were sold for arrears and the landlords were forced to purchase. To frustrate the object of the section purchases were at times made, in the name of wives and daughters and of other relations. These cases needed very careful examination, and more often than not, the parties would offer no proof of their inception, and I had to pass an order that in the absence of the clearest proof of a *bona-fide* nature of such purchase the lands would be treated as purchased personally by the co-sharers, and section 22(2) would apply.

163. Peculiar tenancies.—The following peculiar tenancies were found in the area :—

(1) *Mojkuri taluks*.—They are like *sikmi taluks* which were not made independent at the time of the Permanent Settlement. They are mostly found in *mauzas* Mahalandi, Gokarna, Durlavpore and Benipore of police-station Kandi. They are noted for their very low incidence of rent. In fact, these *talukdars* pay the share of the Government revenue to the proprietor for the area they hold, and enjoy all the privileges of the *zemindar*. The majority of these tenures were separated from the parent estates and were assessed to separate revenue at Permanent Settlement, while those that were not separately assessed were treated as dependent *taluks*, and the lands were kept within the ambits of the parent estates and assessed therewith.

(2) *Khiraj (kharidgi jotes)*.—These are peculiar tenures found in some villages of police-stations Kandi and Burwan. The terms literally mean “purchased with land revenue”, i.e., subject to the payment of land revenue. These are really transfer of lands by *zemindars* with stipulation that the transferees will pay their quota of land revenue through the *zemindars*. The rents payable for these tenures are also very low and are roughly assessed at the same rates as the revenue of the estates. In no case could the tenant produce the original instrument by which the tenure was created. It is believed that they date from before the Permanent Settlement.

(3) *Jonottari jotes*.—These are another class of tenures held at very low rents; they are found in Mahalandi and Gokarna. The origin of these *jotes* is obscure, but the popular idea is that it indicates a tenancy held at a quit rent granted to Brahmins deserving concession. *Jonottari* is literally said to mean a *Brahmin*.

164. Partitioned Estates.—A number of estates were found where it appeared that a partition was effected through the Collector about half a century ago, but the lands and collections still remained joint. An attempt was made to find out the blocks accepted at the time of partition, but no papers could be found. The circumstances of

one estate may be narrated. Estate No. 69 was partitioned in 1854 and formed into 4 separate estates, viz., 2732, 2733, 2734 and the original 69. There are ten *mauzas* appertaining to those estates. Of these (1) *mauzas* Palasi, Jurisdiction List No. 34, (2) Durgarampore, Jurisdiction List No. 65, (3) Siddheswari, Jurisdiction List No. 5, and (4) Bahara, Jurisdiction List No. 12, had been allotted exclusively to estate No. 69, (5) *mauza* Amjuan, Jurisdiction List No. 53, to estate No. 2732 and (6) *mauza* Rahimanagar, Jurisdiction List No. 54, to estate No. 2734, exclusively. (7) One *mauza* Chak Barkat was allotted jointly to two estates, viz., Nos. 69 and 2733; three *mauzas* named (8) Gobindapore, Jurisdiction List No. 66, (9) Indrani, Jurisdiction List No. 52, and (10) Bishnupore, Jurisdiction List No. 200, were allotted jointly to all the 4 estates, viz., 69, 2732, 2733 and 2734.

Three of the estates (viz., Nos. 69, 2732 and 2733), and also 10 *annas* 2 *krantis* and 5 *tils* share of estate No. 2734 was held by Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy as proprietor, and 5 *annas* 19 *gandas* 3 *karas* and 15 *tils* share of Estate No. 2734 as *Patnidar*.

It, however, appeared that separate possession of the estate on the basis of the partition was never given, and the partition in fact was never given effect to. The Maharaja himself does not want to hold the estate separately. It seems that the partition was not a real division into estates, and it seems that the maintenance of so many estates on the *tauzi* rolls is superfluous, specially when the lands are joint. On the other hand, there does not appear to be any authority for the revision of the partition, and the only course open seems to be for the party to apply to the Collector under section 100 of the Estates Partition Act. The Estates Partition Act is defective in this respect, in view of the fact that it provides for no procedure by which this paper partition could be undone, and the estates could be regrouped without a private party moving for it. The circumstances of the cases were brought to the notice of the Collector in this office letter No. 1470 of the 27th April 1927.

165. **Abwabs.**—*Abwabs* were not found to be very numerous in this area. They are most numerous in police-station Sagardighi where chiefly under the names of "*Khos kabula*", "*sipai*

kharcha", "*agamani kharcha*", "*amlu kharcha*" amounts of from 2 to 6 *annas* in the rupee are regularly collected in most estates. *Mauzas* Popara and Harhari are notorious for this. Elsewhere an amount of from one to three *annas* per rupee called *hisabana*, *tahari* or more usually *kharcha* is levied for the benefit of the *tahsildars* who are poorly paid, and are indeed expected by their masters to recoup themselves in this way. Besides in a few estates a levy of two pice per rupee is made for "*Iswarbritti*", and in some amount called "*marcha*" (usually 8 *annas*) is levied each time on the occasion of the marriage of a daughter of a tenant. The Midnapore Zemindary Company, however, have of late years raised the pay of their *tahsildars* to a more reasonable figure and have forbidden the realisation of any *abwabs*; to offset this they are more strict in exacting interest on arrears. In the Estate of the Maharaja of Kassimbazar and of the Pal Choudhuries of Maheshganj, a similar course has been followed.

The realisation of *abwab* is common, in spite of the law to the contrary. Their number, however, is very much restricted and their nature not always open to grave objection. The following are the commoner types:—

- (a) *Hisabana*, *tahari* or *nikasi*, varying from 6 pice to one *anna* per rupee of rent. Generally the amount is appropriated by the local agents of the landlords.
- (b) *Iswarbritti*, a realisation at the rate of 3 pice per rupee, spent for the annual *Puja* at the landlord's house or the *kut-chery*.
- (c) *School kharcha*: It seems to have been introduced in some villages to maintain the village school. This is directly a case where though nominally an *abwab*, is really a very desirable cess for a worthy object. It varies from 3 pice to one *anna* 6 pice per rupee of rent.
- (d) Exaction from Re. 1 to Rs. 5 per tenant was found in the *mahal* of Rajani Kanta Trivedi for every ceremonial occasion of marriage, initiation to sacred thread and the like in the landlord's family.

(e) *Khoskabula*.—This was originally an attempt at enhancement, but as the tenant refused to pay, the enhancement continued to be paid as a separate amount.

166. **Large Raiyati jotes**.—The number of large raiyati holdings was not great. Those that existed for the most part fell easily into one of two classes. The first was of those formed by the amalgamation of holdings under one landlord, and examples occurred sparsely in all parts. The Midnapore Zemindary Company held a few, as did the *Khas Mahal* Department. The rest were held by unusually prosperous *raiya*t or by successful money-lenders.

The second class consisted of holdings originally taken for the purpose of *khas* cultivation of indigo, such having been held by the Calcutta High Court to be *raiya*t under the terms of the Bengal Tenancy Act. Such holdings were held by the Midnapore Zemindary Company in the east and in the south, including police-station Saktipore (Kandi), and by Messrs. Anderson Wright & Co. in the same *thana* (where indeed these holdings were numerous). They would have been more numerous, had there not been previous settlements in the case of various similar blocks of land whose holders had been held to be tenure-holders and assessed as such: since such holders had acquiesced in that status without contesting it in the courts and had without protest been paying the rent so assessed for several years, it was clear that the recent High Court ruling could not apply to them.

Before leaving the subject it should be noted that a few landlords made determined attempts to prevent the accrual of such rights. The device employed was some form of temporary lease or agreement, which was often oral in order to give a greater hold over the tenant. Usually it was alleged that the cultivator was a labourer cultivating on *bhag*, the period of the agreement with him being one year; but the allegation was found to be false in the case of many who received no more help in cultivation than did the ordinary *raiya*t. The Midnapore Zemindary Company had some leases for a period of five years which were held to be invalid with respect to the

time limit only, and in a few instances they re-shuffled their tenancies even transferring lands to men of a totally different village. In and near police-station Beldanga, the same system was popular under the name of *thika*; the landlord who used it most was Mr. Smith of Dadpore, and he very often took regular *kabuliyats* specifying the terms on which he wished the land to be held; the cultivators, however, received no assistance from him in cultivation, and the condition that no occupancy right would accrue is manifestly void under section 178, Bengal Tenancy Act.

167. **Char tenants**.—A peculiar state of affairs exists in areas owned largely by the Midnapore Zemindary Company which had once been *chara*. The Midnapore Zemindary Company are in the habit of changing their tenants from the same land on the plea that the lands are *char*. Though many of the estates are old, the efforts to declare them as non-*char* failed. The Company conscious of the legal position, get *kabuliyats* executed by the tenants on terms, samples of which are noted below. The tenants are made to execute the *kabuliyats* from time to time and though lands may practically remain the same, changes are made in the boundaries to give them the appearance of different lands while in a number of cases the lands are actually shifted. The cases had to be carefully enquired into to see if any of the tenants had acquired right of occupancy though in view of the documents executed it was in the majority of cases wellnigh impossible to identify the lands.

In some of these estates again which are accretions to their parent estates the tenants have been given lands not along their parent holdings and while *salami* has been taken the *kabuliyat* executed is a jumble of landlord's privileges and abrogation of the tenant's rights. For example, in village Hanumantanagar, a diara estate, tauzi No. 3045 was created in which in the registered *kabuliyats* executed by *raiya*t the following terms occur: (i) if in a subsequent remeasurement it be found that the tenant was holding land in excess of the *kabuliyat* area, the tenant would be liable to pay for the excess area and if he refused, the entire area of the tenancy would be made *khas* by the landlord; (ii) if any

portion of the tenancy is transferred, the tenant and the vendee will be liable to be ejected and all the rights therein will be extinguished; (iii) if trees be planted by the tenant, he will never be able to use the timber but the landlord can cut it whenever he likes; and (iv) if any one wants to have any part for residential purposes, the tenant will be bound to vacate the land for him when desired by the Company, and so forth.

The provisions of section 180 (1) (b) seem to me to have had very unsatisfactory result on a large class of *rai-yats* who are perpetually prevented from acquiring right of occupancy. It was represented to the Government that the Settlement Officer who had the simplest opportunity to know the condition of the areas should have the powers of a Collector under section 180 (3). It was thought, however, for reasons not quite apparent to me, that the local administrative officer should not be divested of such powers. It was not a question of divesting for like many other powers it was one other case of exercising concurrent jurisdiction. However, I was asked to receive the application and the tenants were only too eager to put them in. They were sent on to the Collector and ultimately to a Sub-Deputy Collector. Certain orders were passed which the then Director of Land Records acting as Commissioner in addition to his duties set aside and sent down for rehearing. The result was no better and the declaration that the areas had "*ceased to be char*" under section 180 (3) did not come. The areas are not subject to the action of the river for at least half a century if not more. In some there are banyan trees older than the oldest man leaving in the neighbourhood. They yet continue to be "*chars*" when the *rai-yats* are debarred practically from acquiring the rights of a settled *rai-yat*. I should like that section 180 (3) should be amended. Collectors should be given powers to declare them as non-*char* on their own initiative without an application and there should be definite directions of the Government and the Board of Revenue for periodical inspection of such *char* areas.

168. **Partial Kharij.**—A large number of cases was encountered where transfers of occupancy holdings had only been recognised by part co-sharers and amalgamated with other holdings and parts of holdings. A circular letter

was addressed urging on them the necessity of recognition to obtain neater records. Most of them responded but on account of the scarcity some could not pay the necessary amount of *salami* and the *kharij* could not be done.

It seems to me that the rules of procedure now in force are much too elaborate. The result is that the entries finally made are too complex and unintelligible. The right to be safeguarded is the right of the purchaser tenant. Instead of detailed entries of the result and the cross references a simple note that the new purchaser has received recognition from some of the co-sharer landlords would be enough to expect when the complete entry could be made without much cumbersome details.

169. **Begar.**—A system had grown up in which homestead lands were held by the poorer people without any payment of rent. The origin seems to have been very much similar to what had been stated in the case of Sonthals. They were necessary. In fact they were invaluable for the purpose of agriculture. Men were inducted to the land, induced to settle, and provide the labour needed. They got their due wages, were more or less engaged permanently to landowners to work for them in the field on fixed wages. As usual in such circumstances, those on whose lands they settled were of the status of feudal lords and had a preferential claim on their services, but they were always remunerated. With the growth of population, land became scarce and at times as a fee for the fealty, they worked without full remuneration. In recent times, this was sought to be asserted as a permanent claim and to treat the tenants as service-holders on whom the landlord had unrestricted claim for services. These people are invariably poor, and there is no combination or sense of solidarity among them. They are too timid to assert their rights. The preparation of a record of their rights was full of difficulties. It was obviously dangerous to treat them as "*begar*," which in itself is illegal. To leave them without defining the labour each has to render, is to make their position insecure. They render no specific service, and they are obviously not *chakran* holders. The labour they render is merely a method of payment of rent. They have no cash. They pay rent in the only possible way open to them—to wit, by work in lieu

of cash, pay in their equivalent wages. Detailed instructions had to be drawn up to scrutinise these cases and to make every attempt to fix a just and fair rent with the consent of all parties, failing which to definitely state what labour is to be rendered, provided it is just and fair.

Instructions were drawn up to induce the parties to fix a definite money rent for the lands for which they rendered "*begar*" whenever required. In more than 90 per cent. of the cases the parties could be induced to agree to a money rent—in a few they would not. Of these few again, in some the tenants were too poor to agree to any money rent. They had nothing but their labour to finance them. This they offered in lieu of rent. In their cases the number of days they had to work was definitely ascertained and was noted in the record. The conversion was made not without good deal of labour. The officers had to discuss with the parties before they could see the rationale of the suggestion. It happened that in case of bigger landlords the smaller agents like *naibs* and *tahsildars* used that labour not in the interest of the landlords but for their personal work. They naturally did not like the conversion which made them definitely responsible for realising certain fixed amount and which at the same time denied them the use of the free services of the labourers. In some cases I had to address letters direct to the landlords, or their Managers and they at once accepted the proposals and came to terms.

This hold of the landlords (proprietors as well as tenure-holders) on the homestead of unorganised, poor and illiterate workers has a debarring effect on their growth. It is a mitigated form of feudalism without its advantages. It is to be easily distinguished from the *adhiars'* habitations in the land of the *Giri* (cultivators) to be found in Western Duars and other parts of Northern Bengal. The homesteads were constructed by the people from whom *begars* are wanted or their ancestors and not as in Jalpaiguri by the land owners. They do not normally cultivate or share their lands as the *adhiars* do. Their services are requisitioned for certain specified days in theory but for all odds and ends in practice and in the hands of unscrupulous and high handed people

become a source of great annoyance and harassments. If in spite of the efforts made during the Settlement Operation to free their homesteads from liability to capricious misuses the system persists, the necessity for specially enacted legal measures will be justified on moral grounds.

The problem is almost unknown in *Bogri* but is prevalent in the *Rarh* area specially in Kandi subdivision though the extent is not as wide as in the adjoining district of Birbhum.

170. **103A Objections.**—The objections generally took the character of disputes before the Attestation Officers. *Mokarari* and rent-free claims predominated. They were all disposed of by Gazetted Officers put to suitable centres. The outturn approximated to about one thousand cases a month. The average number of objections was 5 per cent. on the number of interests though it varied in different police-stations and ranged between 4 per cent. at the lowest and 9 per cent. at the highest.

Scrutiny and office works.

171. **Final Janch.**—The work of Final *Janch* according to practice introduced was in Objection camps. I found on actual inspection that the work was unsatisfactory. There are more reasons than one for this. *First*, the work was done away from Headquarters and that co-ordination with Headquarters and Collectorate officers which is essential at the Final stage can't be secured. *Secondly*, the Drawing Section and the Technical Adviser being away the checking of maps and records which go on simultaneously and by constant references can't go on. *Badars* of one section which concerned another were left unattended to and there were none to detect and ensure this. *Thirdly*, different camps followed different ways and there was a lack of standardisation of entries. Occasional inspections of superior officers could not be a remedy. *Fourthly*, on account of the absence of steady flow of records there was considerable loss of time of staff. *Finally*, there were always difficulties of accommodation of staff and transport of records.

To any one with experience of records and of the errors that creep in it seems rather strange that the camp system of

Final *janch* should ever have been introduced. It was arranged in this settlement that Final *janch* should not only be centralised but must be located at Headquarters of the Settlement where other offices are. In case of *Budar* regarding local enquiry far in the interior by arrangement after accumulation one of the officers used to go out and dispose them of to save trouble to the parties.

To train men in Final *janch*, instructions in Bengali were drawn up in the form of charts. These were distributed to the men who were made to study them, and then examined on the details. There were separate instructions as to how to check a sheet, how to prepare the different statistical statements, and how to fill up each column in the *khatians*. Each Revenue Officer and the Gazetted officer in charge was required to go through the completed record and submit the result to the Settlement Officer who passed orders on each.

The Final *janch* rules were thoroughly recast and under instructions from the Director of Land Records were sent to other settlements as well. The *kanungos* and the staff had to be broken into the system and familiarised with the methods of check. The work was divided into squads the number of which depended upon the number of attestation camps. Each squad was under a Revenue Officer with good experience of attestation and all under a Gazetted officer who was responsible for enforcing the rules and personal examination of *janch* records and expected to ensure that the rules were followed. I do not feel that the work was as perfect as it should have been or could be. The human factor was always there and men seldom change their ideas and ways quickly.

Janch work is never inspiring to the staff. As was noticed in the Midnapore Final Report, "the nature of the work is not such as to inspire anyone with enthusiasm, and there are none of those opportunities for illegal gratification which, it is feared, prove the attraction to many in camp." Even the *kanungos* who join the recess are always eager to get away on leave, and seem to consider the period of recess as period of relaxation when no hard work is expected of them. It is my deliberate opinion that the quality of records in present day settlements has suffered heavily through the slipshod Final *janch*, and

much of the improvement in the records, which the costly step of field bujarat was expected to secure, has been lost through defective scrutiny of records, both at attestation and at Final *Janch*. If this state of affairs has to be remedied, the *kanungos* have got to be thoroughly impressed that recess is a period of active intellectual work to which they are legitimately expected to devote themselves. If I remember aright it was one of the main reasons on which the Government of India sanctioned the creation of the *Kanungoes* service as a continuous one instead of only for the Field season, as used to be the case before 1906, while the ministerial staff had to be thoroughly trained in the work of *janch* which I do think most of them are not to-day. Over and above the fact that a policy of rush would be seriously detrimental to the quality of *janch*, this system has the additional advantage that it affords a base for the training of staff to be supplied to the attestation camps in vacancies through defection, due to desertion and disease.

I trust, however, that future Settlement Officers will not give way and persist in aspiring after a higher standard of quality than what unfortunately the present staff of Assistant Settlement Officers and ministerial staff seem to be satisfied with, and see to it that the scrutiny at each stage is thorough and complete and not the mechanical and stale affair to which it has been reduced in recent years.

172. Drawing Section.—Along with the Final *janch* of records the final work on maps went on. The boundary disputes, the margins of villages, the boundaries of previously surveyed and excluded areas were compared, as well as the ordinary details of map headings, numbering and symbols. The maps were then finally inked up and sent to the Bengal Drawing Office to be printed up to the number separately calculated in a Section which works to calculate the number of copies required for the various purposes. From the 16" maps have also been prepared maps to the scale of 4" to a mile, and 2" to a mile. These were sent to the Bengal Drawing Office to be sent to the Survey of India Department for the Final 1" to a mile map. No map to the scale of 1" to a mile was made by this Settlement. The rule for their preparation

was substituted by an order of the Director of Surveys to prepare 2" to a mile map. The 2" to a mile maps were further utilised to show the stones placed and for their distribution to *panchayets* and others.

The Drawing Section also drew up Jurisdiction lists to show the villages in each police-station at the time. These Jurisdiction Lists with 1" to a mile maps for each police-station replaced the Old Chandra's Lists prepared in 1903 to revise the Boundary Commissioner's Lists.

173. Jurisdiction.—In dealing with the cases of Jurisdiction for incorporation in the Jurisdiction Lists various cases of errors in existing Jurisdiction were discovered. Not only were there discrepancies between notifications and existing jurisdiction as exercised between different police-stations within the district but anomalous cases of jurisdiction were discovered between the districts of Murshidabad and Sonthal Parganas. They referred specially to Jangipore subdivision.

Each of these cases was carefully examined and detailed proposals for orders for remedying the anomalies were submitted to the Director of Land Records with this office letter No. 500 of the 5th November 1927 and No. 2421 of the 8th September 1928. After further correspondence and discussions with the Government of Bihar the final orders were received with the Government of Bengal's Revenue Department letter No. 12301 of the 21st September 1929. Some discrepancies between this district and Birbhum were settled by reference to both the Collectors.

174. Statistics.—The standard statistics of Crop Statements, etc., were prepared and consisted of:—

- (a) *Milankhasra*,
- (b) *Jinswar*,
- (c) Analysis of rent and Revenue.

The *Mahalwar* and *Mauzawar* Registers in Forms A, B, Part I to III, and C on the basis of records-of-rights were prepared for the use of the Collector.

The *Chowkidari* Registers were re-written too.

The *Mahalwar* and *Mauzawar* Registers as well as Register G with copies of proprietors' *khatians* should be utilised by the Collector at an early date.

Register B, Part II.—In connection with the entries in Register B, Part II, a question of procedure to be followed in framing the entry in record and in preparation of the register arose.

All lands occupied revenue-free by the Government or the public body have to be entered in Register B, Part II (*vide* Rules 11 and 12 of the Land Registration Manual). Under Rule 4, Chapter XIII A, page 101, Technical Rules, lands occupied by the same Department or public body should be entered in Register form 106 (c) for B, Part II, under one number in Column 1.

In the instructions given under rule 11 (10), page 68, of the Land Registration Manual for the preparation of Register B, Part II, it has been stated that "all lands included in one acquisition project should be shown under a single entry."

The question arose as to—

- (a) How the entries are to be arranged in record of rights?
- (b) How entries are to be made in form 106 (C)?

The subject was referred to the Director of Land Records in this office No. 2419 of 8th September 1928, and the Board in its letter No. 13205 L.R., dated the 15th December 1929, directed that one B II number should be assigned to the lands of one department or public body but in order to keep the lands under different acquisition projects separate, a continuous sub-number might be assigned to the lands in order of the projects.

Revenue-free properties.—Revenue-free properties are common. Two questions arose about the methods of their entries:—

- (a) In certain cases specially when the revenue-free estate was found borne on the registers of Burdwan Collectorate the extent of the share was found recorded in area. Bengal Act VII of 1876 provides for recording "the extent of interest" in the general registers. The question that arises is first whether the record of rights should show any share in column 14 or it should be left blank or if the Collectorate area be shown anywhere in the records. It is a common case, but it is equally common that different officers have adopted different methods for entry. The case was

referred to the Director of Land Records in this office No. 2212 of the 11th August 1928. His reply was received in his office letter No. XLIV/56-67 of the 3rd October 1928, in which it was ordered that the areas should be shown and not converted to sharers.

(b) Another question arose as to the register in which revenue-free properties recorded in Collector's register BI of other districts are to be recorded in this district. The case was referred to the Director of Land Records in this office No. 2992, of the 10th August 1928. The Board in its letter No. 356 L.R.—T of 10th October 1928, stated that the area should be "shown in Column 11 of the register of the district" on the registers of which the revenue-free property is now borne and that "a separate register for cross entries in the district where the Revenue-free lands are situated" is not necessary.

175. Missing Estates.—On a comparison of the final *Mahalwar* it was found that thirty-eight revenue-paying estates out of a total of 2370 estates were not recorded. Special enquiries with the help of *thak* and Collector's papers restored nineteen. The other nineteen with a revenue of only Rs. 62-12-2 could not be traced. The Collector was given the list in this office letter No. 3908 of the 10th May 1929 with details of the points collected in the enquiry and requested to make any fresh enquiries he might think proper. If his conclusion was the same as that of this Department, steps might be taken to write them off with the sanction of the higher authorities or such other action taken as may be deemed possible.

Similarly, of Revenue-free properties one hundred and seventy-seven were missed. For most of the missing revenue-free estates the *Mahalwar* did not supply any information. In several cases the register was blank and the Collectorate papers supplied vague or meagre materials. In large number of cases the recorded proprietors were not traceable.

This was mainly due to the fact that no mutation was made for a considerable length of time. Here, too, the Collector was informed, in this office letter No. 3908-09, dated the 16th May 1929, to make such enquiries as the Collector thought fit and if he failed, to move the higher authorities to write them off.

• Much more usefoul statistics could be collected along with the general work if more funds could be available and some training in Statistical work given to the *Kanungos* and the officers. There is hardly any possibility of another independent batch of officers getting the same opportunity for gathering first-hand valuable data.

176. Printing.—The printing work has been stereotyped now. But the work was heavy. The total number of interests for combined operation came to 1,730,000. The number of presses in operation reached up to 26 while one was set apart for printing the record of Irrigation rights.

The average number of serious and very serious mistakes came to about 3 per cent. while the average earning of compositors varied between Rs. 28 (twenty-eight) to Rs. 40 (rupees forty) per month. The number of lines on average came to about 12 per *khatian*. The cost rate for printing an interest averaged about two annas and five pies.

The introduction of 75% rag paper as stated elsewhere added considerably to the cost of printing. Its recommendation is that it is more durable but it does seem to me that the azure laid was good enough for the purpose and if economy is to be effected the point should be re-examined.

177. Final Publication.—The final Publication was made at Sadar where notices were issued and the records were kept open. This was a formal matter. The actual signing of certificates was made when the Recovery was started in each village.

CHAPTER III.

The concluding stages.

178. Computation and Recovery.—The total cost on account of settlement proper is—

	Rs.	
As stated in the Chapter on Financial Analysis of the Final Report of Birbhum Settlement.	37,68,073	(I)
Total cost of Traverse and map reproduction.	5,68,839	(II)
Receipts—		
(a) Stamp	1,10,774	
(b) Sale of stock and miscellaneous.	24,823	
Total	1,35,597	(III)
Net expenditure I plus II minus III or,	42,01,315	(IV)

168 sq. miles (75 in Birbhum and 93 in Murshidabad) of the previously surveyed *Zemindary* estates (other than Government and Temporarily settled estates) was also taken up with this operation. The net cost on this area comes to Rs. 2,11,848. In view of the Government of India's orders conveyed in Mr. Noyce's letter No. 1337-344-2, dated the 30th August 1913, no part of the cost in such areas to be redone will be borne by the State. Thus the State contribution comes to 25 per cent. of Rs. 42,01,315 minus Rs. 2,11,848 or Rs. 9,97,367 (V).

	Rs.	
The amount due from Government under rule 96 (2) (c) (i) and (ii) of the Survey and Settlement Manual, 1917 is	83,226	(VI)
The cost of maintenance of boundary pillars is	19,159	(VII)

Thus the net recoverable amount from private parties is (IV) minus (V) minus (VI) plus (VII) or Rs. 31,39,881.

This amount was arranged to be recovered from landlords and occupiers according to the Government apportionment orders as noted below :—

Block A ..	Apportionment order No. 988T.R., dated 20th October 1926.	Rate per acre Re. 1-8. (Raiyati—9 annas ; Landlord—15 annas).
Block B ..	Apportionment order No. 156291.R., dated 20th October 1927.	Rate per acre Re. 1-7. (Raiyati—8 annas ; Landlord—15 annas).
Block C ..	Apportionment order No. 3351.R., dated 12th June 1928.	Rate per acre Re. 1-8. (Raiyati—9 annas ; Landlord—15 annas).
Block D ..	Apportionment order No. 5480, dated 26th March 1929.	Rate per acre Re. 1-4. (Raiyati—7 annas ; Landlord—13 annas).
Block E ..	Apportionment order No. 237381.R., dated 24th November 1930.	Rate per acre Re 1-8. (Raiyati—9 annas ; Landlord—15 annas).

Under-*raiyyats* with no right of occupancy were exempted from payment. But all under-*raiyyats* with right of occupancy were to pay annas 4 for each tenancy.

Computation.—This was done at headquarters. Details of the apportionment orders were put down in Bengali and each Computer provided with a calculation table. There was a series of checks and the estimated demand was checked against the computed demand.

The total computed demand for the two districts came to Rs. 32,48,424 which left a margin of Rs. 1,08,543 over the amount to be actually recovered. The actual collection up to the end of March 1932 was Rs. 31,94,746-4-7 while certificate for a sum of Rs. 21,579-4-3 for Birbhum and 4,102 certificates for a sum of Rs. 27,564-15-9 for Murshidabad were pending execution before the Collectors. A sum of Rs. 30,872-11-0 consisting of small demands was remitted (*vide* Director of Land Records' letter No. XXIII/11-2603, dated 25th January 1932). The number of certificates made over to the Collectors is larger than what was arranged before and this is due to the fact that for petty arrear demands between Rs. 2 to Rs. 5 in Birbhum 2,238 cases for Rs. 6,874 and in Murshidabad 3,517 cases for Rs. 10,373-3-0 had to be instituted. These amounts were originally thought to be remitted but it was considered by higher authorities desirable to make an attempt through certificates. Hence these certificates were filed.

Recovery in this area twice received interruption. In the year 1928 there was a failure of crops and an agitation was started to stop recovery. As a matter of fact there was almost an order to be issued to that effect. I was moving among the people in constant touch with them and found that actually the people were more anxious to pay and get their *khatians* and maps than the outside world was led to believe. Yet some people anticipating that thereby the Government might be forced to stop recovery prevailed upon the public to hold aloof from the recovery camps. A meeting was convened and I met the people in the village. I promised that no coercive measure was to be taken without my personally going through the facts of the individual case. For the rest those who wanted the maps and the records might pay and take them away : the certificate of final publication was to be signed and the programme of the operation would not be interfered with. From the next day the recovery work was in full swing. The voluntary payments exceeded 60 per cent. while I found

in going through the list of defaulters that men least affected by failure of crops were the most among those who defaulted, *e.g.*, a titled monied individual whose annual income was certainly not to be expressed in less than six digits depending more on usury than on lands was in arrears for Rs. 25 (twenty-five) and his agent had put in a petition for time on account of failure of crops. It was enquired into and found that his agents had not remitted rent of any of the under-tenants while his banks lay in districts which had bumper crops.

In 1931 the depression had its repercussion on recovery and the Government was approached to allow time. It was allowed. Yet the outstanding balances had been demanded before the depression came in and in the past every occasion on which payment was promised and the promise accepted they had defaulted.

The ordinary tenant was invariably quite regular in payment and the percentage of voluntary payments among tenants was seldom less than 80 per cent. on the first demand while even ultimately only a very small fraction had to be realised by certificates. The rate of eight to ten annas per *bigha* in exchange for a complete printed list of interests on lands with all rights recorded and a well printed map for the village is never considered heavy by the tenants. But that is not the case with the landlords. In case of the more efficient with large sums to pay the payment was prompt and if they at all prayed for the dues to be paid in instalments there was hardly a default. But for the inefficient the *modus operandi* were stereotyped—refusal to pay in the Recovery Camp, starting with a prayer for Sadar payment in instalments. When the prayer was allowed and when instalments to their satisfaction were fixed to default in paying the first instalment, to be followed up later by a 2nd petition with a 2nd set of instalments and to repeat default followed by a 3rd prayer. If a certificate is filed, a small amount is paid followed up by petitions for time. When they are exhausted correspondence is inspired in newspapers followed by representations or interviews with all types of officers. In quite a large number of cases the payment could easily be made if not in one sum at least in instalments. The instalments can be suitably fixed if there is a genuine desire to play the game. It is seldom remembered that Settlement costs are advanced out of the Tax-payers'

money in the Public Exchequer. Several years lapse before re-payment is asked for—a re-payment so far without interest and with 25 per cent. deducted and in addition providing a complete list of maps and records bringing all disputes to a head for a decision and settling the largest percentage of them without any appreciable expenditure.

There are three points in connection with the work of Recovery which must be noted.

First, a sum which a landlord has to pay varies with his interests. The interests vary directly with profit and at the end a reasonable system of instalments meets the case of hardship in paying his dues. But it is necessary to examine if other relief is possible. The former ratio of distribution between landlord and tenant is worth examining to find out if some re-adjustment is possible. It is specially so now when certain specific alterations have been made to work out the net recoverable amount.

Secondly, the rules clearly and unequivocally contemplated energetic men to be put in charge of recovery work. It contemplated officers who could constantly go round the villages under their charge, stir up the people, help them to make payments without any cost. In practice only old Kanungos who are on the eve of retirement are put in. The work suffers in quality. The officers hardly ride or bike, and seldom meet the villagers in their own villages. Recovery camps are left more or less to themselves. The rules about check of accounts have recently been recast after full discussion at the Settlement Conference but unless they are enforced by energetic men, are dead letters. In one Recovery Camp money was stolen, in another inspection discovered embezzlement leading to prosecution and conviction of a *tahsildar* and punishment of other officials. I think none not fit to ride and bike about, should be put in charge of recovery camps.

Thirdly.—The law relating to the implication of the liability of the land for costs under section 114, Bengal Tenancy Act, should be made more specific.

In the case of the *Visva-Bharati* it appeared that lands were acquired for the *Visva-Bharati* which before final publication had several interests on them. It was contended that *Visva-Bharati* was not liable for the costs incurred in preparing the record before the acquisition. The Objection was referred to

the Director of Land Records, Bengal, and the Legal Remembrancer held that the *Visva-Bharati* should be made liable for the cost. Letter No. 2225, dated the 14th April 1930, addressed to the Director of Land Records, Bengal, is quoted below :—

“With reference to your letter Nb. XXIII/63506, dated the 21st March 1930, on the question of incidence of cost incurred in preparing the record of rights in certain cases, I have the honour to state that in view of the case reported in 33, C.L.J. 349, the assessment of costs under section 114, Bengal Tenancy Act, must be held to be made not on the land but on the landlord and tenant. The language of the section suggested that the costs will have to be apportioned between the landlords, tenants and occupants after the preparation of the record, because the assessment is to be made of costs “incurred in carrying out the provisions of this Chapter”. This view is also supported by the words used in clause (2) of section 114. Therefore, it follows that the assessment of costs must be made on the landlords and tenants, whoever they may be, at the date of such assessment. There is no hardship in this, as the benefit of the record of rights will be reaped by the party to whom the land was made over after acquisition. I am, therefore, of opinion that the *Visva-Bharati* should be made liable for the cost”.

There was a case preferred by Babu Kamala Ranjan Ray the facts were stated in the judgment of the Judge (Mr. H. G. S. Bivar, I.C.S.). The decision is worth quoting :—

“The facts of this suit are all admitted and are as follows :—

In October or November 1928 a settlement record was finally published in respect of the *mahal* in suit. Costs for this settlement were assessed against the then *Zemindar* and *patnidars* under section 114 of the Bengal Tenancy Act, and Chapter XV of part II of the Bengal Survey and Settlement Manual. The then *Zemindars* paid the amount assessed on them and some of the amounts assessed on the *patnidars* was recovered from the *patnidars*. Then the plaintiff purchased in 1930 the *Zemindari* interest of the *mahal* in a Revenue Sale under Act XI of 1859 and annulled the *patni*. Government, the defendant, had a certificate out against the *patnidars* at this time to recover their share of the settlement expenses. On plaintiff's purchase of the *mahal* these certificates were

transferred to the name of the plaintiff and on plaintiff's objection being overruled the plaintiff had to pay the amount of the certificates. Hence, the plaintiff has brought these suits for the cancellation of these certificates and for the recovery of the amount paid under them on the ground that he is not liable for the *patnidar's* share of the settlement costs. The learned Sub-Judge holding that the plaintiff was in possession of the lands of the *patnis* and was therefore liable for the settlement costs assessed on the *patnidars*, dismissed the suits. The plaintiff accordingly appeals against these decisions.

Now in appeal, the appellant argues that the reasoning of the learned Sub-Judge is mistaken. The only ruling on the matter which either side has been able to produce is 33 Calcutta Law Journal 349. This and also rule 414 of Chapter XV of Part II of the Survey and Settlement Manual, referred to above show that assessment is made not upon possession in the land but upon a person's interest in the land. After all possession of land by a *Zemindar* or tenure-holder is anyhow more or less a technical matter. In the present case defendant acted on the presumption that plaintiff on his revenue sale purchase annulled the tenures under section 37 of the Act. But this does not give him any additional possession of the land than he had before as *Zemindar*. He was in possession as *Zemindar*. He has not come into possession of anything further by the annulment. He is admittedly not the successor-in-interest of the *patnidar* as required by section 414 of the Manual, merely because he has annulled the *patni*. Hence, automatically the defendant cannot transfer the certificates against the tenure-holders to plaintiff and recover from him. Section 114(3) lays down that an arrear like this shall be recoverable as an arrear of land revenue. But this means that it is recoverable under the Certificate procedure and not that it is recoverable from the *Zemindar*. If it had been, defendant should have recovered from the excess sale proceeds of plaintiff's purchase under section 31 of the Sales Act. The defendant can, of course, proceed against the tenure but the plaintiff is in no way in possession of the tenure interest. So, in view of this the certificate against him is illegal. The plaintiff

came in after the final publication but he is of course liable only as the successor in interest of the *Zemindar* and not as the successor in interest of the *patnidar* as he did not acquire the interest of the *patnidar*.

It is clear from a perusal of the papers of the Certificate case Exhibit 1 (b) and 1 (c) that the certificate against the old *patnidars* was transferred to the plaintiff under Rule 414, which, as I have pointed out above, does not apply in the present case. It is not true in the present case that the plaintiff is successor-in-interest of the *patnidar* but that the *patni* interest has ceased to exist.

There is no force in the defendant's contention that their present claim is a Crown debt, which the revenue sale could not extinguish, for it is a Crown debt against the *patni* interest and may still be executed against that interest. A Crown debt is not executable against any body other than the original debtor or his successor-in-interest. It is argued that the plaintiff will reap the benefit of the portion of the settlement for which the *patnidars* were assessed. If this is so, a fresh assessment should have been made, as dealt with in the next paragraph.

Lastly, we have the defence raised in paragraph 4 of the written statement that as the *patni* no longer exists the whole of the settlement costs are recoverable from the *Zemindar*. But a certain portion of the costs were originally assessed against the tenure and the certificate is in respect of these. The plaintiff cannot be made liable automatically for these.

It is no one's case that there has been a re-assessment of the balance of costs as the *Zemindar's* interest on the extinction of the *patni* interest and that the certificate is for this. Whether such a re-assessment could be made might be a debatable point. Anyhow it is not defendant's case that any such re-assessment has been made in the present case. Hence, it is clear that the plaintiff is not liable for the amount recovered from him by certificate against the *patni* interest, and his suit must succeed. The finding and decree of the learned Sub-Judge are reversed and the plaintiff's suit in the lower court is decreed on contest with costs with interest on the decretal amount at six per cent. up till the date of realisation.

Interest on the amount of the certificate will run from the date of payment of plaintiff at the same rate up to the date of decree. The appeals are also allowed with costs."

An appeal against the order was filed before the High Court and is pending.

There were cases where good deal of difficulties had to be encountered in realising the costs even by a sale under the Certificate Act. These difficulties, I anticipate, will grow unless remedied by legal provisions. It was a question whether the right, title and interest passed free from encumbrances in such sales. The recovery of costs under section 114, Bengal Tenancy Act is really a recovery of a "State loan"—it is to the interest of the tax-payers that such loan should be recovered with the least trouble and delay. If the legal position be made clear and sound the collection would be expedited to the relief of the tax-payers in general as well as of the assesses in particular.

Cost of re-surveyed areas.—The question of liability of survey and settlement cost for the areas previously done and resurveyed during the operation was also raised. This relate to Diara Block No. E which was taken up as a result of correspondence ending with Director of Land Records' letter No. 1/22-2731, dated the 3rd March 1928. The question of recovery of this area was referred to the Director of Land Records in this office letter No. 1646, dated the 22nd September 1930, and subsequent correspondence on the subject resulted in the Government accepting the recovery proposal and passing the apportionment order. The Midnapore Zemindary Company filed an objection against the recovery of cost for this area. Similar objections were filed by other landlords. The Objection of the Midnapore Zemindary Company was heard on 5th June, 1931 and rejected. The order is quoted below :—

"I have examined the case from the point of view of both law and equity.

Legally section 114, Bengal Tenancy Act, lays down no condition. It is the Local Government which must be convinced. The Local Government was and by its order No. 13738 L.R., dated the 24th November 1930, directed by a notification in the *Calcutta Gazette*, the realisation of costs. The matter ends.

As to equity, the operation showed that there had been considerable changes

in the maps and records, as the areas are subject to the action of rivers. As much as 70 per cent. changes in the records were made. At the time of the last Settlement the *Utbandi* Act was not made into Law. The record of such tenancys of which there was a considerable number needed to be recast under the law since then passed; in a large number of villages the landlord put no case under Section 105, Bengal Tenancy Act. A correct upto date record apart from its manifold other advantages, in the circumstances stated, can be made the basis of cases under Section 105, Bengal Tenancy Act, if the parties choose to utilise that.

The assessment has been at a low rate; the landlords' share is only five annas per *bigha*. Surely at that cheap cost to have a correct and up to date record, specially in view of the changes which have taken place in the area, must be considered a boon of great value and not made the subject of complaint. (Rejected)."

An objection against that order was filed by the Company before the Director of Land Records. The statement of facts was supplied in this office letter No. 1652 of the 7th September 1931. The decision was confirmed.

179. Case work. In the cases under section 105 the plaintiffs were generally the landlords and their claims for settlement of fair rents included their claims for enhancements of the existing rents under section 7 (for tenures), and 30 (for raiyati holdings), for additional rents for lands alleged to be held by the tenants in excess of what the existing rents were paid for, for new rents for lands recorded as liable to rent and in many cases for correction of record-of-rights on the allegation that ordinary occupancy holdings had been wrongly recorded as *mokarari* and *mal* lands as *Niskar*, together with their claims for enhancements on the *jamas* said to be wrongly recorded as *mokarari* or for settlement of new rents alleged to have been wrongly recorded as *niskar*. The contentions of the defendants, who were generally the tenants, were among other formal objections as to maintainability of the cases, misjoinder, non-joinder, limitation, etc., that the *jamas* were *mokarari* where they have been recorded as such as well as setting up new claims of *mokarari* in many cases where they were recorded as ordinary occupancy holdings, that the lands recorded as

liable to rent were their *niskar* lands, that there was no excess land in their holdings for which plaintiffs could be entitled to additional rents and that even in cases where the holdings were admittedly ordinary occupancy ones plaintiffs were not entitled to get high enhancements in consideration of the abnormal rise in the cost of cultivation, want of sufficient irrigation facilities and the abnormal rise in price of rice during the decennial period just preceding the institution of the cases in consequence of the last European war. The plaintiff landlords generally could not rebut the presumption of *mokarari* raised by production of rent receipts showing payment of uniform rent or at the same rate of rent for 20 years immediately preceding the institution of the cases or raised by the entries in the record of rights. Excess lands for which additional rents were claimed could be proved only in rare cases, the evidence required to prove excess land in section 52 of the Bengal Tenancy Act was not generally available. In rare cases also could lands recorded as *niskar* or proved by evidence to be *niskar*, be proved to be otherwise. Rates of rent for lands recorded as liable to rent could not be proved and rents were settled by comparison of rates of rent in *khatians* of neighbouring lands of the same class with similar advantages.

The cases under section 106 were generally for the correction of entries in the column of status, shares and rents. Cases for transfer of plots were not many and there were also some cases for correction of names of possessors both in column 13 (working *khatian*) and column 23 and names and shares in the column of superior interest (columns 1 & 2). Changes claimed in the column of status were generally from tenure-holders into *raiya*s, *raiya*s into *Korf*s, *raiya* *sthitiban* into *raiya* *mokarari* or *raiya* *niskar* *chakran* into *niskar* *raiya*, *Dakhalkar* into *raiya* *sthitiban* and *rice versa*. Corrections claimed in columns of shares were on various grounds and similarly also the claims for correction of the names of possessors and names and shares in the columns of superior interest. The claims in the rent column were on the allegation that rents payable at the time of the final publication of the record-of-rights were different from those recorded or that the entries "liable to rent" should be "*niskar*" or *rice versa* or that rents had already been settled and paid but the

records were 'liable to rent'. The claims for transfer of plots were also on various grounds.

Rent-free claims.—(1) In some cases the lands were recorded as "liable to rent". As the lands are recorded as "liable to rent", they are presumed to be *mal* or assessed to revenue. To rebut this presumption, plaintiff proved old *kobalas* which showed that the lands had been treated as rent-free for about 50 years.

Possession for a long time without payment of rent leads to an inference of rent-free title (*vide* case of Bipradas versus Monorama Debi, 22 C. W. N., page 396). So the presumption as to *mal* was rebutted by the evidence of the plaintiff. The presumption as to *mal* land which has been raised by the record-of-rights stood as a bar to the rent-free right. When this presumption is rebutted the lands were declared rent-free.

There is another aspect of the question. Although the land was presumed to be *mal* by virtue of record the rent-free right could be created by grant. Then the production of the grant itself was not, however, the only way of proving the grant. Presumption of a lost grant arises in cases of long possession under the claim of a definite right (*vide* case of Kiron Chandra Roy versus Sreenath Chakravarty, 31, C. W. N., page 135). In this case the evidence showed long possession under claim of a definite right, so the presumption of lost grant arose in it. Hence the rent-free title was proved.

(2) In some cases the lands were recorded as rent-free and plaintiff wanted a declaration that they were *mal*. As the lands were recorded as rent-free, the presumption was that they were not *mal* or assessed lands.

In a case like this landlord must first prove that the land in suit is *mal* land, otherwise he has no *locus standi* and cannot claim rights of assessment [*vide* (1) the case of Hurrihar Mukharji versus Madhab Chandra, 14, Moore's Indian Appeals, page 152; (2) Jagdeo versus Baldeo, 27, C. W. N., page 925]. The manner of proving the land as *mal* is as follows:—

- (1) The land was taken into consideration at the time of assessing land revenue.

- (2) Rents were ever realised for the land by the landlord or his predecessor in interest.

In none of these landlords succeeded in proving that the lands were assessed to land revenue or they ever realised rents for the lands. So the lands were not proved to be *mal*. Hence the lands were not proved to be "liable to rent."

In one case the jamabandi dated 1282 of landlord showed that there was a *jama* for the land in suit in the name of a person. But there were no papers to show that this *jama* had ever been realised. Hence landlord failed to prove that he realised rent for the lands. So the lands in suit were not proved to be *mal*.

'Section 50.—(a) Does "Mohakup Hajat", rebut Mokarari? "Mohakup" ordinarily means the omission of rent. The circumstances of a case show whether it is temporary or permanent. When the remission is temporary, it is a part of rent, so the granting or withdrawal of it makes no change in rent. The temporary remission or *mohakup* does not rebut *mokarari*. When the remission is permanent it amounts to reduction of rent, it shows variation of rent and rebuts *mokarari*.

As the amount of *mohakup* varied in different years it was considered temporary remission up to 1303. As it was dropped in 1304 completely, the *mohakup* of 1304 was looked upon as permanent remission. So the *mohakup* of 1304 rebuts *mokarari*, and not the *mohakup* of other years.

In Charusila group of cases, the earliest paper that was forthcoming showed *mohakup*. The same amount was shown as *mohakup* in all other papers including the recent papers. As the amount of *mohakup* never varied, it cannot be held as a temporary remission. As the amount including *mohakup* was never realised as rent, it could not be said that the remission was permanently given in a particular year.

In fact the entry "mohakup" in such cases is a paper entry showing no real transaction behind it. The question of permanent or temporary remission does not arise. This *mohakup* does not rebut *mokarari*.

(b) Does "batta" appearing in paper for 1279 rebut *mokarari*?—The term "batta" means allowance for exchanging *sicca* rupees for Company's rupees. The Company's rupees were first introduced in 1836, so conversion of *sicca* rupees should be made in 1837 at the latest.

It was urged by the landlord that since the "batta" appeared in 1279 it is not allowance for exchange in this case but an *abwab*; since it has been consolidated with rent it shows variation in rent and rebuts *mokarari*.

But as papers prior to 1279 were not forthcoming we cannot say when it was first introduced. The paper itself shows that it is the difference between the value of two kinds of rupees. So in this case the "batta" was used in its ordinary sense, and was held not to rebut *mokarari*.

Of course if "batta" is really introduced after 1837 in any *jama*, it is an *abwab*. An addition of *abwab* or legal cess does not rebut *mokarari*.

(c) Does *kharij* rebut *mokarari*?—The case of *Ramnath versus Jagannath*, 106, Indian Cases, page 136, lays down that a new tenancy is created when a tenant sells or transfers a portion of his holding and the landlord recognises the transferee and presumption under section 50 ceases to apply (Justices Cuming and Roy),

On the basis of this case law it was urged by the landlords that the recognition of a transferee created new tenancy and rebutted *mokarari* presumption. In Court's opinion this principle was not sound. When a holding is *mokarari* and transferable, the recognition does not create new tenancy. So the argument, which is advanced in favour of a new tenancy, assumes the holding to be *sthitiban* and not transferable, which is the fact to be proved. So the argument was held to be faulty.

The principle of the above case was not followed in the trial of suits.

It was also urged that the rent *kharijed* did not bear the same proportion to the new area which the old rent bore to the old area, so the *kharij* proved variation of rate of rent and rebutted *mokarari*.

The contention was held not to be sound. The variation in rates of rent presupposes settlement of old rent by rates, and then settlement of new rent according to different rates. Unless it is proved that the old rent was assessed according to certain rates, variation in rate of rent cannot be proved. In none of the cases tried the landlords succeeded in proving settlement of old rent by rates, so variation in rate of rent was not proved by *kharij*.

(d) Does addition of *khas lands* rebut *Mokarari*?—Section 50, clause 3, is the section in point: It lays down that addition of lands does not affect the presumption. The point now is that what the "lands" of this section mean and whether they mean lands of a holding only or *khas lands* as well.

The case of *Hemchandra versus Girishchandra* 92, Indian Cases, page 107, interprets the "lands" as lands of a holding and *khas lands*. The case lays down that the tenants by holding additional lands for additional rent and paying the same along with old rent and area do not lose the presumption as to old rent and area; the onus of proof what the old area was is on the tenant.

But the case of *Kasimali versus K. S. Banerji*, 101, Indian Cases, page 347, gives a different interpretation to the word "land". It says that the land means only the land of a holding, and does not include *khas lands*. The case states that the addition of other parcels to the original holding as well as increase in the rental change the incidents of the original holding and a new holding is created.

To sum up, according to the first case law the old land and rent does not lose *mokarari* presumption by addition of *khas lands*; while according to the second case law the incidents of the old holding are changed by the addition of *khas lands*. So according to second case law the addition of *khas lands* rebut *mokarari*.

These are conflicting principles on the point. In practice the principles led to one and the same conclusion.

According to the first case law the onus of proving old rent is on the tenants. In all the cases in which this

matter cropped up tenants did not make an attempt to identify, far less succeeded in identifying the old lands. The old lands which retained *mokarari* were not distinguished. So the *mokarari* presumption for the entire land was rebutted.

(e) *Does abwab lose its character as abwab after consolidation with rent?*—There is a Full Bench Case in which some *abwabs* were incorporated in rent, and one receipt was given for them. Their Lordships of the Privy Council held that the consolidation does not affect the nature of *abwab* and the *abwab* remained an *abwab* even after consolidation.

(f) *Does the addition of illegal cess rebut mokarari?*—There is a case in 2, Weekly Reports, which lays down that addition of illegal cess does not rebut *mokarari*, although the present rent may include illegal cess.

(g) *Does kabulabesi rebut mokarari?*—The case of *Rajeswar versus Bahadur Sinha*, 63, Indian Cases, page 317, lays down that *kabulabesi* is a sum voluntarily paid by tenant to landlord over and above the rent, so it is not an illegal exaction or *abwab*. The addition of a sum which is not an *abwab* rebuts *mokarari*. So *kabulabesi* rebuts *mokarari*.

(h) *Does slight variation rebut mokarari?*—Up till now the case laws stated that variation up to Re. 1 in Rs. 60 was slight and did not rebut *mokarari*. The reasons were that tenants in the country being illiterate often paid small enhancements without knowing that they were paying them.

Recently, Mr. Justice B. B. Ghosh laid down in a case that even a slight enhancement, if unexplained, would rebut *mokarari*. This ruling seems to overlook the fact that tenants in the country being illiterate, many variations in rent are made by designing *amlas* of landlords which are not at all enhancements.

Probably, Mr. Justice Ghosh had in mind that it must be proved that the tenant agreed to pay enhancement, and then paid it. If such interpretation be given to his ruling, the difficulties will disappear.

In Surapat Singh group, the papers showed enhancement of one pice per

rupee. The tenants contended that there was no enhancement but a *naib kharach* (an *abwab*) of one pice per rupee which had been realised from before was added up with the rent. On an examination of the facts of the case the court came to the conclusion that the "*naib kharach*" theory was not proved and there was enhancement of one pice per rupee.

In this case the enhancement was very slight. Still the court held that *mokarari* was rebutted by it, because both parties admitted addition of some extra amount.

(i) *Does additional rent for excess area rebut mokarari?*—In many cases addition of excess rent for excess area was shown in landlords' papers and it was not shown wherefrom the area came.

It was urged by the landlord that this excess area and excess rent rebutted *mokarari*.

In a lot of cases it has been laid down that additional rent for additional land does not deprive the original holding of its *mokarari* presumptions. The original holding retains its *mokarari* character. Then, again, a *mokarari* holding is liable to pay excess rent for excess area. Hence, when the excess rent is assessed the holding does not lose its incidents and retain its *mokarari* character.

Thus, whether the assessment for excess area is made by court or made by contract between the parties, the addition of additional rent for excess area does not rebut *mokarari*.

(j) *The effect of resumption proceedings on mokarari presumption.*—It was urged by a landlord that the rents of tenants were settled in resumption according to Pergunnah rates so *mokarari* presumption was rebutted.

It was not shown at what rates the rents were settled before and whether there had been any variation in rates.

Secondly, the officers of Government had no authority to settle rents for the tenants. They only determined the rates for different classes of lands with a view to determine the assets of the "*resumed lakhiraj estate*" and to fix its land revenue. Evidence was wanting that the *jamabandies* prepared by them were accepted by the tenants or were acted up to.

Finally, it was contended that the *robakari* contained an entry that "no body, claimed *mokarari* right in any *jama*."

The Estate was surveyed and *jama-bandi* made in about 1848. The Act of 1859 first created the statutory *mokarari* right. So the *mokarari* right referred to in the report cannot be statutory, *mokarari* but contractual *mokarari*.

The Court came to the conclusion that the resumption proceedings or the entries in the report of the nature referred to did not rebut *mokarari*.

Section 52.—(a) *How the original area was proved by contract.*—(i) In some cases the terms of lease showed that the land was settled with reference to rates. On the basis of a Patya Case it was held that the area given in the lease was the original area, and landlord was entitled to excess rent for excess area.

(ii) In some cases the terms of lease showed settlement of rent without reference to area. The terms were carefully perused, and it was seen whether the area or the land within specified boundaries was given prominence. Invariably the court concluded that the boundaries were more important than the area and found that the rent was a consolidated one. In such cases landlord was not entitled to excess rent.

Although the rent was consolidated the lease in some cases showed that landlord reserved the right of assessing excess area. In the case of Ejil Mullik versus Feali Mullik, 21, C.L.J., page 307, it was held that the landlord was entitled to excess rent for excess area in such cases.

(b) Charusila Dasi in some of her cases attempted to prove the practice of lands being settled after measurement. She adduced oral evidence on this point and proved some *kabuliyats* which showed that lands were settled after measurement.

The *kabuliyats* are legal evidence against those who executed them and not against others. They could not be used as evidence against other persons.

Secondly, the number of *kabuliyats* was small compared with the number of tenancies in suit, and no reasonable conclusion could be drawn from a small number of *kabuliyats*.

It was held, therefore, that the *kabuliyats* did not prove the custom of measurement. The oral evidence was considered insufficient to prove such an important fact. So the practice of lands being settled after measurement was held as not proved.

(c) There was a group of cases filed by Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nundy. The papers of this case showed that in 1327 there was a general survey of the *mahal*, and *chittas* and *khatians* were prepared. The area of each tenancy was determined and entered in receipts. The receipts prior to 1327 did not contain any area.

After settlement, the areas in many cases increased. It was urged by the tenants that the original area of tenancies was not shown and there was no adjustment of rent with reference to area in 1327. So, the landlord is not entitled to excess rent for excess area.

This contention of tenants seemed to be futile. Section 52 shows that the area for which the present rents are paid is to be determined, and not the area at the inception. The area at the inception is often for the purpose of determining the area for which present rent is paid—it is a means to an end and not an end in itself.

In this case the *chittas* and maps and *jama-bandis* showed that the areas entered therein were the areas for which the present rents were paid. The tenants also signed the *jama-bandis* as a token of their acceptance of the areas. So the areas for which present rents are paid are proved and there is no bar to assessment of excess area.

Section 105, Notes.—(1) In Srifala group, one of the co-sharer landlords did not want to conduct the suit and applied for withdrawal of his case. He, of course, had joined in the application when it was filed. The provisions of section 188 were complied with when he joined in the application, and the non-prosecution by him has not the effect of preventing other landlords from proceeding with it.

He applied for withdrawal of his case; according to Civil Procedure Code a co-plaintiff is not permitted to withdraw without the consent of other plaintiffs. So the permission for withdrawal was refused.

(2) *Co-sharer landlord not made a party, and its effect.*—In a section 106 case a co-sharer landlord was not made a party. He was a necessary and proper party, as relief was claimed against him. So the suit failed on account of his not being brought on record.

(3) *Suit by Patnidar, while record showed proprietor as landlord.*—Nashipore Raj was proprietor as *sebait* of a deity of some villages, and he also had *patni* right in his personal capacity under the proprietor. He instituted suits for assessment of *niskar* lands as *patnidar* without praying for correction of records, and making the proprietor a party to the proceeding. At the commencement of the hearing a petition was filed to bring the proprietor on record and a petition also filed by the proprietor stating that he had no objection to the alleged correction being made.

These petitions were opposed by the tenants. This amendment of plaint was allowed on the following grounds:—

(1) The application under section 105 is not a suit, so interested parties could be brought on record before hearing.

(2) The suit was filed by *patnidar* alleging that the rent-free holdings appertained to his *patni* right; so the tenants were not at all prejudiced by bringing on the record the proprietor.

(3) As the allegation in the application was that the lands in suit appertained to the *patni* tenure, the prayer for correction of record was already made by implication. This prayer could be classified by the amendment. The contention that a new prayer is being added after the period of limitation falls to the ground.

(4) *Withdrawal of prayer for rent-settlement in a section 105A case, and its effect.*—The Raja of Nashipore brought a case against the *zemindars* of Nimtita under section 105A. The prayer was for declaration of *sthitiban* right for the tenancy, and settlement of rent.

In course of trial it was found that the tenancy was shown as a *mokarari* tenure in the final record, and plaintiff filed a petition withdrawing his prayer for settlement of rent and only retaining the prayer for declaration of *non-mokarari* right for the tenancy.

This withdrawal created an interesting situation; the prayer for settlement

of rent could not be divorced from a case under section 105A, as it is the essential and basic prayer in such a case, and decision of issues was only identically done. So the withdrawal of this prayer was a fit ground for dismissing the case.

The plaintiff then found the situation awkward and filed a petition retracting the withdrawal petition.

To meet the ends of justice the withdrawal petition was allowed to be retracted under section 151 of Civil Procedure Code and the original case was allowed to go on.

(5) *Whether application is maintainable, if part of a tenancy only is finally published.*—Some tenancies spread over two districts, Birbhum and Murshidabad. The portion of them lying in Murshidabad only was finally published. The point was whether the application was maintainable at this stage.

The cause of action for a section 105 case arises only when the tenancy is completely finally published. If a tenancy is part published, there is no cause of action for section 105A proceeding. So, an application is not maintainable. The suits were dismissed on this ground, though, I believe, the case could have been kept pending till the other part was published.

180. **Points of procedure—Civil Procedure Code Notes.**—(a) *Abatement of suit and when it will be set aside.*—A section 106 case was in the file in which one of the defendants died after institution and plaintiff did not bring his heirs on record within three months of death. So, the suit abated against the dead defendant and the plaintiff could apply for setting aside the abatement within two months of it by showing sufficient cause. In this case the application for setting aside the abatement was made about one year after the death and the reasons advanced were that the landlords being non-resident plaintiff did not know of the death before.

The application itself was time-barred, as it was not made within two months of the abatement; but section 5 of the Limitation Act conferred powers on the Court to consider such applications if sufficient causes were shown.

The whole thing hinged on the question whether the plaintiff had opportunities of knowledge and did not utilise them and not on whether he had knowledge of death. The defendants adduced

evidence that they filed and conducted a rent suit against the plaintiff in which the plaint clearly showed that the person was dead.

In spite of these opportunities the plaintiff did not know of the death, it was sheer negligence on their part, and sufficient and reasonable cause was not shown. So it was held that there was no reasons to set aside the abatement, and the suit against the dead defendant abated.

The next point was whether the suit would abate as a whole by this abatement against one defendant.

All defendants were joint landlords of the village,—they had no separate collection, far less separate possession. The relief prayed for was *niskar* right in a tank and it was claimed against all the defendants. So, all the defendants were proper and necessary parties to the suit.

As the dead person had no separate possession, and the relief against others could not be given in respect of their shares, it was held that the suit could not proceed unless the heirs of the dead person were brought on record. So, it was held that the suit abated as a whole under the circumstances and could not be proceeded with.

(b) *The right to begin and onus of proof in niskar cases.*—Several cases were filed by Charusila Dasi and Nashipore Raj for assessment of lands recorded as rent-free. They filed *Thak* maps and copies of record-of-rights and claimed that as both these documents showed the lands within the ambit of their estates or *Zemindari*, the onus of proof, which first lay on them by virtue of the record-of-rights, was shifted on to the defendants. Hence, the defendants would adduce evidence first and plaintiff would adduce evidence by way of rebuttal.

This contention did not appear to be sound and has the following drawbacks:—

(1) The plaintiff wants the court to consider some documents, and give its opinion whether they prove a particular fact or not, ere the whole evidence of both sides is given. This is not warranted by the Civil Procedure Code.

(2) The plaintiff adduces documentary evidence by filing the documents and wants to reserve only oral evidence. The Civil Procedure Code lays down that

one party will finish his evidence about his case, and then the other party will give his evidence, so the procedure which the plaintiff wants to adopt is not sanctioned by the Civil Procedure Code.

(3) The onus of proof will shift when landlord succeeds in proving the lands in suit to be *mal* lands. The documents filed do not prove this, so the onus of proof does not shift at all.

On these grounds the prayer for asking the defendants to begin evidence first was rejected.

(c) *Necessity of stamped petitions for abandoning part of a claim in an application under section 105, Bengal Tenancy Act.*—The question arose in some cases of police-station Bharatpur. What happened was this. The plaintiff asked for setting aside rent-free entries in the record-of-rights and imposing rents at a certain rate. On receipt of the application (under section 105) the court on the basis of a table prepared for guidance in checking valuation called upon the party to deposit *ad valorem* fee on a valuation of twenty times the rents claimed. The party contended that the relief he sought could not be worth as much and offered to reduce the rates claimed by him on the assumption that the multiple (20) was unalterable. The court demanded stamped petition from the party praying for permission to reduce the claims. The question arose whether it was necessary and the matter was decided that the reduction required to be made by the party on the original claim was not on a prayer the party made *suo motu*. His conduct could be interpreted to amount to:—

(a) Offering of evidence and limiting one's demand disproving the value the court, on the basis of a test table, wanted to impose, or

(b) abandoning a part of the rate formerly asked for.

In the first place, it is in response to Court's order; in the second place, in the exercise of the statutory right enjoyed by the party under Order 23, Rule 1, Civil Procedure Code. There was thus no reason why it should be made by a stamped petition. The party was within his rights to reduce the claim and he or his legal representative certainly could make this statement in response to Court's demand for a higher valuation and he could not be called upon to make the submission on a stamped petition.

The next question was whether the applications or plaints were to be amended. The abandonment of a part of the rate claimed made no difference of any material value to the defendants and to their detriment. Hence, if the unamended statement went to the defendant and they later on discovered during the hearing that a smaller amount was claimed, they were not in any way prejudiced in their defence. It is for the preparation of the defence that a copy of the claim is served on them; the amendment was thus not at all imperative.

On the other hand, a case under section 105 starts on an application—it is not in the strict legal diction a plaint. The application might be corrected by the party in Court on returning it to the party. The reasons for defendants raising the question of valuation in Civil Courts have mainly the question of jurisdiction as objective and they did not operate here and normally the applicant's valuation of relief should be considered *prima facie* correct.

The party was allowed to reduce his claims in the cases he wanted and the applications were corrected by him in the Court.

(d) *Maintainability of a case when the plaintiff was an administrator pendente lite to an estate when the case (during the pendency of which he was administrator) was already decreed.*—The question arose in many cases of mauzas Kerandi, Masandi, Brahmandi, police-station Bharatpur. The plaintiff in these cases was one Patitpaban Choudhury of Jemo (Kandi) in the capacity of *administrator pendente lite* to the estate of late Rajendra Narayan Roy of the Jemo Raj family. After the death of Rajendra Narayan his widow Anila Bala Debi prayed before the District Judge for probate of the will left by her husband and probate case No. 23 was started. The District Judge appointed Patitpaban Choudhury as *administrator pendente lite* to the estate of the deceased Rajendra during the pendency of this probate case. The cases under section 105 were instituted by Patitpaban in this capacity. The probate case in the meanwhile was compromised and on 23rd January 1930 the District Judge passed orders in this case granting probate to Anila Bala and also ordered that probate would issue after disposal of a valuation case pending with the Collector. This latter case was with respect

to the valuation of the property covered by the will of the deceased Rajendra Narayan. Now, an objection was raised by the defendants in the cases under section 105 that as the probate case in which Patitpaban was appointed *administrator pendente lite* was already decreed it was no longer pending and the period of office of Patitpaban had terminated with the termination of the probate case and therefore the cases under section 105 could not proceed at the instance of the plaintiff Patitpaban Choudhury. In support of this contention reference was made to the case reported in 10 C. W. N., 566 (Radhika Mohan Roy *versus* K. S. Banerji) in which it was held that the functions of an *administrator pendente lite* terminate on the pronouncement of the final decree. In the probate case mentioned above, a decree was certainly pronounced but the question arose if it was a final decree. Orders for grant of probate had been passed but it was to issue after the disposal of the valuation case. The condition imposed on the granting of probate could not be fulfilled at the sweet will of the widow Anilabala—she had to await the orders of the Collector with whom the valuation case was pending; so the decree might not be taken as a final decree—this was the argument in favour of the plaintiff. It was farther argued that the decree in the probate case was in the terms of a compromise filed by Anilabala and the other party in the probate case and in that compromise there was an agreement between the parties that Patitpaban Choudhury would continue as administrator during the minority of her adopted son Madhabindu a boy of 12 or 13 so that even if Patitpaban Choudhury had become *functus officio* with the pronouncement of the decree in the probate case he was yet the administrator and the cases could proceed at his instance. On this point also the order of the District Judge was construed by the other party as covering only the question of probate and the case reported in 14, C. W. N., page 1069, was referred to in which it was held that when a probate is granted in common form by reason of a compromise between the parties, the terms of compromises cannot be embodied in the order for the reason that a court of probate cannot in many instances enforce the terms; but they may, however, be enforced by an action if they are otherwise unobjectionable. The plaintiff contended that he was still conducting

the affairs of the estate as administrator and there was nothing objectionable in his acting as such so that the order of the District Judge confirmed him in his appointment. The cases under section 105 were tried together, the records were *mokarari* or *niskar* in almost all of them and the plaintiff asked for setting aside these entries with the same set of papers.

(c) *Compromise on matters not in issue.*—In several cases parties compromised on matters extraneous to suits together with the matters in issue. For example, (a) the case was one for enhancement—defendants did not raise the issue that the *jama* concerned was *mokarari*, the compromise was agreeing to an enhancement and also to fixity of the enhanced rent for ever; and

(b) the case was for the settlement of fair rent for lands recorded as liable to rent. Defendants simply contended that the lands were bad and that the plaintiff was entitled to a very low rate of rent. The compromise was at a rent for some of the plots concerned and the remaining plots were agreed to be either in *khas* possession of the plaintiff or *niskar* of the defendants.

In such cases, it appeared that the terms of compromise relevant to the cases were not independent of the terms which were extraneous, these were rather conditional. It was, therefore, thought necessary to include these extraneous matters also in the decree if the compromises were to be given effect to, the terms of which appeared to be quite fair. Parties were, therefore, asked to pay court fees for raising the issues which were under section 105A, if they would like to have all the terms in the compromise given effect to. This they readily agreed to do and the cases were disposed of in terms of the compromises.

181. Evidence Act problems.—(a) *Section 34.*—This section lays down that entries in books of account kept in the ordinary course of business do not alone charge a man with liability.

In the case of *Gopeswar versus Bijay Mahatap*, 32, G. W. N., page 560, it has been held that a tenant is liable to pay fair rent and enhanced rent (if circumstances demand it) by virtue of the tenancy itself. So the liability to pay enhancement is imposed by the fact of tenancy. The evidence, if any, adduced by landlord does not alone charge the

tenant with liability. So the corroboration by independent evidence which is contemplated in this section is not necessary in enhancement suits.

(b) *Sections 32 and 34.*—*Whether papers coming from the custody of a tahsildar are admissible?*—In one of the cases filed by Maharaja Bahadur Singh two *jamawasil* were filed by the nephew of the *tahsildar* in a Civil suit, and those papers were called for by the plaintiff and sought to be proved in court. A paper should be proved to be kept in the ordinary course of business, otherwise it is not admissible in evidence.

When a paper of a particular year is produced from the custody of a landlord bearing signature of a man who worked as *tahsildar* or *muhurrir* in that year, the presumption is that it was prepared by the *tahsildar* in course of his duties and submitted to landlord. But no such presumption arises in case of a paper which was never in landlords' *sherista* and was all along in the custody of the *Tahsildar* and his descendants.

So, in case of such papers coming from the custody of the nephew of the *tahsildar*, satisfactory proof should be given that it was prepared in the ordinary course of business. No such proof was given in this case, and the papers were rejected as being inadmissible.

(c) *Section 90.*—*Whether the paper of an ijaradar comes from proper custody, if filed by proprietor.*—In many cases filed by Charusila Dasi the *jamawasil* of 1279 was filed by her. The paper showed that it belonged to *ijaradar* and was prepared when the *mahal* was let out in *ijara*. The plaintiff adduced no evidence as to how she got this paper from the *ijaradar*.

Section 90 lays down that the custody of a paper is "proper" if circumstances of the case make it probable that it has a legitimate origin.

The only special fact is the relationship of lessor and lessee. This is not sufficient for holding that in all probability the paper was handed over to plaintiff by *ijaradar*. If all *ijaradars* were in the habit of handing over their papers after the expiry of their *ijara*, such an inference could have been drawn. But they seldom part with their papers. As the facts were, the court was not justified in coming to this conclusion. So the custody of this paper was not proved to be proper and the paper was rejected as inadmissible.

182. Hindu Law Problems.—(1) *Validity of adoption of Nirmal Naolakhya.*—In a case instituted by Nirmal Naolakhya defendants contended that the relationship of landlord and tenant did not exist between the parties, as plaintiff was not the adopted son of Rai, Dhanapat Naolakhya, ex-landlord, and his adoption was not valid. The adoption was impeached on the ground that Rai Dhanpat did not leave any permission for adoption with his wife. The permission of the husband is indispensable in case of adoption.

The plaintiff claimed that the family belonged to Jain Oswal sect and that in their case permission of husband is not necessary. Certain ceremonies require to be performed and those ceremonies were performed, so the adoption was quite valid.

Court did not enter into the intricacies of Hindu Law about adoption. The court found that defendants paid rents to plaintiff for several years and held that relationship of landlord and tenant existed.

(2) *Law of primogeniture if applicable to Nashipore Raj family.*—All Nashipore cases were instituted by Raja Bahadur in his own name although he has three brothers. The defendants contended that his brothers are legal heirs of Maharaja Ranjit Sinha, and are landlords of the *mahal*. The applications were made by one landlord, so section 180 is a bar to this suit.

The plaintiff claimed that their family is not governed by *Mitakshara* or *Dayabhaga* and the law of primogeniture applies to it.

As Raja Bahadur alone collects rent in the *mahal* and it has been held that he alone is the landlord of the *mahal* and application by him is maintainable, so it was not necessary to discuss the complicated point whether law of primogeniture applies to the family or not.

183. Peculiar cases tried.—(1) *Section 105, suits 4830-4831.*—The tenancies were recorded as “non-mokarari tenure” and defendant claimed them as “*raiya mokarari*”.

On evidence it transpired that these tenancies stood in the name of one Sreeram Pal. Pulin Behary Sen subsequently got them. His account book showed that he had *khas* possession of the lands for about 10 years and then

settled with tenants. Plaintiff claimed that the defendant is a tenure-holder on the following grounds:—

- (1) Sreeram Pal was his *benamdar* and he actually purchased another *jote* in his name.
- (2) Pulin Sen was a non-resident person and was a man of means.
- (3) There was no *khas* possession, it was only reclamation of land.
- (4) The area in each case was more than 100 *bighas*.

As the evidence clearly showed, Pulin Behary Sen cultivated the lands in *khas* for some time and tenants were settled on them afterwards. The tenancies were declared *raiya* holdings and not tenures.

As to *mokarari* question, a *robakari* of land revenue settlement proceeding under Act X of 1822 was filed. The *robakari* was admissible in evidence. It showed that one tenancy was created in that year by settlement of *khas* lands and the other tenancies existed from before. Hence, one tenancy was declared *raiya sthitiban* and the other tenancy *mokarari*. The group was one of the most contested cases in the camp.

(2) *Section 106 cases.*—(a) *Suit No. 1636.*—The dispute was in *mauza* Kabilpore over some *char* lands. The proprietor of the *mauza* was Raja Bahadur of Nashipore and he let it out to one Naresh Bose in *Patni*. The *Patnidar* created a tenure called “*jote Kabilpore*” in favour of Mr. John Howard in respect of about 2,000 *bighas* of lands and the *jote* was subsequently purchased by the Raja Bahadur of Nashipore. The other portion of the *mauza* is in *khas* collection of *patnidar* and is locally known as “*Khas Kabilpore*”. The lands in suit are on the boundaries of the two tenures *Jote Kabilpore* and *Khas Kabilpore*; so they constitute the bone of contention. The two lands settled them with two sets of tenants, who fight among them over their possession.

In evidence, it transpired that there was one rent suit between *patnidar* and Mr. John Howard and the boundaries of the tenure “*Jote Kabilpore*” were settled by compromise and a map was prepared by civil court commissioner. The decree of the rent suit showed that the old bed of the river Bhagirathi was not included in the tenure. On a relay of this map

and present map it was found that the greater portion of the lands in suit was covered by the old bed of the river. So they belong to *Khas Kabilpore*.

Several *kabuliyats* were filed at the time of hearing. As the lands are *diara char* lands and are subject to alluvion and diluvion, the boundaries constantly changed. So, great difficulty was experienced in comparing them and identifying the lands.

The decision of the dispute was arrived at on the basis of the rent decree referred to above. The present possession which is not peaceful and undisturbed and which dated only from 1329 was left out of consideration in deciding the matter.

(b) *Suit No. 354 (Kamalpore)*.—The dispute was about 6 arable plots in *mauza* Kamalpore. There are two *tauzis* in the village and the lands in suit lay on the boundary. The landlords were Hossenuddin Mia and others and the Midnapore Zemindary Company. The documents produced by Hossenuddin and others were numerous and they showed continued possession since 1260. The evidence adduced by the other side was rather meagre. A local enquiry was made on the lands. Curiously enough the result of the inspection supported the case of Midnapore Zemindary Company and not of Hossenuddin Mia. The inspection revealed that there was only one plot as alleged by the Midnapore Zemindary Company and not 6 plots as alleged by the other landlord.

Further, it transpired that the holding under the Midnapore Zemindary Company stood in the name of plaintiff's husband; it was sold at rent sale and it was purchased by his wife in 1925. After the rent sale and after plaintiff had taken delivery of possession through Civil Court, Hossenuddin Mia and others filed a suit for these lands against her for declaration of title and recovery of possession. They clearly admitted that they had been disputed by the plaintiff after she got possession through court, and the cause of action dates from the date of dispossession.

At that time cadastral proceedings were taken up. Afterwards the lands were recorded in settlement in their name and the names of their tenants, so they withdrew the title suit.

This admission about dispossession supports and explains the facts found on local inspection. Hence it was decided that although there was overwhelming evidence on the side of Hossenuddin Mia and others, they had been dispossessed by the other landlord. They probably kept possession up to 1925 when they lost it on account of rent sale and delivery of possession by court peon.

(c) *Group 16006*.—There were altogether 19 cases which the tenants instituted against Maharaja Sir Prodyot Kumar Tagore. There was a variety of claims mixed up in these cases. The claims are as follows:—

- (1) Enhancement has been taken on the group of excess area; the excess area is fictitious, the enhancement contravenes section 29 and should be cut down.
- (2) *Ghaskar* right (grazing rights) has been recorded in some *dangas* but the tenants cultivate the *dangas* so they have occupancy rights in the holding.
- (3) Some of these tenancies are *mokarari*.
- (4) One *Tenachoranadi* has been recorded in the *khas khatian* of landlord but the plaintiff cultivates a portion of it and has *mokarari* right in it.

In all the cases landlord proved registered *kabuliyats*. The *kabuliyats* were assailed as having been taken by undue pressure, coercion, etc., but this story was not proved—

- (i) The *Kabuliyats* showed that the rents were increased on the ground of excess area and rise in prices of food crops. The tenants executed these *kabuliyats* and paid rents according to them for a long time. So the onus lay on them to prove that the area was fictitious. The tenants failed to discharge this onus; hence it was decided that the areas were not fictitious and the rents were increased on the grounds of excess area. As the case for excess area was not proved, the question of illegal rents did not arise.

(ii) The terms of the *kabuliyats* clearly showed that the tenants had no better than *ghaskar* rights. In view of this admission embodied in the *kabuliyats* they were estopped from claiming better rights. Of course, they had cultivated lands here and there but this did not render the *kabuliyats* null and void.

(iii) As to *Tenachora* the tenants accepted receipts all along showing that they had *jalkar* rights in it. On local enquiry it was found that they had cultivation of about 10 *kattas* of it out of a total area of 300 *bighas*. Cultivation of this area does not make the tenant a *raiyat* in respect of it. So it was decided that the tenant had *jalkar* rights in the river.

(3) *Surapat Sinha cases*.—This group presented many interesting facts. The group consisted of about 285 tenancies; of which the *mokarari* claim was in about 170 tenancies.

The landlords' papers of 1296 and 1297 showed enhancement of one pice per rupee in 1297. The tenants contended that it was not enhancement, an *abwab* called "*naib kharach*" was realised from before and it was amalgamated with rent in that year. They showed receipts only in three tenancies in support of their contention, and the receipts showed amalgamation of the *abwab*.

As the number of cases in which such receipts were produced was only three the court could not be justified in concluding that in all the cases the *abwab* was realised and added to the rent in 1297. So it was held that the *abwab* was added up in 1297 in the above three cases, and in the remaining cases enhancement was made in that year.

The next point was whether "*Chirasthayi naib kharach*" as shown in the receipts was an *abwab* or not.

In a series of cases it has been held that any sum paid or agreed to be paid in addition to rent is the consideration lawfully paid for use and occupation of land. The onus lies on the landlord to show that the additional sum is a part of consideration of tenancy.

In this landlord failed to prove that "*naib kharach*" was a part of consideration of tenancy. So it is an *abwab*

being the sum paid in addition to rent. The term "*Chirasthayi*" does not mean that it runs from permanent settlement. Even admitting it means so, it should have been consolidated with rent in 1793. The effect of not consolidating it makes it an *abwab*.

As shown above, the consolidation of *abwab* with rent does not legalise it—the *abwab* remains an *abwab* after it.

The addition of illegal cess does not rebut *mokarari*, so *mokarari* was not held as rebutted in these cases.

In other cases enhancement at the rate of one pice per rupee was proved. As shown above, this slight variation in this case means real enhancement, so the *mokarari* presumption was rebutted.

Another point which is worth mentioning in this case, is that controversy arose about the point whether tenants could say that a part of the rent paid was legal cess without raising this point in the written statements. It was argued by plaintiff that tenants admitted the entire amounts paid as rent in their written statement, and they are estopped in evidence from claiming a part of it as *abwab*.

The Court held that the contention of the tenants was inconsistent with the facts stated in the written statements. But no objection was made by the plaintiff to the recording of evidence on this point.

After the evidence had been adduced, it appeared that the evidence was very important in deciding the issue about *mokarari*, so it was considered and weighed. There was another reason in favour of accepting this evidence. The tenants had the right of explaining the entries of landlord's papers without raising it in the written statement. They did not know beforehand what the landlord's papers contained, so they could not meet the statements of his papers. Had the landlord specifically stated in his plaint that the enhancement was made in a particular year, the tenants could have been made to confine themselves to their written statements.

(4) In a case under section 106 both the contending parties applied for referring the dispute for arbitration to one Surendra Natk Ghatak; consequently the order for reference to arbitration was made and Ghatak was appointed arbitrator. A few days later the

arbitrator filed the award duly signed, and parties were informed about it.

One of the parties filed objection to the award and prayed for setting it aside. The objections were as follows :—

- (1) Two of the defendants did not appear in the suit; they did not join the application for reference. So the order for reference was illegal and void, and the award should be set aside on this ground.
- (2) The award was vague and indefinite and full of contradictions.

The award was therefore modified and the decree was made on the basis of the modified award.

(5) *The Niskar cases of Charusila Dasi and Nashipore Raj.*—In course of trial of these groups a number of important points cropped up, so they are considered separately.

First, the landlord claimed that according to the case of *Jagdeo versus Baldeo*, 27 C.W.N., page 925, if landlord shows that a land in suit lay within the ambit of his *Zamindari* or estate, the onus of proof shifted to the tenant to prove by what arrangement he held the land as rent-free.

It was held that a careless reading of this decision seems to show that their Lordships of the Privy Council laid down this principle, but a close and careful study of it reveals that their Lordships did not differ from the principle of the case of *Harihar Mukharji versus Mahadeb Babu*, 14 Moore's Indian Appeals, but on the other hand, confirmed it. The principle laid down in the latter case was that the landlord must make out a *prima facie* case and prove the land to be *mal*, and when he proved these things the onus of proof shifted on to the tenants.

The case of *Jagdeo versus Baldeo* has been interpreted by the case of *Sasi Bhusan Hazra versus Kazi Abdulla and others*, 28 C.W.N. and their Lordships showed that the Judges of the Privy Council in the former case meant that the landlord must have to prove that the land in suit was "regularly assessed" *mal* land, otherwise the onus will not shift on to the tenants.

The latter case laid down that the landlord will have to prove the land as

lying within the geographical ambit of his estate, and to prove that the land is *malguzari* land of the estate; the onus will shift only when he succeeds in proving both the points.

The landlord cannot be absolved from the obligation of proving the *mal* land.

A common-sense view of the matter shows that unless he proves the land as *mal* his title to the land is not proved, as all his rights are derived from Decennial Settlement. So he will have no *locus standi* to claim assessment.

Secondly, landlord claims that he proves *mal* land by the record of rights, as it shows that the rent-free holders are tenants under landlord.

This argument cannot bear the test of close scrutiny.

(a) In cases when *taidads* are shown, it is proved that rent-free grants were made prior to 1793. Regulation XIX of 1793 shows that assessment of land revenue was made exclusive and independent of *lakhiraj* valid or invalid. So these lands, whether they are valid or invalid rent-free, were left out of assessment, and are outside the *mal* lands of the estate.

(b) In other cases the entry in record is "rent-free by virtue of possession". The land is rent-free by possession and not by grant. In case of grant only rent-free right and tenancy are consistent, but they are inconsistent in cases where there is no grant. So the fact of tenancy is inconsistent with the rent-free right by possession.

It is clear that where the tenancy is rent-free, the fact of the tenancy is not so much important as the rent-free right, and how it accrues. So, if the fact of tenancy and rent-free right by possession, clash with each other, the tenancy might be overlooked. So *mal* land is not proved.

Thirdly, the landlord claims that the *thak* map and *thak* statements do not show any *lakhiraj* in the estate, whereas the rules under which *thaks* were prepared enjoined upon showing such *lakhiraj* tenures as valid or invalid *lakhiraj* in the estate in 1793, so all the lands in the estate are *mal* lands.

In the case of *Bipradas Pal Choudhury versus Monorama Devi*, 22 C.W.N., Justice Teunon discussed this

argument very elaborately with reference to the *thak* rules and regulations and laid down that the omission of *lakhiraj* in *thak* had no evidentiary value. He concluded that *thak* authorities had no jurisdiction to decide which were valid and which were invalid *lakhiraj*, and Government could impose on the people its decision in such matters in respect of rent-free tenures of less than 50 *bighas*.

Fourthly, landlords claimed that *taidads* were *ex parte* statements of predecessors of rent-free holders, and unless it is proved that these were duly entered up in Pergunnah register by Government, the *taidads* were not admissible in evidence.

This contention was discussed by Justice Teunon in the above case. He showed from the different regulations that the Pergunnah Register and other registers were not punctiliously kept, so the omission of entry in them has got no evidentiary value. Thus, if extracts from Pergunnah register have not been filed, it does not weaken the value of *taidads*, and the case of defendants.

The *taidad* is a very ancient document. It has a sanctity of its own. It was submitted to the Collector in accordance with a regulation at a time when the object of calling for the statement was to examine the validity of the rent-free grant. It at least shows an instance when the *niskar* right was claimed against Government; so the statement is admissible under section 13 of the Evidence Act.

In the Nashipore group, another point cropped up. In 1846, the *mahal* was let out in *patni*, the *patni* right was sold for arrears of rent in 1918, and the present landlord purchased it.

The landlord claimed that the "rent-free" means invalid grant, validated by operation of Act X of 1859, which conferred on the landlord the power to sue for assessment of invalid *lakhiraj* within 12 years of the passing of the Act. So the tenants got rent-free right in 1871, i.e., when the *mahal* was let out in *patni*. So the *patnidar* created adverse possession in the estate by his conduct.

When the *Patni* was sold in 1918 it was sold free of all encumbrances. So

adverse possession being an encumbrance was *ipso facto* annulled and voided; and all the tenants lost their rent-free rights in the land.

This argument has the following drawbacks and flaws:—

- (1) All rent-free lands are assumed to be invalid *lakhiraj*. But in fact *taidads* show that many of them are based on valid grant made prior to 1765.
- (2) The landlord lost the right of assessment under Act X of 1859, the loss of this right is not the same thing as creation of adverse possession. In no case strict adverse possession has been claimed and proved by tenants. So the argument is untenable.
- (3) The *patni* is not sold free of encumbrances but with power to annul encumbrances. In this case the annulment has not been made by the landlord, so adverse possession, if any, has not been annulled.

The tenancies were not proved to be invalid *lakhiraj*; there was no adverse possession and encumbrance; and if an encumbrance it has not been annulled.

(6) *Effect of entries in a previous record-of-rights and admission of parties in subsequent proceedings and withdrawal of cases under section 105, Bengal Tenancy Act.*—The above points were raised in some cases and tried with case No. 8868 under section 105. A record-of-rights was previously prepared with respect to the lands concerned in these cases (in *mauza* Rasora, J. L. No. 89, police-station Kandi).

(a) Some *jamas* were recorded as ordinary occupancy holdings (*raiyyat sthitiban*) both in the previous record as well as in the present record-of-rights. Plaintiff claimed enhancement of rents and the defendants claimed the *jamas* to be *mokarari* ones. Defendant's claim could not be allowed as they based their claims on presumptions as to *mokarari* under section 50 of the Bengal Tenancy Act which do not apply after a record-of-rights has been prepared already under Chapter X of the Bengal Tenancy Act (section 115) and as they failed to prove uniform rent since the time of Permanent Settlement.

(b) The status of some tenants were recorded as tenure-holders in the previous record as well as in the present record-of-rights; tenants claimed the status of *raiya*s and showed that the landlords admitted them to be *raiya*s and not tenure-holders in a compromise petition in a case under section 105 of the Bengal Tenancy Act on the previous record-of-rights. It was held that the landlords were estopped from challenging the tenants that they were not *raiya*s.

(c) Landlords filed some cases under section 105 claiming enhancements of rents after final publication of the previous record-of-rights and they subsequently withdrew the applications with liberty to institute fresh suits. It was argued on behalf of the tenants that the landlords were debarred from bringing cases under section 105 again, after the final publication of the present record-of-rights as it was before the passing of the amended Act and the decision in the Full Bench case, *Purna versus Narendra* reported in 29, C.W.N., 755, was referred to. The contention was based on the provision of old section 109 of the Bengal Tenancy Act which debarred Civil Courts from entertaining any applications or suits concerning any such matter but there is nothing in the old Act debarring the landlords from bringing a case under section 105 when a fresh record-of-rights was prepared. Moreover, those cases were withdrawn more than 15 years ago and one plaintiff has got recurring causes of action in respect of enhancements of rents. The cases were, therefore, held to be maintainable.

(7) *Effect of previous resumption proceedings.*—In some cases landlords tried to set aside *mokarari* entries in the record-of-rights by production of *robakari* of the resumption proceedings of which the lands in dispute were the subject matters. The points relied on were one or other of the following entries in the *robakari*:—

(1) A statement that the tenants did not claim *maurashi* right in their *jamas*.

(2) Only one *jama* was recorded as *Istimrari maurashi* and there was a statement that no other *jama* was so. The name in which that single *Istimrari maurashi jama* appeared being

not identical with that of any of the present tenants.

(3) Rates of rent of lands in the *mauza* stated therein were different from the rates now prevalent.

(4) All the lands of the *mauza* concerned were recorded as *khas patit* except some covered by *jamas* appearing in names different from those of the present tenants.

Now (1) the statement that there was no *maurashi* claim does not prove anything at all—*maurashi* simply means permanent and heritable and not *mokarari*. (2) The 2nd entry also proves nothing. One *jama* at least was recorded as *Istimrari maurashi* and there is nothing to show that the present *jamas* recorded as *mokarari* did not form part of that *jama*; the rents of the *jamas* recorded as *mokarari* in the record-of-rights were actually added up and the sum did not exceed the rent of the *jama* shown as *Istimrari maurashi* in the *robakari*. If plaintiff relies on these statements to rebut the *mokarari* presumption the onus is on him to show that the *jamas* in dispute did not form parts of the *jama* appearing in the *robakari*. The fact that the name in which that *jama* appears is different from that of any of the present tenants shows nothing—the *robakaries* were of 1858 or so, it is likely that the names in which *jamas* then stood are no longer those in which *jamas* now stand; this evidence also therefore failed to set aside *mokarari* entries. (3) This fact was argued to show changes in all the *jamas*. This is also a very weak argument which can be dismissed in a word. Rates of rent for a *mauza* may vary from time to time and yet the rents of several *jamas* remain unaltered; an average may change but it does not follow that every unit has changed. This evidence also does not help the plaintiff. (4) By this the plaintiffs tried to show that none of the *jamas* then appearing represented that *jamas* concerned in the present cases and the latter must therefore have been created for *khas patit* lands after the time of resumption. As discussed above, it lay on the plaintiffs to show that the *jamas* appearing in the *robakari* did not represent any of the present *jamas*. This they could do by production of *chittas* and identifying

the plots covered by the present *jamas* as well as old ones. The *chittas* would at once show if the plots covered by the present *jamas* were covered by any of the old *jamas* or were *khas patit*.

Thus, apart from the consideration how far an entry in the *robakari* of a resumption proceeding binds a tenant, the entries therein relied on by the plaintiffs were not held to rebut the *mokarari* presumptions raised by the record-of-rights.

(8) *Settlement of rent in tenancies with partly finally published record*.—There was one application for settlement of rent in respect of a tenancy which was partly published.

The question was whether the application was maintainable. The old law left the matter vague and there was no clear provision for it. As the point was vague and doubtful rule 388, Survey and Settlement Manual, 1917, laid down that such a suit should be entertained and stayed till the tenancy be completely published.

This doubtful point has been settled by the amendment. The present law is that the period of limitation runs from the date when the last part is finally published. So, under the present law suits would be premature if instituted before the tenancy is completely published. But the present suit had been instituted prior to the passing of new law and was taken up for trial after it, so it presented some legal difficulties.

Even assuming that the suit was maintainable under the old law, the further question was whether it could be entertained after amendment had been passed. However, it was decided that the right to sue is a substantive right and the right existed at the time of institution. It could not be taken away by the amendment taking effect subsequently.

The view expressed, in rule 388, Survey and Settlement Manual, 1917 seemed reasonable although there are eminent authorities in favour of rejecting the suit on the ground that there was no complete cause of action in view of part publication.

(9) *Suit under section 106, Bengal Tenancy Act, against a Dakhalakar*.—Section 101—Suit No. 323.—In this

suit the landlord was admittedly *dakhalakar* but a suit was instituted for correction of record under section 106. Under the old Act the Revenue Officer had no jurisdiction to frame a record of such non-agricultural lands but the amendment has conferred on him the power to frame record in respect of these lands.

The suit had been instituted before the new Act came into operation. So the record framed in respect of the lands was without jurisdiction and it could not be corrected under section 106.

In a series of cases this new provision of section 109(a) caused much hardship to the tenants; specially in cases where the tenancy was *sthitiban* in record and the tenant had paid *ad valorem* Court-fees for *mokarari* issue.

When the evidence proceeded to some length and the cards of both sides were placed on the table, the plaintiff found his case weak and filed a petition of withdrawal fully knowing that fresh suit in respect of this matter is not barred and defence will not be entitled to *mokarari* presumption after final publication. There is no provision in law to prevent the plaintiff from withdrawing the case. The withdrawal of the suit placed defendant at a great disadvantage although he had paid *ad valorem* fees for it. Some restrictions should be imposed on withdrawal of such suits specially when it is not essential to ask for the liberty to bring fresh suits. The subsequent amendment cannot make the entries in record legal, if they were illegal and improper by virtue of the law which was in force at the time of institution. Hence the suit was dismissed as being not maintainable.

184. **Difficulties under the New Amended Bengal Tenancy Act.**—(1) In many cases the record showed the tenancy as *sthitiban*. The tenants claimed *mokarari* right by way of defence and raised this issue. After the passing of the new Act the landlord urged that the tenants should be charged with *ad valorem* court-fees for raising this issue, otherwise the issue could not be tried.

The General Clauses Act shows that if the Repealing Law is a substantive law creating some rights, it applies to pending suits and proceedings and that if it is an adjective law dealing with matters

of procedure it governs such suits and proceedings since the passing of the Act.

According to the Civil Procedure Code, no court-fees were charged on the defendants when they denied the allegations of plaintiffs and raised issues. The amendment of 1929 repealed this general law in respect of 105 cases and prescribed for charging court-fees on defendants. So this new law although an amending law, is a Repealing Law so far as charging court-fees on defendants is concerned.

Under the Civil Procedure Code the defendants had the right of raising issue without paying court-fees, so the old law is a substantive law, so far as this matter is concerned.

The pending suits will be governed by the old law and the new law will not apply to them, whether the issues were raised before or after the passing of the Act.

So, if the *mokarari* claim was set up before 21st February 1929 or after it, the tenant will not have to pay court-fees, since the suits were instituted before the passing of the Act.

In both kinds of cases where the issue was raised before 21st February 1929 or after it, the court-fees were not charged.

(2) *Repeal of section 40 cases.*—Section 40 was repealed by amendment of 1929, but many cases under this section were pending in the court. The landlord urged that if, in view of the repeal, the applications were not maintainable as when the orders on them would be passed, the law under which they would be passed having been repealed they would be passed without jurisdiction.

But the General Clauses Act gives the Court jurisdiction to try the cases which are pending when the law is passed. The law repealed conferred on the *raiyat* to get the produce rent commuted, so it is a substantive law. So, the new law will not apply to the pending suits and proceedings and they will be governed by the old law.

So, the orders in these cases although made after repeal will be legal and not passed without jurisdiction.

(3) *The withdrawal of section 105 and 106 cases and its effect.*—Prior to the passing of the Amendment, section 109 was a bar to bringing a fresh suit on

the same matter in Civil Court as has been the subject matter of section 105 and section 106 cases. There was some confusion over the meaning of this section and a Full Bench case laid down that even if section 105 and section 106 cases be withdrawn with or without liberty to bring fresh suit, Civil suit on the same matter was barred. This interpretation of section 109 was rather hard on the parties and the section was amended in view of it.

The amendment lays down that if section 105 and section 106 cases be withdrawn, the parties are permitted to bring fresh suits in Civil Court.

This amendment led to difficulties in the trial of suits. The plaintiff had the right to institute fresh suit in Civil Court whether permission to bring fresh suit was given or not. Again, under the Civil Procedure Code, the plaintiff has the right to withdraw his suit and no order of the court was necessary.

So, it happened that when the records of rights showed tenancies as *sthitiban*, the tenants claimed *mokarari* right by way of defence. Both the parties adduced evidence and the hearing was closed. The plaintiff found that his papers were not sufficient to rebut *mokarari* presumption raised by the tenants, and filed a petition of withdrawal of the cases. The petition was granted, as the law dictates it.

Then he filed suits in Civil Court against the same tenants as under the new Act civil suits were not barred. The tenants had no right to raise *mokarari* claim in Civil Court as section 115 is a bar to it.

So, the tenants are generally placed at a disadvantage by the withdrawal of the case and passing of the new Act.

The court, under the amending law, can only sympathise with the tenant, while it allows the prayer for withdrawal, being fully alive to the consequence of such withdrawal.

The amendment has handicapped the tenants very much in this respect. It would have been reasonable and fair if some restrictions were placed on the withdrawal of the cases.

185. **Suggestions.**—It must be evident that the decision in a number of these cases was such as can admit of a difference of opinion. It would have been very desirable if the department could get the benefit of the opinion

of the Special Judge which might have simplified decisions in cases subsequently taken up. As it is not a single case of appeal was disposed of all the time the case was going on.

The resumé above will show that problems of diverse types arise and have to be disposed of. Most of the problems admit of difference of opinion. Even in the matter of the limit of enhancement in cases under section 105, Bengal Tenancy Act, there is such a wide variance that while one considers that nothing could be given another holds that the utmost limit under "rise in prices" is permissible. It does seem to me highly desirable in the interest of all concerned—the Courts as well as the parties—that some of the more important of the general problems should be heard by the general staff and the Special Judge destined to hear all or most of the appeals (for Special Judges differ widely in their views) could hear and decide the appeals and if 2nd appeal be permissible the Hon'ble High Court arrange to hear them. The lower Courts then get some idea of the principles on which to dispose of and may proceed to deal with the balance accordingly. It may look like a counsel of perfection which is often in effect a counsel of despair. But where such a large number of cases has to be disposed of in a short time more or less on the same principles it does seem that an attempt to have views formulated by appellate authorities before the bulk is disposed of is a necessity the justification of which should not be overlooked.

186. **Jamabandi.**—Excluding the estates that were dropped with Collector's consent there were 72 estates in the programme.

One peculiar case is worth noting. Tauzi No. 484 is a permanently-settled private estate in which one Padma Sundari had 2/3rds share. Basanta Kumari, proprietress of the remaining 1/3rd share, executed a *maurashi* lease in favour of Panchanan and Dwarkanath who usurped the 2/3rds share of Padma Sundari, who died intestate. The interest of Padma Sundari escheated to Government. An ejectment suit was brought by Government against Panchanan and Dwarkanath. Government got a decree and in satisfaction of the cost of the suit Government also purchased the *maurashi* right of Panchanan and Dwarkanath. Thus, Government became the

proprietor of 2/3rds share and *maurashi* in respect of the remaining 1/3rd share in the estate having lands in mauzas (1) Murara, police-station Kandi, and (2) Goaljan, police-station Berhampore Town. The Collector wanted to arrange amicably that the Government should be the sole proprietor in Goaljan and Basanta Kumari that of Murara and that the *maurashi* right of Government in respect of 1/3rd share in the two mauzas should cease. But the negotiations failed. At the suggestion of the Collector under Board's order conveyed in letter No. 8285A., dated 12th October 1903, the original estate No. 484 was then split up into two:—

(1) No. 484 only for Goaljan.

(2) No. 2989 only for Murara.

* It was not looked up under what law this order was passed. This does not appear to have been done under the Estates Partition Act. The Government then sold off the 2/3rds proprietary right and the *maurashi* right in respect of the remaining 1/3rd share in Murara, Estate No. 2989, to one Sasi Bhusan Sarkar on 6th April 1905 who undertook to pay the revenue of Rs. 226 on account of the 2/3rds proprietary share thus purchased in the newly created estate No. 2989 and the *maurashi jama* of Rs. 136 to the remaining 1/3rd proprietress Basanta Kumari.

Under Board's order No. 2845, dated 13th July 1907, tauzi No. 484 (Goaljan) was then amalgamated with a Government Estate, Tauzi No. 1108 (Bhagirathbandh). In none of these proceedings Basanta Kumari appears to have been a consenting party and although the Government parted with the *maurashi* right in Murara, the whole of the rent continued to be paid by the Government to Basanta Kumari from 1905 to 1926, apparently without scrutiny, by the Khas Mahal Department. The rent settlement of khas mahal estate No. 1108, was taken up by this settlement and this is where this Department came in and the whole history of the affair was unravelled. At the request of the Collector, I made a note on the Collector's file on 27th August 1926 and observed thus:—

"(1) (a) the partition of original estate No. 484 into two estates apparently without any legal authority—1/3rd co-sharer Basanta Kumari having not

given her consent in writing under registered document and action not having been taken under the Estates Partition Act, the consequential changes in tauzi roll and Register D are illegal;

(b) the omission to realise from Sasi Sarkar the stipulated amount of rent of Rs. 136 and odd for the share of *maurashi* tenancy in Murara from 1905 to 1926 was carelessness;

(c) the omission to make some arrangements for future payment of this part of the *maurashi* rent was a bad error.

(2) I have looked through the suggestions of the Senior Deputy Collector and the Government Pleaders' opinion. It seems to me that the best way to get out of the tangle for future is to sell off the Government's 2/3rds proprietary right and 1/3rd *maurashi* right in Goaljan to Sasi Sarkar. The area is a little over 3 acres, and I do not know if the Government will be any the gainer by preserving its rights in this small area. If that can be done Sasi Bhusan and Basanta Kumari will be recorded for 2/rds and 1/3rd share in each of the two villages in Register D and the former will be a lessee under the latter for the remaining 1/3rd share on the payment of rent of Rs. 160 and odd. The Government will then wash its hands clean.

Personally, I do not see any good arising out of the so-called constitution of the two estates and the proprietors may, if they agree, be induced to apply to have the two estates re united into one under section 100 of the Estates Partition Act (Act V of 1897). In that case there will be one unit for registration in register D. The errors (a) and (c) of paragraph 1 above will thus be remedied.

For (b) the Government will have to demand the payment of the dues from Sasi Sarkar and on his refusal to sue him for contribution.

If all these items can be amicably arranged as above with the Board's approval, it will be to the interest of all the parties concerned.

If the arrangements suggested above can't be brought about, the courses open in my opinion are:—

(i) To re-amalgamate the two estates under Board's orders again.

I do not find anything in the Board's order No. 8285A. of 12th

October 1903 or in the correspondence which led to this order being passed. Under what Act and law an estate of which the Government was only a part proprietor could be split up in the way it was done without even the consent of the other co-sharer? I note subject to correction—for there may be other facts not to be found in this file—that on the facts as they are I am not convinced that the order was legal and the splitting up and the apportionment of land revenue binding on the 1/3rd co-sharer. It seems to me that the confusion in register D and the tauzi roll was due to the fact that no one clearly comprehended the effect of the suggestion and of the order and none looked about to find the law under which the proposal was being made or was being sanctioned. So far as my knowledge goes I speak subject to correction—the apportionment of land revenue and settlement can only be done under the Estates Partition Act or under Clause 9, section 11 of Regulation VII of 1822. The present order was not passed under the former, while 1/3rd of the share at least not being liable to re-settlement of land revenue, the latter would not apply. So far as my study of the revenue proceedings in the different districts goes in such circumstances, it was held that a partition could be effected under Regulation VII of 1822 only when the permanently settled co-sharer executed a written and registered document ratifying the arrangements or signifying his consent. If this be correct, the order of the Board was passed on a misapprehension of the situation by the Collector. If that again be so, the Board has a right to review the order and if convinced of its incorrectness to set it aside and direct re-amalgamation. On that being done, the tauzi roll will show the unapportioned amount of land revenue (with such separate accounts as the co-sharers may choose and the Collector permit) while register D can bring the two *mauzas* under one 16-anna unit with a petition under the Land Registration Act and in which the Collector, Sasi Bhusan and Basanta Kumari may re-adjust the share or it may have *mauzawar* units for registration, in Murara 2/3rds going to Sasi Bhusan and 1/3rd to Basanta Kumari and in Goaljan 2/3rds going to Collector and 1/3rd to Basanta Kumari.

No re-adjustment, in my opinion, of land revenue as suggested by the Government Pleader is possible unless there are

proceedings under the Estates Partition Act and Regulation VII of 1822 is applied with the written and registered consent of the parties concerned. I am more than doubtful if it can be applied at all now to tauzi No. 2989 when the Government's right in it has been sold permanently.

(ii) To sue to recover for contribution for the rent of 1905-1926 from Sasi Bhusan and induce Basanta Kumari to accept him as tenant for the share sold on the rent stated and in case of refusal to enforce recognition by suit to avoid future trouble.

The matter made no progress and in this office letter No. 2549 dated 24th September 1928 the personal attention of the Collector was drawn as the matter had been pending for a long time and the land revenue settlement programme was held up and the following suggestions were made:—

"So far as the record-of-rights for Murara is concerned, Sasi Sarkar will be recorded for 2/3rds and Basanta Kumari for 1/3rd proprietary right in the record. I believe there is no objection to that, and I shall be obliged by your views.

So far as Goaljan is concerned, it is included in and amalgamated with touzi No. 1108. In the original touzi No. 1108 the Government are the sole proprietors, while in the partitioned touzi No. 484, the Government were mistakenly supposed to be the 16-anna proprietors, though rightly the Government held only 2/3rds or 10 annas and odd share. If the two tauzis continue to be amalgamated in one part (the original one) the Government would be the proprietors of 16-anna share in the other (the amalgamated part); the Government would be the share-holder for 10 annas and Basanta Kumari for the balance. To prepare a record like that will, I believe, be a departure from the unit so far adopted in this district by the Collector for land registration purposes.

Secondly, for Goaljan, where no specific possession exists, land revenue settlement can't be made for a share of the area and the portion at least must be given up from the land revenue settlement operation.

In the circumstances, either Goaljan with tauzi No. 484 should be separated from the touzi No. 1108 or, if kept

together, the entries of proprietary right and land revenue settlement should be as noted before."

The Collector then made a reference to the Commissioner of the Presidency Division in his letter No. 7591 G. E., dated 30th November 1928, and after stating the confused state of affairs already brought about made two alternative suggestions—

"(a) Basanta Kumari may be recorded as proprietress of 1/3rd share in both the estates Goaljan, touzi No. 484, and Murara, touzi No. 2989, and the revenue of Rs. 76-4-11 now paid by her in tauzi No. 484 may be apportioned between those two estates in proportion to the income derived by her in respect of her share in the lands of the estate. She gets *maurashi* rent of Rs. 24-15-4 from Government on account of her interest in tauzi No. 484 and Rs. 136 as *maurashi* rent from Sasi Sarkar on account of her interest in estate Murara tauzi No. 2989. The apportioned revenue payable by Basanta Kumari will thus be Rs. 11-13-6 for her 1/3rd share in touzi No. 484, estate Goaljan, and Rs. 64-7-5 from her 1/3rd share in touzi No. 2989, estate Murara. The revenue for estate Murara, touzi No. 2989, will therefore be Rs. 226 payable by Sasi Sarkar *plus* Rs. 64-7-5 payable by Basanta Kumari Devi or Rs. 290-7-5 in all—though the revenue payable by Sasi Sarkar and Basanta Kumari, as calculated above, will not be proportionate to their recorded interests in the estate. As regards tauzi No. 484, Government may be recorded as proprietor of 2/3rds share and Basanta Kumari as proprietress of the remaining 1/3rd share. Another point to be considered is in what part of the tauzi roll the estate Goaljan, tauzi No. 484 will be borne; 1/3rd of the estate is permanently settled and is required to be borne in Part I of the roll, while 2/3rds share belongs to Government and the entire collection from the tenants are made by Government. The 2/3rds proprietary right of the estate is, therefore, required to be borne in Part III of the tauzi roll. This is no doubt anomalous. To avoid this, I make the alternative suggestion, viz.,

(b) That Basanta Kumari's proprietary interest in both the estates, Murara, tauzi No. 2989, and Goaljan, tauzi No. 484, may be acquired by Government either by private purchase or acquisition under the Land Acquisition Act. The

proposal made in your letter No. 2045-R.L., dated the 26th October 1927, for the partition of the old estate, touzi No. 484 (Sungai) into two estates, touzi Nos. 484 and 2989, under the Estates Partition Act will obviously be prejudicial to Government interest in as much as only the original revenue of Rs. 228-14-9, as it stood in 1903 before the estate was split up, will have to be apportioned between the two estates, while the revenue now derived from the two estates are Rs. 76-4-11 and Rs. 226, or a total sum of Rs. 302-4-11. I am, therefore, of opinion that the best course would be to acquire the proprietary right of Basanta Kumari either by amicable purchase or by acquisition proceedings. The whole matter may therefore be referred to the Hon'ble Board for orders."

It will appear that none of these two alternative proposals were in line with the suggestions made by me. His second proposal which he considered best was really the opposite of what I suggested. The Collector took the splitting up of the parent estate No. 484 into two tauzis, Nos. 484 and 2989, without any legal authority, as an accomplished fact, and while speaking of the apportionment of the revenue of tauzi No. 484 (Goaljan) and recording its sharers, he evidently forgot the fact that this tauzi had been amalgamated with a khas mahal estate No. 1108. The Collector's suggestion to acquire the interest of Basanta Kumari Devi in the two estates would result in Government being 16 annas proprietor of tauzi No. 484 (Goaljan) and 1/3rd proprietor of tauzi No. 2989 as Government had already sold off 2/3rds share in the same. Thus, so far as No. 2989 was concerned, it would not be a desirable position for Government to be part owner with a private person. Moreover, it appears that the actual difficulties—legal or otherwise—in acquiring interest of a widow by amicable purchase or by land acquisition proceedings were not foreseen by the Collector.

The Commissioner in his letter No. 2-R.L., dated 2nd January 1929, to the Board of Revenue, agreed with the second suggestion of the Collector which he was pleased to consider as the practical solution of the problem. The Board in its letter No. 1743 G.E., dated the 8th February 1929, agreed with the Commissioner's suggestion of amicably purchasing the proprietary interest of Basanta Kumari in both estates, but

doubted if the same could compulsorily be acquired. The Collector reported to the Commissioner in his letter No. 2192-Gen., dated 28th March 1929, that Basanta Kumari agreed to part with her interest in the two estates on consideration of Rs. 1,600. The Board then moved the Secretary to the Revenue Department in its letter No. 76 G.E./T., dated 29th May 1929, for sanction of the amount of Rs. 1,600 which was conveyed in Revenue Department's letter No. 10268 L.R., dated 2nd August 1929. The Board then directed the Commissioner in its letter No. 8548 G.E., dated 12th August 1929, for necessary action. It was also directed that after the purchase was completed, steps should be taken to sell the 1/3rd proprietary right of Government in Estate No. 2989 (Murara) to the co-sharer proprietor, Sasi Bhusan Sarkar, if he be willing to pay proper price. It may be noted here that there was no point in purchasing 1/3rd share of an estate from one proprietor and then selling it off to the remaining proprietor. The suggestions went from the Collector and the Board evidently realised that it would not be a desirable position for Government to be a part proprietor in an estate.

In the meantime the Collector consulted the Government pleader who expressed the opinion on the report of the Sub-divisional Officer, Lalbagh, that Basanta Kumari had only the limited interest of a Hindu widow. She could not alienate the property unless there is a legal necessity and in the present case there was none. The purchase would involve risks. The Collector then forwarded the opinion of the Government Pleader to the Commissioner and proposed that the purchase should be dropped. The Commissioner in his letter No. 87 R.L., dated 16th January 1930, to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, recommended accordingly. The Board in its letter No. 1147 G.E., dated the 8th February 1930, called for a fresh report from the Commissioner and remarked that this fact should have been enquired into and considered before the proposal submitted by the Collector was recommended by the Commissioner as the only practical solution of the problem. The Commissioner took the opinion of the Legal Remembrancer who expressed the opinion that the draft conveyance did not afford sufficient protection to Government. The Commissioner directed the Collector to re-submit a fresh draft in consultation

with the Government Pleader in which legal necessity should be clearly cited. A fresh draft was then submitted by the Commissioner to the Board which was approved and the Board sanctioned the amount of Rs. 1,600 for the purchase. In the meantime, the proprietress resiled and the Collector informed the Commissioner in his letter No. 3709G., dated the 22nd May 1931, that she was unwilling to part with her properties and the Government Pleader was also of opinion that the properties could not be acquired under the Land Acquisition Act, and he proposed for dropping of the matter and the Commissioner recommended accordingly and the Board agreed in its letter No. 884 G., dated 23rd June, 1931. Thus, the whole correspondence left matters where they started from. Although the matter has been dropped, there is apparently no fresh suggestion from the Collector to start with. If the splitting up of the parent estate No. 484 into two new estates, No. 484 (Goaljan) and No. 2989 (Murara) be accepted, the possible solution of the difficulty will be as follows:—

Estate No. 484 (Goaljan) should be once more separated off from No. 1108 and the 2/3rds proprietary interest and 1/3rd *maurashi* interest of Government in the former estate should be sold off. Government at present pays a rent of Rs. 24-15-4 to Basanta Kumari on account of the *maurashi* interest in *tauzi* No. 484 (Goaljan). The revenue will, of course, be adjusted on present assets. As regards *tauzi* No. 2989, Government has already parted with all interest; 2/3rds share of the estate now belongs to Sasi Bhusan Sarkar and 1/3rd to Basanta Kumari under whom the former is again a *maurashidar* for a rental of Rs. 136 as Basanta Kumari, the landlord of the *maurashi jama*, appears to have consented to the splitting up of the *maurashi jama*. The revenue of *tauzi* No. 2989, as reported by the Collector, will be Rs. 290-7-5.

In the records of rights that have been prepared *tauzi* No. 484 does not occur, as it has been amalgamated with *tauzi* No. 1108 and the whole has been recorded in the name of the Government. Actually 2/3rds share in Goaljan should have been recorded in the name of Government and 1/3rd in the name of Basanta Kumari and under her Government should have been recorded as *maurashidar* with a rental of Rs. 24-15-4—the revenue payable by Basanta Kumari on account of

her interest in Goaljan being Rs. 11-13-6 as reported by the Collector.

In Murara the entire estate No. 2989 has been recorded in the name of Sasi Bhusan. This is wrong, 2/3rds should have been recorded in the name of Sasi Bhusan and 1/3rd in the name of Basanta Kumari and under the latter Sasi Bhusan should have been recorded as a *maurashidar* with a rental of Rs. 136. The revenue of *tauzi* No. 2989 has been recorded as Rs. 226 (only Sasi Bhusan's share) whereas it should have been Rs. 290-7-5.

If the Collector agrees, the record of rights might be corrected under section 115(B) as suggested in this paragraph. He might then proceed on the line as suggested above.

187. **Diara.**—The list of estates formed with areas resumed is shown in Appendix XV.

Diara was taken up in the following rivers in the district:—

- (1) The Jellanghi,
- (2) The Bhagirathi,
- (3) The Bhairab,
- (4) The Sealmari,
- (5) The Mayurakshi,
- (6) The Babla.

(1) *The Jellanghi.*—The proceedings on the banks of the Jellanghi were confirmed by the Board in 1928-1929 (*vide* Board's Resolution No. 9582, S & S, of 20th September 1928, No. 9541, S & S, of the 28th September 1928 and No. 9584, S & S, of the 20th September 1928).

(2) *The Bhagirathi.*—The proceedings on the banks of the Bhagirathi in thanas Raghunathganj, Lalgola, Bhagawangola were confirmed in 1928 (*vide* Board's Resolution No. 3733, S & S, dated the 3rd March 1928, No. 3717, S & S, dated the 30th March 1928, and No. 4611, S & S, dated the 24th April 1928). The proceedings in thanas Jiaganj, Suti, Sagardighi and Beldanga were confirmed in 1929-30 (*vide* Board's Resolution No. 7826, S & S, dated the 21st July 1929, No. 13539, S & S, dated the 19th December 1928, No. 23, S & S, dated the 31st December 1928, and No. 1351, S & S, dated the 26th January 1929). The proceedings in thanas Murshidabad and Berhampore were confirmed in 1930 (*vide* Board's Resolution No. 1111, S & S, dated the 5th February 1930).

and No. 2423, S & S, dated the 13th March 1930 and also Board's resolution No. 1113, S & S, dated the 5th February 1930, and No. 2427, S & S, dated the 13th March 1930). The resolutions related to the accretions to the revenue-paying estates and the *robakaries* to the accretions to the revenue-free estates. The orders passed by the Board in regard to the accretions to the Revenue-free estate No. 425B.I. in *mauza* Talagachhi, police station Murshidabad were reconsidered by the Board. The lands sought to be resumed in *mauza* Khagra and Saidabad in thana Berhampore were partly recommended for omission under rule 551 of the Survey and Settlement Manual, 1917. The Board held that they were near the town within the Berhampore Municipality and directed to take action for resumption of the areas. These proceedings were subsequently confirmed by the Board.

(3) *The Bhairab*.—The proceedings on the banks of the Bhairab in thanas Naoda, Berhampore, Murshidabad and Hariharpara were confirmed in 1930 (*vide* Board's resolution Nos. 2334, S & S, 2332 S & S, 2157 S & S and 2340 S & S). The proceedings in thanas Domkal and Raninagar were submitted to the Board through the Director of Land Records. Those for Raninagar were confirmed since the year closed. The objections filed against the proceedings in thanas Lalgola and Bhagawangola were decided by the Diara Officer and 16 appeals filed against the decision of the Diara Officer were disposed of by me.

(4) *The Sealuari*.—The proceedings on the bank of the Sealuari in thana Jalangi were confirmed by the Board in 1930 (*vide* Board's Resolution No. 8262, S & S, dated the 31st August 1930). The proceedings in thanas Domkal and Raninagar were submitted to the Board through the Director of Land Records, Bengal.

(5) *The Mayurakshi*.—The chief police-stations in which resumptions were made were Kandi, Bharatpur and Burwan. The proceedings were confirmed by the Board in their Resolution No. 3978, S & S, dated the 30th March 1931.

(6) *The Babla*.—The proceedings on the banks of the river Babla in thana

Berhampore were confirmed by the Board in 1930 (*vide* Board's Resolution No. 8260, S & S, dated the 31st August 1930). The proceedings in Police-stations Beldanga and Bharatpore were approved by the Board in their Resolution No. 2090, S & S, dated the 24th February 1931.

188. **Peculiar points in the Diara resumption.**—The following were some of the points which came up for decision :—

(1) *The Bhairab*.—In deciding the objections filed by the proprietors against the resumption proceedings drawn up on the banks of the Bhairab in thanas Lalgola and Bhagawangola two important points came out —

(a) In Diara resumption proceedings drawn up between 1830 and 1850 in respect of alluvial formations in the bed of the river within Pargana Laskarpur the areas sought to be resumed were released on the ground that Pargana Laskarpur was assessed at the Permanent Settlement at a *thika jama* in a lump without reference to any quantity of lands. The result was that considerable resumable areas were released and the Government was put to a heavy loss. The law was misunderstood. The Privy Council's decision in the case of the Secretary of State for India in Council *versus* the Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan reported in XXVI C.W.N., page 619, however, set the matter right. According to this decision *chars* formed since the decennial settlement in tracts which at the time of the settlement had been river bed are to be treated as unsettled.

(b) The lands included in *mauza* Diar Manik Chak were held as *Izad* lands, i.e., lands in excess of what was assessed to revenue at the Permanent Settlement. They were therefore directed to be included in a separate *mauza* named Diar Manik Chak by the Thakbust Superintendent of Survey. The proprietors of Pargana Laskarpur preferred an appeal against the decision of the Thakbust Superintendent to the Revenue Commissioner. The appeal was dismissed and the decision of the Thakbust Superintendent was upheld. But the Board released the area included in Diar Manik Chak in 1886 without showing any reasons. The area in *mauza* Diar Manik Chak is a very large one and consequently

the Government was, in my opinion, through the incompetence of the individuals who constituted then the Board of Revenue, put to a very heavy loss.

Another important point raised in the Bhairab resumption was that Rennel did not show a river channel in the area in question. The contention was rejected on the following grounds:—

(i) Rennel was tracing trade routes. He found a shorter route. There was no reason for him to go round and find another circuitous route. Hence omission to show the latter leads to no inference about its non-existence.

(ii) There are authoritative rulings of the court which have refused Rennel's map as prophetic of the formation of estates or the configuration of the land at the time of the Decennial Settlement.

(iii) Definite internal evidence has been possible to be discovered which shows that river did flow along this channel near about the time of the Permanent Settlement completely contradicting any presumption based on Rennel.

The "*Dastur Rewaj*" filed in the year 1227 (1820), the earliest that could be had, were looked up. Twelve places standing on the Bhairab could be traced in those papers. The "*Dastur Rewaj*" which has a column for boundaries shows to the east or the west (exactly as now) a river on the boundary. This is a positive and definite proof to show that this channel did exist and the distribution of the 12 villages indicates that the particular branch of the Bhairab in question did exist in 1820.

Rennel surveyed in the year 1767, the Permanent Settlement took place in those tracts between 1793 and 1800. The earliest "*Dastur Rewaj*" papers were traced for 1820 while Rennel's omission is after all a negative fact and may be explained. The "*Dastur Rewaj*" offers positive and definite proof to the contrary and proves the existence of the river.

(2) *The Bhagirathi*.—In the Bhagirathi resumptions there were three points of importance. The Bhagirathi was surveyed by Colebrook. It was found that it was not capable of scientific relay. It was held, however, with the approval of the Board (*vide* Director of Land Records' No. 5951 of 6th

August 1925) that the map might be taken for the purpose of a visual check and if it showed the position of the river bed entirely distinct from that during Revenue Survey, the party should be given the benefit of doubt and the resumption should be given up.

It led to a certain amount of anomaly. Local enquiries showed that though Colebrooke's map was not always capable of absolute relay it yet did show a channel now dried up which was quite identifiable. The question arose as to whether, if it was good enough when it showed a different channel from the revenue survey as proof against resumption, when unmistakably supported by local delineations, it could not be good enough for resumption. It was held that the map could be used against resumption but not for it (*vide* Director of Land Records' Demi-official No. 36 of 23rd January 1928).

In a number of cases in police-stations Berhampore and Murshidabad, it was contended by the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad that prior to the passing of the Murshidabad Act (Act XV of 1891) a survey was made of the Nizamat properties and a map was prepared. It was contended that the revenue survey map notwithstanding the revised map was the basis of the Murshidabad Act and unless it could be shown that there were accretions to the area then found there could be no resumption. In Board's letter No. 3363, S & S, dated the 6th July 1920 to the Director of Land Records, regarding the resumption in the Kalindi in the District of Malda, the Board had accepted that view and the principle thus accepted was followed here, too, and the Nawab Bahadur's contention was accepted.

In village Naya Bahadurpur, J.L. 21, police-station Suti, the wrong relay of the Diara survey map of 1867-68 in course of the Rajshahi Diara Settlement led to a complication. The map was relaid over again and the correct area resumed. The case pointedly brought out the need for absolute care in the relay of maps and it ought always to be insisted on that the Technical Adviser should personally certify about the correctness.

In one case it was found that the Nawab Bahadur had in a revenue-free

estate been granted the benefit of assets out of a fishery for a certain tract of the river. It was maintained by the Nawab Bahadur that the sub-soil was also included in the grant. The plea was rejected by me. The party appealed to the Board which upheld my order (*vide Robakari* No. 7010, S & S, dated 29th June 1929).

(3) There were several appeals before the Board in respect of resumptions on the Ajay, the Mayurakshi and the Bhairab. Most of the appeals were summarily rejected. The appeal cases in Lalgola and Bhagawangola on the Bhairab were hotly fought out by the appellants and in these cases a very large number of exhibits were filed. The Board in their Resolution No. 8435, S & S, dated the 18th August 1931, partly allowed the claim of the appellants in releasing the areas covered by the northerly offshoot of the Bhairab shown as *maru* Padma on the revenue survey maps; in the opinion of the Board there was no strong reason for believing that it approximated to the site of any river at the Permanent Settlement. The decision of the Board on certain points pressed by the appellants are summarised below.

(i) It was argued that the resumptions of accretions in Pargana Laskarpur was illegal in view of the fact that the said Pargana was assessed at the Permanent Settlement at a *thika* or lump *jama* without reference to any assets and that no water converted into lands within the ambit of the said Pargana could be treated as an accretion to the Permanently settled estate, under Act IX of 1847. The Board held that a *thika jama* is not a legal expression and that it may only mean that the Permanent Settlement was not fixed at so much for 1st class land, so much for 2nd class land and so much for one village and so much for another but after a rough guess at the total area then cultivated and its assets. The Board further held that if it was found that land had formed out of the bed of a river which could be presumed to have been in the same site at the Permanent Settlement that land could be assessed to revenue under Act IX of 1847, notwithstanding any executive orders passed before that date and that

orders based on views of the proper procedure and grounds for fixing extra revenue on alluvial accretion which were current before Act IX of 1847 was passed could be ignored except perhaps as regards the particular lands of which they definitely ordered release.

(ii) On the basis of Colebrooke's map, the appellants wanted to disprove the existence of the Bhairab in the site. The Board held that Colebrooke's being a professional map is entitled to great respect, but it could not conclude that the river was not in existence at Colebrooke's survey when it was in existence at Rennell's survey and up to the present day. The Board agreed with the view of the Settlement Officer that these earlier surveyors were only concerned with important navigable rivers.

(iii) The Board held that the standard of proof required by Act IX of 1847 to rebut the presumption that what was water at the Revenue Survey was also water at the Permanent Settlement is very high. The Act was a law of procedure but from this point of view it was also something more. To avoid the wholesale attempts to resume all new formations which were at one time common after the Permanent Settlement on the basis of oral and other entirely vague evidence in the interest of the public chiefly, it was laid down in that Act that resumption should be confined to areas which had accreted since the preparation of the earliest maps which could be regarded as authoritative, in other words, which had been recognised as a Revenue Survey map. The consequence was that in practice the revenue authorities lost their right to resume areas which accreted between the Permanent Settlement and the Revenue Survey which was made in the middle of the 19th century. The fact was not sufficiently taken into account when the courts decided that because the Act was a law of procedure, the *zemindars* were at liberty to prove that the Revenue Survey did not represent the state of affairs at the Permanent Settlement and that areas which could be proved to be dry land at some period nearer the Permanent Settlement must be released as being included in the

Permanent Settlement. The law as Mr. Dampier observed in 1881 was onesided and gave the *zemindars* a double chance. It is too late to dispute this view of the law and obviously from one point of view it was inequitable to assume that what was water at the Revenue Survey was also water at the Permanent Settlement. But the practical impossibility of resuming accretions between the Permanent Settlement and the Revenue Survey which has been accepted by the Settlement Officers since the ruling of the Board, dated 25th January 1886, in conjunction with the necessity of releasing accretions since the Revenue Survey if it could be proved to have been dry land before the Revenue Survey, has certainly to a large extent nullified the intentions of the legislature which passed Act IX. In order to judge whether the claim of the *zemindar* is framed on fact we have to examine, as in this case, all sorts of hand-sketches maps which it is impossible to locate with exactness on any modern map and to study a series of loosely-worded *robakaries*.

(iv) Another point that was raised was how far previous releases were binding. In 134-46 resumption proceedings of whole villages excluding two thousands of acres which had reformed after the retirement of the Padma were resumed and then released on the ground that they were reformations *in situ*. In those days the revenue authorities did not consider petty areas and minor streams. They released the whole area covered by the proceedings and sketch maps including streams then existing which had been given plot numbers and whose area had been measured. The Board held that it was obvious that the release of areas which were still water were *ultra vires* because there could be no question of resuming water in the proceedings which were being annulled. As regards resumption proceedings which went on before the passing of Act IX of 1847, the Board doubted if it should consider itself bound by arbitrary and wholesale releases. It required very definite proof as to what exact area was released.

raised on points of procedure which are not covered by the existing rules:—

(a) It was desired that omission as well as releases should be hatched on the map and hatched differently. The nature of *alamat* has been determined at the Settlement Conference.

(b) Rule 551, of the Survey and Settlement Manual, 1917, has been given interpretations which possibly might be incorporated by redrafting the rule itself. It is held by the Board (*vide* Board's Resolution No. 8026, S & S of 27th August 1930) that the limits provided for omission should be with reference not to the accreted area of the particular estate in one police-station but in all the police-stations in which the estate has lands. In Murshidabad-Birbhum this order came when all the proceedings were completed but in other districts as proceedings are completed by police-stations it will obviously be impossible to know the total accretion till all the police-stations are completed. This will mean that the proceedings must be held up and the omission under rule 551, Survey and Settlement Manual, 1917, must be determined when work in all the police-stations is over. This procedure will hold up work and the dislocation already inevitable will be aggravated. The order being of the Board must, however, necessarily be carried out.

Similarly, the Board held that a land likely to be valuable must be resumed in spite of rule 551, of the Survey and Settlement Manual, 1917. The idea of value differs. In the cases ordered to be reassessed the revenue after resumption varies between Rs. 5 to Rs. 20 in most cases. The capitalised value at 10 years' purchase will vary between Rs. 50 to Rs. 200. The expenditure on resumption and realisation will cover up the bulk if not the whole of it. When Regulation II of 1819 determined the limit of resumption at over 100 *bighas* this must have been at least one of the factors for the decision. I think it would be more business-like to put down a limit of probable revenue to determine the "value" of tiny plots like this. At any rate rule 551, of the Survey and Settlement Manual, 1917, may be given

a revised expression to convey to Diara Officer's the exact idea of the Government.

The net result was that the number of estates formed was 169 covering an area of 7,564.73 acres with an annual assessment of revenue of Rs. 20,285-1.

190. Handing over of records.—The Collector and the District Judge were given the records, maps and Mauza bundles which the rules require. The register of cases after Final Publication, of Court-fees, Accounts and recoveries as well as important files of correspondence were handed over to the Collector.

191. Financial Analysis.—As stated already the original idea was to take up the districts of Birbhum and Murshidabad as separate operations; accordingly two separate inception proposals were drawn up. The Birbhum proposal was approved of by the Government in their letter No. 2472 T.R., dated the 15th October 1920, while the Murshidabad proposal was approved of in letter No. 2726 T.R., dated the 28th October 1920. Work was started in 1921 in Block A of Birbhum and completed up to the stage of Khanapuri, while traverse was completed of the first block of the district of Murshidabad. But on account of the straitened condition of the Provincial finance work was stopped in both. The entire position was reviewed and the Government in their letter No. 6795 L.R., dated the 20th July 1922, directed that the two districts should be combined into one operation as it would economise expenditure and directed a joint programme and estimate to be submitted. A revised estimate was drawn up and forwarded through the Commissioners of Burdwan and Presidency Divisions with Director of Land Records' letter No. I/17-5054-5055, dated the 25th August 1923 and approved of by the Government in their letter No. 11131-11132, dated the 6th December 1923.

The revised estimate was in respect of an area of 3,281 square miles for the two districts. This excluded an area of 320.53 square miles in Murshidabad and 134.17 square miles in Birbhum which were previously surveyed and as such specifically omitted from the

present operation by Notifications Nos. 7534 L.R., dated the 25th August 1921 and 3564 L.R., dated the 10th April 1923. The total gross estimate was based on the average of 500 interests and 1,500 plots per square mile for the operation and came to Rs. 42,09,174. The sum of Rs. 36,80,975 of this was for settlement with a gross cost rate of Rs. 1,122 per square mile and Rs. 5,28,199 was for traverse and map reproduction.

The Inception area of 3,281 square miles after survey was actually found to be 3,256 square miles. To this was added an area of 73 square miles which was previously excluded as done by the Rajshahi Operation but subsequently taken up under Government Notification No. 14373 L.R., dated the 15th September 1927 and No. 7920 L.R., dated the 31st March 1928 and the necessity for revising the record-of-rights of this area arose during the Diara proceedings on the Bhairab and the Mayurakshi. About 3 square miles of Sonthal Parganas area, transferred to Birbhum under Government Notification No. 7043 Jur. of the 29th May 1930 was also taken up by this operation. Thus, the total area taken up came to 3,332 square miles.

The total cost on account of Settlement proper (excluding traverse and map reproduction) is Rs. 37,68,073 which gives a cost rate of Rs. 1,131 per square mile.

The costs for traverse and map reproduction as communicated by the Director of Land Records and Surveys in his letter No. I/19-3099, dated the 13th August 1930, are Rs. 3,96,805 and Rs. 1,72,034, respectively, or Rs. 5,68,839 or about Rs. 171 per square mile.

The Inception proposal was on the basis of 500 interests and 1,500 plots per square mile whereas the actual corresponding figures were 516 interests and 1,760 plots. The cost at almost every stage is definitely determined by the number of plots and interests to a square mile and as pointed out in the Hon'ble Mr. (now Sir John) Kerr's letter No. 329, dated the 11th January 1915, to the Government of India the cost rates are always to be adjusted according to the actual number of plots and interests.

The analysis below shows the respective rates :-

Branch of work.	Cost rate per sq. mile as per inception proposal.	Actual cost rate.	Cost rate adjusted to 516 interests and 1,760 plots per square mile as per Kerr's formula.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
1. Cadastral survey ..	157	158	115	In Sir John Kerr's estimate there is no formula.
2. Khanapuri ..	66	59	54	For every 50 plots more or less than 1,000 plots per sq. mile Re. 1 should be added to or subtracted from Rs. 39 per sq. mile. $39 + \frac{700}{50} = 39 + 15 = 54$ (roughly).
3. Initial recess ..	22	22	34	There is no formula in Kerr's estimate but the work apparently depends upon plots and interests per sq. mile. The cost on plot work bears a ratio to the cost of interests as 3:2 and as such Kerr's rate of Rs. 18 will be - $\frac{2}{3} \times 18 \times \frac{1760}{1000} = \frac{2}{3} \times 18 \times 2 = 34$ (approximately).
4. Bujharat ..	123	122	144	For excess of every 15 plots over 1,100 plots per sq. mile additional cost rate of Re. 1 per sq. mile and for excess of every 20 interests in excess of 400 interests per sq. mile another additional rupee is permissible, i.e., 94 plus 44 plus 6 = 144.
5. Attestation ..	115	105	135	For every 25 interests in excess of 250 interests per sq. mile Rs. 6-4 is to be added, 66 plus 69 = 135.
6. Objection under section 103A.	22	20	60	Number of objection per sq. mile $108,000/3,332 = 33$. Additional cost of Re. 1-13 per objection over 15 per sq. mile is permissible, i.e., 27 plus 33 = 60.
7. Final Janch Office work--				
(a) Janch ..	45	38	76	For Janch done at Sadar Kerr's rate is Rs. 40. As there was an increase of 106 per cent. of interests and 76 per cent. of plots the excess cost rate can easily be taken at 90 per cent. over Kerr's rate, i.e., 40 plus 90/100 of 40 or 36 = 76.
(b) Statistics ..	16	20	18	Kerr's rate is Rs. 10. Rs. 8 can be added on the above principle, i.e., 10 plus 8 or 18.
(c) 16" maps ..	9	12	11	Varies at number of plots per sq. mile—6 plus $76/100 \times 6 = 6$ plus 5 or 11.
(d) Topo maps ..	3	2	2	Kerr's rate is Rs. 2. No formula.
(e) Final records including printing and final check.	115	120	107	In printing for every 5 interests more than 250 per sq. mile Re. 1 is to be added, i.e., 54 plus 53 or 107.
				N.B.—There is no item of work known as final checking in Kerr's estimate.
8. Computation and recovery	38	40	55	There is no formula by Kerr but the cost varies with the number of interests. The permissible rate can easily be taken as 90 per cent. in excess as in 7 (a).
9. Case work ..	36	50	33	In Kerr's proposal there is no workable formula. Institution of cases varies as the number of interests and therefore Kerr's cost rate may be increased by 106 per cent. 16 plus $106/100 \times 16$ or 17 = 33.

Branch of work.	Cost rate per sq. mile as per inception proposal.	Actual cost rate.	Cost rate adjusted to 516 interests and 1,760 plots per square mile as per Kerr's formula.	Remarks
1	2	3	4	
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
10. Diara and Jamabandi ..	6	24	..	There is no mention of this in Kerr's estimate. The rate is put down as per inception proposal, i.e., Rs. 6.
11. Supervision ..	202	192	268	In Kerr's estimate there is no formula but excess rate can be put down on the basis of excess interests and plots 179 plus $177\frac{1}{2}$ or 179 plus 89 = 268.
12. Supplies and Services (Contingencies)—				
(a) Ordinary ..	69	69	97	In Kerr's estimate there is no formula but, as above, 50 per cent. excess over Kerr's rate can be taken— $65 + 32\frac{1}{2} = 65$ plus 32 = 97.
(b) Press ..	47	47	45	Press expenditure increases directly as the number of interests i.e., by Kerr's formula $22 + \frac{100}{100} \times 22 = 22$ plus 23 = 45.
(c) Binding ..	15	15	16	By Kerr's formula :— $10 + \frac{100}{100} \times 10 = 10$ plus 10 = 20 but as at present 4 copies are bound instead of 5 the reasonable rate would be $\frac{4}{5}$ ths of 20 or 16.
13. Director of Land Records' Control.	16	16	15	No formula in Kerr's estimate.
Total cost rate for settlement proper.	1,122	1,131	1,291	
Traverse ..	106	120	55	} No formula in Kerr's estimate. Evidently cost rate not affected by number of plots and interests per sq. mile.
Map reproduction ..	55	52	21	
Total ..	161	172	76	

Thus it will be seen that under Settlement proper the actual cost rate is higher than that of the inception rate by only Rs. 9 (nine) per square mile whereas on Sir John Kerr's basis of adjustment on the number of plots and interests there is a saving of Rs. 160 per square mile.

Under Traverse and map reproduction the excess is of Rs. 11 (rupees eleven) per square mile over the inception rate. Sir John Kerr laid down no formula for adjustment here. It must, however, be obvious that the cost of traverse must vary with the nature of the area to be traversed and the cost on the map reproduction, on the nature and number of plots as well as of interests. Over and above these certain particular reasons contributed to the increase which are noted below.

The excess in (i) direct cost is Rs. 14,959, (ii) control is Rs. 3,867, (iii) indirect charge is Rs. 30,922.

The excess on account of the cost under (i) is due to extra traverse in the Diara area which was not included in the Inception proposal and to the Comparative maps prepared for all the rivers in which diara resumption proceedings were drawn up.

There was an under-estimate of Rs. 3,867 in the Inception proposal for the share of control which was actually incurred in 1920-21.

Out of the total excess of Rs. 30,922 on account of the indirect charge a sum of Rs. 22,351 represents the rental charges of the survey office building. This is due to the fact that prior to

1923 the Office was located in a hired building at a monthly rental of Rs. 1,200 and the rent was treated as direct cost. Since the removal of the Survey Office to the Government building at Alipore in 1923 the share of rent for the Survey Office has been fixed at Rs. 3,000 and the entire amount has been treated as indirect cost.

Increase of electric current charge and municipal tax have also contributed to the excess on this account. Besides all these factors, leave and pension contribution at higher rates due to higher pay since drawn by officers and staff have also increased the cost. Moreover the whole basis of calculation adopted in the inception proposals has considerably altered from the year 1922 and still more so from the year 1915 when the Hon'ble Sir John Kerr took the data on the basis of which he drafted his estimate. The scale of pay of every branch of the services has gone up including even that of menials while the expenditure of contingencies has risen by about 50 per cent. In the inception proposal printing was proposed to be done on Azurelaid and bleached papers. Only a portion of records of Block A was printed on these papers. It was subsequently decided by the Government that a more durable material should be used and the rest of the printing was done on 75 per cent. rag paper which was introduced under directions conveyed in letter No. L/32-2468, dated the 16th February 1925, from the Director of Land Records, Bengal. The actual cost on press papers in consequence was Rs. 1,16,507 against the inception estimate of Rs. 80,000. The new type of paper introduced for printing alone thus accounts for an additional expenditure of Rs. 36,507. Considering all these the Settlement has reasons to claim that throughout it has economised to the utmost extent.

In conclusion it will appear that as against the gross estimated settlement cost in the inception proposal of Rs. 36,80,975 the actual cost has been Rs. 37,68,073. This apparent excess in expenditure of about Rs. 87,098 may be examined.

(1) The area contemplated to be taken up was 3,281 square miles while the area actually taken up was 3,332 square miles or an excess of 51 square miles had to be taken up. At the gross cost rate of Rs. 1,122 per square mile of the

inception proposal this accounts for Rs. 57,222 in expenditure.

(2) As pointed out before the substitution of rag paper subsequently introduced for the ordinary paper for printing as was contemplated in the inception proposal accounts for an addition of Rs. 36,507.

Thus, these two items alone not contemplated by or included in the estimate of the inception proposal account for Rs. 93,729 as against Rs. 87,098 the excess over the estimate in the inception. To that has to be added the increased average cost in the pay of all Gazetted officers and Kanungos on time scale and the increase in average of the pay of ministerial officers and menials who were given time-scale of pay not contemplated in the inception proposal.

When with all these one remembers that there was an excess of about 9 lakhs of plots to deal with this Settlement will be excused if it claims that credit for economy due to constant and continuous supervision which is its due.

Each item of cost rate has been compared with the corresponding rates in the inception proposal and calculated according to Sir John Kerr's formula. I think as long time has elapsed since the latter was drawn up and a variety of changes has been brought into being it is time that an up-to-date system of working out cost rates be evolved and if possible embodied in the Settlement Manual. That should also incidentally examine if the cost rates could not be lowered if rag papers were necessary, if the cost on bujharat might not be reduced by substitution of *Sardar Amins* under certain conditions, and if constant changes of officers with incidental transfer travelling allowances and loss of standard could not be mitigated. This last has a special importance. Settlement work depends largely on familiarity with local conditions, on a knowledge of the people in the interior. Changes specially of Gazetted officers, unless under exceptional circumstances, not only add to the cost but affect adversely the quality of work.

192. **Merits of officers.**—In conclusion I must leave on record my very sincere thanks to all the officers of all the services who worked so ungrudgingly in the operation. The Settlement work puts an undue amount of strain on the staff. Scarcely any holiday or even a

Sunday is observed. The programme fixed with an idea to minimise cost leaves little margin for slackening or leisure. What this programme often means, as an example, I quote from paragraph 22 of the Annual Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in Bengal (1926-27) :—

“The total number of plots in the Cadastral area was 16 lakhs which with two lakhs in Nanoor made a total for bujharat of 18 lakhs. This was the figure estimated by the Settlement Officer before the beginning of the season and turned out to be very accurate. Such a programme had never been attempted by any Settlement Officer before, and I thought that it would be necessary to leave out a part of the area and constitute a separate block to be done the following year. The Settlement Officer was however confident that he could tackle the whole of it and he has proved to be right. Success was due entirely to the care and efficiency with which he made his arrangements, his untiring personal supervision of the work and the keenness with which he inspired all his staff.”

The credit was entirely of the Field staff though it did mean a great strain on them. An operation like this, which is more or less like running an army, is impossible without hearty co-operation between all grades of officers and the officers and the public. Continuous shifting of places of residence in moving the work from place to place away from families puts a very heavy strain on one's physical and mental resources. The position is aggravated when the climate is unhealthy as in certain tracts of this district it unquestionably was. Either there is Malaria just in the season when work starts and there is seldom any doctor about and hardly even the provision for requisite diet. Often there is cholera in the interior and the people much more a stranger as one of the staff of the Settlement must be hardly has the sense of security of a supply of good drinking water. Hitherto there was more of hope of betterment of prospects but unfortunately with the closing of the Settlement programme of the Province and for various other causes it is no longer there. Still it is a pleasure to record that there was no noticeable case of defection among the higher staff both Gazetted and non-Gazetted. Of the Indian Civil Service Mr. A. H. Kemm, I.C.S., who had started the work as

Settlement Officer of Nadia left at the end of the first Field Season. There were two Assistants who worked as Charge Officers—Late Mr. B. E. J. Burge, I.C.S., and Mr. K. A. L. Hill, I.C.S. The quiet human sympathy with which Mr. Burge worked endeared him to all, while his efficiency as an officer left nothing to be desired. Personally to me he had been a source of strength the value of which I can hardly over-estimate. His tragic end was a rude shock to all in the Department specially to those in Murshidabad-Birbhum Settlement where he started acquiring that intimate knowledge of rural life which held out such high promise of being effectively utilised by the Administration. Mr. K. A. L. Hill, I.C.S., held charge of Cadastral and Attestation blocks and went through 103A objections. In all these he displayed great enthusiasm and his grasp of principles combined with untiring energy made him throughout a very valuable collaborator. It was a satisfaction to this Settlement to feel that both these officers went direct from there as Settlement Officers elsewhere.

Of Deputy Collectors Babu Hiralal Sen worked as Assistant Settlement Officer, Headquarters and as Charge Officer, Cadastral and Attestation Blocks. To his large experience of details and indefatigable energy one could always turn. Of the camp officers Babu Sailendra Nath Mitter easily distinguished himself for quiet, thorough and sound work.

Of Sub-Deputy Collectors Babu Jatin-dra Mohan Chatterji and Babu Sasadhar Das Gupta were easily the best. Both of them worked in camp and then one succeeded the other as Assistant Settlement Officer at Headquarters. Both were marked for great devotion to duty, thorough and sound work. No Settlement Officer had better co-adjustors than I had in them. It is a satisfaction to the Department and greater personal satisfaction to me that both got their very deserved promotion to Deputy Collectorship.

The other officers who worked with distinction were Babu Kshitish Chandra Barman, Babu Phanindra Kumar Banerji, Maulvi Sudrul Ola, Babu Probbhat Chandra Sen, Maulvi Shamsul Abedin, Sub-Deputy Collectors.

Of the Kanungos the work was generally satisfactory. But quite a number of them are all getting on in years

for out and out field work. The promotions are fewer now than in the old Bakarganj days. The monotony of occupation and lack of more stimulating prospects do appear to have some effect on them. But still a considerable number is maintaining a high level of efficiency. In this Settlement the work of Babu Dwijendra Kumar Mukharji, of Babu Upendra Nath Biswas, of Babu Manindra Nath Banerji, of Maulvi Muzaffar Ahmad, of Maulvi Ali Akbar and of Maulvi Ahad Ali Khan was markedly good. All of them got their promotions to Sub-Deputy Collectorship while working in this Settlement or immediately after. Others who did thoroughly good work that yet remains to be recognised include Babu Chanchala Charan Guha Thakurta, Babu Narayan Chandra Putatunda, Babu Prafulla Chandra Ghosh and Babu Indubhusan Das Gupta. Maulvi Mograb Ali, another good Kānūngo, got a permanent appointment in the Collectorate of Pabna.

To Babu Sailes Chandra Ghosh, Technical Adviser, this Settlement is indebted for thoroughly good work as regards maps both in the Field and in the Drawing Section. He is one of those people who combine with efficiency an optimistic outlook which is such a great asset in carrying through heavy programme of work.

Finally, I must put on record my very deep gratitude to Mr. A. K. Jameson,

I.C.S., the Director of Land Records and Surveys, Bengal. He had been in charge of the Department for the greater part of the time the operation in this district was conducted. I must put on record that during the last 33 years of my service I could not meet another officer whose unfailing courtesy, high official rectitude, intellectual keenness, breadth of outlook in dealing with all matters that came to him and whose ever ready spirit of helpfulness to all who came in contact with him could equal his. The severance of his connection with the administration of the province must have come as a blow to those who had the privilege to work with him. If this operation is a success I should think that the credit is mainly due to his personality and to the spirit that he had inspired.

To his successors Khan Bahadur M. Abdul Momen, Mr. L. R. Fawcus, I.C.S., Major J. B. Kindersley, I.C.S., are due my very sincere thanks and thanks of this Settlement for watching with interest the concluding stages of the work and for the great help rendered in solving all those tedious questions which accumulate towards the end.

To the successive Collectors are due the thanks for rendering help whenever asked for and uniform courtesy throughout.

APPENDICES,

APPENDIX

Milan Khasra (Area Statement),

Name of police-station.	Area sown.							Current fallow.	Culturable area other than current fallow.	
	Bhadol.	Aghani.	Rabi.	Others, e.g., mango, tea, pau, man- tain, guavas, etc.	Total.	Dofasli.	Net.		Old fallow.	Groves not fruit bear- ing and bamboos.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		8	9
	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.
Subdivision Berhampore (Sadar).										
1. Berhampore (town.) ..	19,906-65	14,858-66	27,699-63	6,685-87	69,150-81	18,213-93	50,936-88	3,838-68	6,488-55	1,150-58
2. Naoda ..	13,430-04	26,849-73	33,085-45	1,624-26	74,089-48	30,000-16	44,089-32	1,567-12	2,948-20	618-16
3. Domkal ..	35,901-16	6,399-17	41,603-17	2,923-74	86,827-24	29,471-27	57,355-97	3,980-74	3,481-77	780-45
4. Hariharpara ..	22,630-88	17,589-93	30,207-25	2,858-91	73,286-97	26,358-56	46,928-41	2,284-04	4,303-95	741-82
5. Beldanga ..	15,792-93	37,274-04	32,614-07	7,178-01	92,889-05	23,858-17	69,030-88	2,983-83	2,748-73	1,111-51
6. Jalangi ..	24,254-11	9,328-05	20,227-09	1,903-90	55,713-15	19,190-81	36,522-34	2,721-73	984-60	492-64
Total ..	131,915-77	112,299-58	185,466-66	23,174-69	452,856-70	147,092-90	305,763-80	17,376-14	20,955-80	4,896-16
Subdivision Lalgola.										
1. Bhagawangola ..	37,390-47	3,156-23	35,268-70	4,710-91	80,526-31	27,151-50	53,374-81	2,242-51	4,542-75	1,284-01
2. Lalgola ..	21,166-20	1,203-44	22,810-34	3,597-26	48,777-24	17,251-82	31,525-42	1,815-99	4,030-38	1,277-70
3. Raninagar ..	36,736-92	2,105-25	43,743-51	3,526-61	86,112-29	29,337-78	56,774-51	3,649-71	3,899-76	1,288-92
4. Jaganj ..	1,537-00	1,466-26	2,666-22	1,748-86	7,418-34	1,269-48	6,148-86	793-95	2,202-32	441-56
5. Murshidabad ..	11,664-48	1,188-08	14,452-69	6,339-28	33,644-53	9,757-24	23,887-29	2,563-01	3,771-32	933-44
6. Nabagram ..	2,792-70	43,092-16	6,269-86	1,230-76	53,385-48	2,043-18	51,342-30	3,114-21	7,633-80	304-50
Total ..	111,287-77	52,211-42	125,211-32	21,153-68	309,864-19	86,811-00	223,053-19	14,179-38	26,080-53	5,530-13
Subdivision Jangipur.										
1. Samserganj ..	16,581-50	12,112-24	28,232-99	3,134-40	60,061-13	19,819-04	40,242-09	1,498-69	3,069-62	1,377-03
2. Itagunathaganj ..	15,830-82	15,116-60	25,100-63	2,958-23	59,006-28	13,046-55	45,959-73	3,435-17	2,786-58	929-67
3. Suti ..	7,812-46	11,625-96	36,331-69	1,693-01	57,463-15	10,253-55	47,209-60	1,918-31	2,543-65	620-22
4. Sagardighi ..	8,920-05	45,825-55	8,903-92	1,257-90	64,907-42	4,074-14	60,833-28	3,752-86	6,497-70	301-48
Total ..	49,144-83	84,680-35	98,569-23	9,043-57	231,437-98	47,193-28	184,244-70	10,005-03	14,897-55	3,228-40
Subdivision Kandl.										
1. Kandl ..	2,856-83	32,967-20	6,636-35	1,903-69	44,364-07	3,094-59	41,269-48	2,243-30	4,675-80	447-47
2. Bharatpur ..	3,604-47	56,497-33	10,761-40	1,130-41	71,993-61	6,906-80	65,086-81	2,186-47	3,505-93	230-25
3. Burwan ..	8,136-14	39,773-90	15,093-79	1,605-53	64,609-36	13,015-55	51,593-81	1,295-20	3,547-59	322-82
4. Khargram ..	1,990-44	51,806-41	8,947-75	1,641-27	64,385-87	5,626-27	58,759-60	2,321-76	2,970-33	386-89
Total ..	16,587-88	180,954-84	41,439-29	6,280-90	245,262-91	27,743-21	217,519-70	8,046-73	14,699-74	1,387-43
Abstract of District Murshidabad.										
District Total ..	308,936-25 or 482-71 Square miles.	430,146-19 or 672-10 Square miles.	450,686-60 or 704-20 Square miles.	59,652-84 or 93-21 Square miles.	1,249,421-78 or 1,952-22 Square miles.	308,840-39 or 482-56 Square miles.	940,581-39 or 1,489-66 Square miles.	49,607-28 or 77-51 Square miles.	76,933-62 or 119-74 Square miles.	15,041-12 or 23-50 Square miles.

IV.

District Murchidabad.

Culturable area other than current fallow.			Area not available for cultivation.				Total uncultivated, columns 9, 14 and 18.	Total area, columns 8 and 19.	Irrigated area.
Culturable jungles.	Other kinds.	Total.	House-sites.	Water.	Other kinds.	Total.			
12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.
252-44	4,054-99	11,946-56	2,346-02	6,695-07	4,695-68	13,737-37	20,522-61	80,459-49	1,243-99
72-11	1,207-36	4,845-83	1,386-71	2,606-12	1,469-93	5,462-76	11,875-71	56,865-03	..
214-52	2,522-97	6,999-71	2,152-19	2,116-54	2,561-67	6,830-40	17,810-85	75,166-82	..
233-34	2,186-68	7,465-79	7,519-70	2,389-60	1,841-59	5,750-89	15,500-72	62,429-13	..
58-26	1,556-06	5,474-56	2,717-68	6,098-73	5,410-77	14,227-18	22,685-57	91,716-45	856-49
..	1,659-33	3,136-57	1,772-83	1,261-80	3,739-85	6,716-48	12,574-78	49,097-12	..
830-67	13,187-39	39,869-02	11,895-73	71,109-86	19,719-49	52,725-08	109,970-24	415,734-04	2,100-48
314-16	3,153-08	9,294-00	1,880-15	2,042-77	2,860-56	6,783-48	18,319-99	71,094-80	..
294-27	1,700-02	7,212-37	1,699-94	2,979-28	5,439-22	10,028-44	19,056-80	50,582-22	..
229-79	2,359-15	7,777-02	2,517-08	3,619-65	4,623-87	10,761-80	22,189-13	78,963-64	..
128-14	346-41	3,118-63	449-89	1,231-44	882-92	2,564-25	6,470-83	12,625-69	280-58
146-40	1,372-17	6,223-33	1,196-85	2,396-18	2,245-91	5,838-94	14,625-28	38,512-57	..
15-59	3,583-14	11,537-93	1,197-78	6,688-55	1,974-91	9,771-24	24,422-48	75,764-78	17,328-40
1,038-35	12,513-97	45,162-98	8,762-59	18,958-17	18,027-39	45,748-15	105,090-51	328,143-70	17,608-98
11-58	2,032-29	6,490-52	1,810-86	2,473-81	4,285-99	8,570-66	16,559-87	56,891-96	353-61
78-42	2,078-51	5,873-21	1,862-61	5,322-26	2,832-17	10,037-04	19,345-42	65,395-15	1,415-37
12-80	2,243-39	5,429-06	1,224-85	3,104-94	7,194-69	11,524-48	18,262-85	65,472-45	779-02
296-52	2,429-47	9,525-17	1,364-16	6,894-51	2,941-93	11,290-60	24,478-63	85,311-91	9,523-26
309-32	8,783-69	27,308-90	6,262-48	17,795-52	17,274-78	41,332-78	78,646-77	272,891-47	12,071-26
14-11	1,913-96	7,051-43	1,383-03	1,884-59	2,125-64	8,393-26	17,687-99	58,957-47	21,007-19
28-58	2,214-99	5,979-75	1,562-92	6,887-40	2,052-61	10,502-93	18,669-15	84,565-96	47,458-71
73-15	1,841-61	5,785-17	1,256-57	7,100-99	1,897-86	10,254-52	17,334-89	68,928-70	35,934-46
82-36	2,655-49	6,095-07	1,332-06	7,993-23	1,803-05	11,128-54	19,545-17	78,304-77	30,863-11
198-20	8,626-05	24,911-43	5,534-58	26,865-31	7,879-16	40,279-05	73,237-20	290,756-90	135,263-47
2,466-54 or 3-85 Square miles.	43,111-10 or 67-36 Square miles.	137,252-38 or 214-45 Square miles.	32,455-38 or 50-71 Square miles.	84,728-86 or 132-39 Square miles.	62,900-82 or 98-28 Square miles.	1,80,085-06 or 281-38 Square miles.	366,944-72 or 573-34 Square miles.	1,307,528-11 or 2,043-00 Square miles.	167,044-19 or 261-00 Square miles.

APPENDIX

Milan Khasra (Area Statement).

Name of police-station.	Irrigated area and how irrigated.					Details of irrigated area as regards crops.				
	Irrigated from wells.	Irrigated from Government canals.	Irrigated from private canals.	Irrigated from tanks and <i>nahars</i> .	Irrigated from other sources.	Rice.	Wheat.	Barley.	Jowar.	Bajra.
	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.
Subdivision Berhampore (Sadar).										
1. Berhampore (town.)	34.02	..	..	1,185.00	24.97	1,180.00	.61	..	..	..
2. Naoda ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3. Domkal ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4. Hartharpara ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5. Beldanga ..	..	..	162.49	440.41	253.50	456.42	48.29	18.56	3.45	..
6. Jalangi ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total ..	34.02	..	162.49	1,625.41	278.56	1,645.42	48.90	18.56	3.45	..
Subdivision Lalbagh.										
1. Bhagawangola	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. Lalgola ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3. Raninagar ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4. Jaganj ..	..	..	..	278.61	1.97	280.58	..	..	..	..
5. Murshidabad	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6. Nabagram ..	28.65	43.03	717.95	15,745.57	793.20	15,842.12	215.22	..	..	..
Total ..	28.65	43.03	717.95	16,024.18	795.17	16,122.70	215.22	..	..	..
Subdivision Jangipur.										
1. Samserganj ..	..	..	..	321.55	32.06	345.59	..	..	..	..
2. Raghunathganj	..	..	..	1,415.17	..	1,406.80	..	..	..	..
3. Suti ..	..	..	..	779.02	..	677.67	..	.73	..	..
4. Sagardighi ..	31.84	2.36	8.90	9,431.43	53.73	9,462.47	5.72	..	..	..
Total ..	31.84	2.36	4.10	11,947.17	85.79	11,892.53	5.72	.73	..	..
Subdivision Kandi.										
1. Kandi ..	18.68	80.26	587.43	15,453.25	4,858.57	17,863.06	519.28	.05	..	..
2. Bharatpur ..	1.56	1,023.53	406.01	41,389.77	4,037.84	44,609.69	281.24	.30	..	..
3. Burwan ..	..	36.59	410.77	28,098.73	7,388.37	33,039.80	240.55	..	..	..
4. Khargram ..	5.15	48.51	673.30	26,062.64	4,073.51	27,729.09	573.01	3.32	..	..
Total ..	25.39	1,107.86	2,077.51	111,004.39	20,958.29	123,241.64	1,614.68	3.67	..	..
Abstract of District Murshidabad.										
District Total ..	119.90	1,243.28	2,882.05	140,601.15	22,117.81	152,902.29	1,883.92	22.96	3.45	..

IV.

District Murshidabad.

Details of irrigated area as regards crops.						Number of wells.		Area in possession of Bhagdars.	Number of trees producing lac.	Area of fallow land with trees producing lac.	Remarks.
Maize.	Other cereals and pulses.	Sugarcane.	Other food-crops.	Cotton.	Other non-food-crops.	Masonry.	Earthen.				
32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43
A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.			A. D.		A. D.	A. D.
..	47.79	..	4.47	..	2.12	214	370	3,886.18	3,109	98.00	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	23	114	900.60	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	157	433	2,089.17	112	2.22	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	26	857	3,411.98	1,295	50.31	..
..	142.83	47	40.51	..	136.06	145	321	2,713.78	19	..	..
..
..	190.62	47	53.98	..	139.08	565	2,095	13,001.71	4,535	150.53	..
..
..	..	..	..	..	..	89	550	586.81	4,266	369.95	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	11	236	603.82	6,303	200.13	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	101	497	1,703.67	403	23.91	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	219	96	540.68	4,389	370.28	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	250	376	944.77	16,897	577.59	..
..	657.00	62.16	294.52	..	257.38	6	1	133.76	219	10.89	..
..	657.00	62.16	294.52	..	257.38	676	1,756	4,513.51	32,477	1,552.75	..
..
..	7.77	..	25	..	..	52	190	360.64	103,743	1,155.65	..
..	6.81	..	1.76	..	..	33	381	1,338.37	11,023	218.98	..
..	93.41	..	7.21	..	..	13	224	1,236.90	80,748	671.58	..
..	25.31	2.23	26.17	..	1.36	15	62	3,353.52	3,286	146.81	..
..	133.30	2.23	35.39	..	1.36	113	857	6,289.43	198,800	2,193.02	..
..
..	936.09	237.76	533.04	..	917.01	7	4	11.87	..	..	..
..	933.54	598.24	724.04	..	316.66	3	1	108.52	240	..	..
..	801.60	710.94	617.16	..	524.4P	4	..	25.48	530	8.06	..
..	641.64	394.41	641.36	..	880.28	1	1	108.40	950	16.41	..
..	3,312.87	1,936.35	2,515.60	..	2,639.26	15	6	254.27	1,720	24.47	..
..
..	4,293.79	2,001.21	2,899.49	..	3,037.08	1,369	4,714	24,058.92	237,532	3,920.77	..

APPENDIX

Jinewar (Crop Statement),

Name of police-station.	Cereals and pulses.							
	Rice.			Wheat.	Barley.	Cumha or Bajra.	Ragi or Marua.	Maize.
	Aus.	Aman.	Boro.					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.
Subdivision Berhampore (Sadar).								
1. Berhampore (Town)	18,929.72	14,519.90	125.60	2,963.74	771.03	20	..	114.85
2. Naoda ..	12,744.60	20,797.91	18	7,436.77	653.71	..	34	07
3. Domkal ..	33,778.80	6,310.20	228.79	5,629.69	669.48	1.16	..	54.50
4. Hariharpara ..	21,366.24	17,189.72	..	2,626.76	467.03	24	..	5.72
5. Beldanga ..	14,579.01	37,069.95	182.02	2,004.78	926.22	13.24	..	55.26
6. Jalangi ..	21,902.86	9,146.68	63.75	1,220.20	239.13	5.12	..	..
Total ..	123,301.23	111,034.36	600.34	21,881.94	3,726.60	19.06	34	230.40
Subdivision Lalbagh.								
1. Bhagawangola ..	34,922.22	3,106.13	2.94	3,642.26	1,386.86	2.54	..	6.00
2. Lalgola ..	19,396.13	1,200.84	..	1,294.84	3,280.60	16.91	20	..
3. Raninagar ..	34,478.73	1,931.97	1.70	6,202.74	1,336.29	..	..	9.01
4. Jaganj ..	1,408.40	1,465.88	..	50.66	217.10	17	..	47.57
5. Murshidabad ..	11,040.72	1,168.49	16.47	814.95	842.69	3.18	..	84.90
6. Nabagram ..	2,167.55	42,929.97	477.20	597.10	45.52	19	32	147.50
Total ..	102,813.75	51,803.28	498.40	12,602.55	7,109.06	22.90	52	294.98
Subdivision Jangipur.								
1. Samserganj ..	15,467.88	11,853.61	..	1,895.85	3,848.35	476.84	6.12	76.83
2. Raghunathganj ..	15,061.04	15,062.57	3.99	2,341.44	3,833.44	14.44	3.46	3.94
3. Suti ..	7,427.20	11,514.10	239.72	4,362.01	3,462.67	245.38	57	..
4. Sagardighi ..	8,651.29	45,726.76	78.23	471.32	739.49	5.47	..	155.38
Total ..	46,607.41	84,157.04	321.94	9,070.62	11,883.95	742.13	10.15	236.15
Subdivision Kandi.								
1. Kandi ..	1,943.81	32,596.57	26.49	1,408.37	62.90	..	..	20.47
2. Bharatpur ..	3,487.87	55,616.99	269.86	1,188.85	57.87	..	..	..
3. Burwan ..	8,043.36	38,936.34	168.16	1,110.00	23.97	..	..	..
4. Khargram ..	755.31	51,287.08	1,328.12	567.72	15.85	95	..	..
Total ..	14,230.35	178,436.98	1,792.63	4,274.94	160.59	95	..	20.47
Abstract of District Murshidabad.								
District Total ..	286,952.74 or 448.36 Sq. miles.	425,431.66 or 664.75 Sq. miles.	3,213.31 or 5.02 Sq. miles.	47,830.05 or 74.73 Sq. miles.	22,880.20 or 35.75 Sq. miles.	786.03 or 1.23 Sq. miles.	11.01	782.06 or 1.22 Sq. miles.

District Murshidabad.

Cereals and pulses.			Oil-seeds.					Condiments and spices.	Sugar.	
Jowar.	Gram. (Pulse).	Other food grains including pulses.	Linseed.	Sesamum. (Til or jingih).	Rape and mustard.	Groundnut.	Others.		Sugarcane.	Others.
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.
..	10,638-37	5,759-29	3,926-99	171-66	1,784-50	..	205-07	258-53	1,09-25	229-48
..	4,484-67	13,913-80	2,889-31	77-50	3,360-95	..	12-25	106-09	51-53	29
..	14,440-85	11,330-88	3,681-85	112-84	781-53	..	788-04	2,296-07	88-97	..
..	10,567-14	8,466-79	5,620-46	189-95	981-75	..	40-91	693-16	400-21	..
..	7,928-76	8,405-46	7,976-35	170-69	1,773-61	..	48-32	134-44	196-10	7-99
..	9,045-51	6,933-53	1-96	..	695-96	..	1,279-56	498-31	181-37	..
..	57,105-30	54,809-75	24,096-02	722-64	9,378-30	..	2,374-15	3,986-60	1,027-43	237-76
..	9,494-27	13,913-70	1,136-26	95-49	3,304-68	12-70	298-41	472-14	50-10	..
..	6,276-47	8,167-95	1,247-41	333-79	1,230-03	..	291-91	314-06	2-60	..
..	13,665-36	12,180-59	3,940-62	154-49	1,692-18	32	262-05	1,607-76	173-28	..
..	1,213-61	385-18	134-75	14-34	418-48	..	2-55	54-44	38	..
..	6,626-56	2,984-15	1,562-57	29-01	1,319-92	47-84	1-09	58-81	19-59	..
..	1,951-07	1,557-76	905-36	196-37	165-79	40	87	49-03	161-58	..
..	39,227-34	39,189-33	8,926-97	823-49	8,131-08	61-26	856-88	2,646-24	407-53	..
..	5,063-87	13,141-60	503-83	81-87	903-42	57	204-49	405-50	169-54	88-42
..	5,682-34	9,082-08	811-96	423-15	1,343-14	89	35-97	876-86	53-68	35
..	5,333-03	18,819-02	731-82	27-08	2,114-54	6-35	68-55	237-10	110-92	23
6-48	1,491-16	3,707-35	376-37	316-40	501-28	..	40-70	192-89	98-79	..
6-48	17,571-30	44,750-05	2,423-98	848-59	4,862-38	7-81	349-71	1,712-35	432-93	80-00
..	1,846-71	1,340-01	659-71	404-34	133-88	..	97-94	75-35	369-62	81
..	2,417-88	4,193-28	861-45	541-20	90-80	32	39-53	194-30	712-19	78-13
..	4,455-20	5,855-24	1,305-09	610-84	116-42	..	47-20	263-14	837-09	..
..	1,694-78	4,008-90	507-96	185-78	40-34	..	9-28	116-02	518-24	..
..	10,414-57	15,397-52	3,334-21	1,742-16	381-44	32	193-95	618-81	2,437-14	78-94
6-48	124,318-51 or 194-25 Sq. miles.	154,146-65 or 240-85 Sq. miles.	38,782-08 or 80-60 Sq. miles.	4,136-88 or 6-48 Sq. miles.	22,763-20 or 35-65 Sq. miles.	69-39	3,774-69 or 5-90 Sq. miles.	8,994-00 or 14-05 Sq. miles.	4,305-03 or 6-72 Sq. miles.	406-70 or 63 Sq. miles.

APPENDIX

Jinswar (Crop Statement),

Name of police-station.	Fibres.				Dyes.		Drugs and narcotics.		
	Cotton.	Hemp (Sunu).	Jute.	Others.	Indigo.	Others.	Tea.	Tobacco.	Cinchona.
	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.
Subdivision Berhampore (Sadar).									
1. Berhampore (Town) ..	·03	·73	295·93	..	..	..	..	8·07	..
2. Naoda ..	..	..	380·10	16·15	..	..	..	36·25	..
3. Domkal ..	..	·71	918·20	..	..	..	..	152·84	..
4. Hartharpara ..	..	..	985·15	..	..	..	..	104·28	..
5. Beldanga ..	..	55·19	756·16	..	..	..	..	14·05	..
6. Jalangi ..	..	..	2,351·25	..	..	..	..	93·51	..
Total ..	·03	56·63	5,686·79	16·15	..	..	..	409·90	..
Subdivision Lalbagh.									
1. Bhagawangola ..	..	..	3,044·49	·17	..	..	..	214·01	..
2. Lalgola ..	..	..	1,753·06	..	..	3·64	..	112·33	..
3. Raninagar ..	..	..	1,364·87	..	2·27	8·33	..	303·43	..
4. Jhaganj ..	..	..	52·63	..	..	..	..	8·62	..
5. Murshidabad ..	..	..	237·43	24·44	..	..	..	2·49	..
6. Nabagram ..	·61	4·02	428·69	1·39	..	..	..	5·14	..
Total ..	·61	4·02	6,881·17	26·00	2·27	6·97	..	646·02	..
Subdivision Jangipur.									
1. Samserganj ..	·67	68·96	855·25	50·58	13·03	..	..	94·19	..
2. Raghunathganj ..	..	..	754·49	2·74	..	57·77	..	66·90	..
3. Suti ..	·71	58·56	180·75	37·68	8·23	..	..	59·67	..
4. Sugardighi ..	..	·23	80·08	1·52	..	3·47	..	56·08	..
Total ..	1·38	127·75	1,870·57	92·52	21·26	61·24	..	276·84	..
Subdivision Kandi.									
1. Kandi" ..	·20	20·20	138·89	7·69	..	..	..	4·48	..
2. Bharatpur ..	·02	7·65	33·43	26·51	..	..	..	8·73	..
3. Burwan ..	·47	16·10	20·55	12·82	..	..	..	7·44	..
4. Khargram ..	1·09	22·54	77·32	12·86	..	..	..	2·30	..
Total ..	1·78	66·49	270·19	59·88	..	..	..	22·95	..
Abstract of District Murshidabad.									
District Total ..	3·80	254·89 or 40 Sq. miles.	14,708·72 or 22·89 Sq. miles.	194·55 or 30 Sq. miles.	24·23	68·21	..	1,355·71 or 2·12 Sq. miles.	..

District Murshidabad.

Drugs and narcotics.			Fodder crops (including Jowar and Karat.)	Fruits and vegetables (including root crops).			Miscellaneous crops.		Total.	Area sown more than once.	Net area sown.	Remarks.
Indian hemp. (Ganja.)	Betel.	Others.		Fruits.	Potato.	Others.	Non- food.	Food.				
30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42
A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	
..	47-26	17-58	1,402-80	3,545-47	90-06	2,070-75	99-14	998-81	69,150-84	18,213-93	50,936-88	
..	..	..	343-79	1,318-49	8-46	305-02	50-50	75	74,989-48	30,000-16	44,989-32	
..	1-21	29-02	1,897-04	2,673-06	363-01	219-43	369-22	9-25	86,827-24	29,471-27	57,355-97	
..	37	..	680-58	2,166-59	24-43	602-54	55-93	51-02	73,286-97	26,358-56	46,928-41	
..	31-29	188-61	3,039-18	1,106-41	360-13	2,136-88	14	3,667-91	92,889-05	23,858-17	69,030-88	
..	..	126-24	..	1,774-44	99	4-62	98-47	49-69	55,713-15	19,190-81	36,522-34	
..	80-13	361-45	7,423-99	12,614-46	847-08	5,345-24	673-40	4,777-43	452,856-70	147,092-90	305,763-80	
..	50	105-87	1,273-00	2,693-48	13-36	1,775-62	42-55	116-56	80,526-31	27,151-50	53,374-81	
..	..	73-96	106-57	861-65	60-64	2,167-39	01	494-25	48,777-24	17,251-82	31,525-42	
..	11-32	4-36	1,699-03	2,357-33	1,339-24	1,140-48	90-85	76-00	86,112-29	29,357-78	56,754-51	
..	..	..	185-91	1,415-15	8-81	299-72	..	33-99	7,418-34	1,269-48	6,148-86	
..	13-01	..	396-06	5,033-88	22-52	1,143-03	1-37	148-43	33,644-53	9,757-24	23,887-29	
..	74	..	157-30	409-23	203-99	108-84	16-66	695-29	53,385-48	2,043-18	51,342-30	
..	26-59	184-19	3,908-77	12,770-72	1,639-56	6,635-08	151-44	1,564-52	309,864-19	86,811-00	223,053-19	
..	..	1-63	1,562-71	1,083-67	11-75	2,017-14	108-19	4-77	60,061-13	19,819-04	40,242-09	
..	15-32	2-91	282-24	1,491-99	242-29	1,123-12	6-98	324-76	59,006-28	13,046-55	45,959-73	
..	12-89	1-21	582-14	905-23	141-18	729-15	40-50	4-06	57,463-15	10,253-55	47,209-60	
..	3-62	..	715-70	527-68	213-71	468-80	19-28	257-80	64,907-42	4,074-14	60,833-28	
..	31-83	5-78	3,112-79	4,008-57	608-93	4,338-21	174-95	591-39	241,437-98	47,193-28	194,244-70	
..	..	..	1,072-28	384-86	229-66	396-67	12-65	1,109-51	44,364-07	3,094-59	41,269-48	
..	01	..	449-76	362-97	496-58	547-80	5-02	214-61	71,903-61	6,006-80	65,896-81	
..	32	42-61	162-27	563-84	1,003-99	485-57	34-92	486-41	64,609-36	13,015-55	51,593-81	
..	4-10	..	1,312-15	266-68	279-92	258-10	9-34	1,103-05	64,385-87	5,626-27	58,759-60	
..	4-43	42-61	2,996-46	1,578-35	2,010-15	1,688-14	61-93	2,913-58	245,262-91	27,743-21	217,519-70	
..	142-89 or 22 Sq. miles.	594-03 or 93 Sq. miles.	17,472-01 or 27-30 Sq. miles.	31,002-10 or 48-44 Sq. miles.	5,105-72 or 7-98 Sq. miles.	18,006-67 or 28-13 Sq. miles.	1,081-72 or 1-66 Sq. miles.	9,846-92 or 15-38 Sq. miles.	1249421-78 or 1,952-22 Sq. miles.	308,840-39 or 482-56 Sq. miles.	940,581-39 or 1,469-66 Sq. miles.	

APPENDIX

Agricultural Stock Statement.

Name of police-station.	Bulls.	Bulls reared or bred in Government farms.	Bullocks.	Cows.	Calves.	Male Buffaloes.	Female Buffaloes.	Buffalo calves.	Sheep.	Goats.	Horses.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Subdivision Berhampore (Sadar).											
1. Berhampore Town	1,340	7	11,605	14,407	13,848	1,851	398	295	3,323	15,256	192
2. Naoda ..	1,290	43	10,920	9,793	7,086	1,949	245	81	456	5,779	90
3. Domkal ..	762	1	13,206	11,745	10,835	2,633	338	148	1,442	16,745	310
4. Hariharpara ..	1,241	5	10,743	9,208	9,188	1,418	268	85	942	10,429	238
5. Beldanga ..	1,305	21	13,980	21,665	18,038	3,404	500	280	4,808	9,373	293
6. Jalangi ..	2,032	..	7,361	7,819	5,862	2,657	282	89	363	6,807	546
Total	7,970	77	67,875	74,635	64,857	13,912	2,031	978	11,334	64,389	1,669
Subdivision Lalbagh.											
1. Bhagawangola ..	950	2	13,016	10,060	11,175	3,160	200	339	537	14,297	145
2. Lalgola ..	915	10	10,198	7,707	7,536	854	252	142	524	10,857	248
3. Raninagar ..	1,246	..	14,553	11,060	11,312	4,593	186	380	1,026	24,599	204
4. Jhaganj ..	195	7	1,540	3,650	3,142	291	89	76	170	2,058	82
5. Murshidabad ..	817	15	5,636	7,719	7,532	1,272	113	56	864	8,124	104
6. Nabagram ..	1,456	23	14,389	14,515	11,483	1,328	389	220	2,791	10,606	164
Total	5,579	57	59,641	55,311	52,180	11,504	1,235	1,213	5,912	70,541	947
Subdivision Jangipur.											
1. Bamsarganj ..	1,177	2	11,016	8,709	8,443	693	316	140	814	14,307	273
2. Raghunathganj ..	960	13	13,612	10,845	9,176	369	357	149	1,122	12,527	397
3. Suti ..	274	2	10,448	8,227	7,024	159	256	141	432	9,766	154
4. Sagardighi ..	1,039	8	16,513	11,660	10,357	773	291	173	1,766	12,770	154
Total	3,450	25	51,589	39,441	35,999	1,904	1,220	603	4,134	49,370	978
Subdivision Kandi.											
1. Kandi ..	881	2	12,007	13,291	11,571	1,305	455	261	2,853	7,482	297
2. Bharatpur ..	744	3	11,327	17,987	15,822	3,105	281	164	3,460	8,570	205
3. Burwan ..	785	9	13,321	14,742	14,944	557	193	176	7,197	9,134	151
4. Khargram ..	1,165	7	15,964	15,482	13,901	449	227	264	4,445	11,426	149
Total	3,575	21	52,619	61,502	56,238	5,416	1,156	865	17,955	36,612	802
Abstract of District Murshidabad.											
District Total	20,574	180	231,724	230,889	208,275	32,736	5,642	3,659	39,335	220,912	4,396

VI.

District Murshidabad.

Mares.	Young stock (colts and fillies).	Mules.	Donkeys.	Elephants.	Camels.	Pigs.	Ploughs.	Carts.	Wells.	Boats.	Oil mills.	Oval vessels.
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
93	10	1	34	1	..	255	5,584	2,803	43	146	5	26
58	10	..	1	..	..	4	4,309	2,135	41	117	19	..
148	89	..	1	1	..	25	5,553	2,899	60	181	3	5
99	42	2	..	2	..	5	4,490	2,361	56	17	..	..
56	12	..	..	1	..	64	7,426	4,120	50	97	1	..
7	1	..	..	3	..	5	3,963	1,598	7	127	..	..
461	173	3	36	8	..	358	31,325	15,976	257	685	28	31
143	15	..	..	..	..	1	7,143	3,554	17	237	..	..
41	11	4	..	1	..	1	5,262	2,787	4	202	..	..
115	33	..	..	..	..	35	7,188	4,366	88	133	..	..
21	3	..	..	..	..	215	729	377	13	..	..	..
63	20	..	1	3	21	61	2,742	1,535	202	23	18	..
40	14	3	..	..	..	1,072	7,360	3,374	17	295	..	12
423	96	7	1	4	21	1,385	30,724	15,093	341	800	18	12
37	14	1	1	1	..	253	5,199	3,133	12	209	..	..
149	26	..	..	4	..	116	6,054	3,740	32	187	..	..
87	6	..	1	..	..	19	4,525	2,771	7	100	..	..
79	22	2	2	2	27	1,093	7,579	3,887	8	33	1	..
352	68	3	4	7	27	1,481	23,357	13,531	59	529	1	..
35	9	..	..	..	..	289	6,240	3,337	..	51	..	..
38	5	1	7	..	1	121	6,754	4,325	90	122	..	..
4	1	..	..	..	..	121	6,488	3,012	8	143	..	..
11	6	1	..	..	..	416	7,544	4,034	45	111	..	..
88	21	2	7	..	1	947	27,026	14,708	143	430	..	..
1,324	358	15	48	19	49	4,171	112,432	60,208	800	2,444	47	43

APPENDIX

Statistics of Tenancies and Rents,

Serial No.	Name of police-station.	In the direct									
		Proprietors.				Rent free Tenure-holders.		Service Tenure-holders.		Permanent Tenure-holders not at fixed rents or rates.	
		As private lands.		Not as private lands.							
		No. of holdings.	Area.	No. of holdings.	Area.	No. of holdings.	Area.	No. of holdings.	Area.	No. of holdings.	Area.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	Subdivision Berhampore (Sadar).										
1	Berhampore town ..	..	..	841	5,989·88	2,249	1,774·36	40	41·86	353	962·30
2	Naoda ..	..	..	216	889·76	1,163	1,052·43	..	..	170	1,211·27
3	Domkal ..	..	..	243	671·53	2,196	2,039·17	8	·65	565	1,473·48
4	Hartharpara ..	..	..	226	1,938·45	905	1,093·51	..	..	160	196·56
5	Beldanga ..	..	..	527	3,401·86	2,821	1,898·65	13	·55	192	1,525·62
6	Jalangi ..	..	..	135	348·31	880	608·30	25	37·45	1,141	3,657·82
		..	..	2,188	13,239·79	10,223	9,066·42	86	89·51	2,581	9,027·05
	Subdivision Lalbagh.										
1	Bhagawangola ..	..	..	419	1,735·53	1,222	1,073·81	10	15·88	365	448·88
2	Lalgola ..	..	..	351	2,396·26	856	874·34	2	..	466	745·62
3	Raninagar ..	..	..	346	1,591·33	1,847	1,403·90	3	·21	751	1,787·33
4	Jinganj ..	..	..	423	1,276·03	308	403·25	..	..	194	259·98
5	Murshidabad ..	..	..	607	3,329·22	575	431·44	..	..	318	635·69
6	Nabagram ..	..	..	498	5,733·29	1,639	763·59	22	807·96	76	190·66
		..	..	2,644	16,061·06	6,447	4,950·33	37	824·05	2,170	4,068·16
	Subdivision Jangipur.										
1	Samserganj ..	..	..	330	1,477·32	1,102	708·50	14	9·75	1,149	2,037·17
2	Raghunathganj ..	..	..	689	2,956·97	2,685	2,269·16	13	25·60	881	1,748·77
3	Suti ..	..	..	582	1,581·54	1,953	1,466·80	5	13·89	552	1,395·24
4	Sugardighi ..	..	..	788	3,773·05	3,146	2,390·91	5	·76	191	766·54
		..	..	2,389	9,791·88	8,886	6,835·37	37	50·00	2,773	5,947·72
	Subdivision Kandi.										
1	Kandi ..	..	..	779	5,210·16	4,439	1,558·14	50	2·48	615	490·79
2	Bharatpur ..	2	6·62	2,440	4,293·36	8,673	3,680·81	58	7·47	777	574·48
3	Burwan ..	..	..	987	2,039·86	4,329	2,082·42	..	..	428	338·62
4	Khargram ..	..	..	982	4,500·91	4,199	1,593·40	31	19·21	429	465·63
		2	6·62	5,188	16,044·29	21,640	8,914·77	139	29·16	2,279	1,830·52
	Total for District ..	2	6·62	12,409	55,137·62 or 86·15 Sq. miles.	47,196	29,766·89 or 46·51 Sq. miles.	299	983·72 or 1·54 Sq. miles.	9,803	20,912·45 or 32·68 Sq. miles.

VII.

District Murshidabad.

Occupation of—											
Permanent Tenure-holders at fixed rents or rates.		Temporary Tenure-holders.		Tenure-holders on rent in kind or combined cash in hand.		Other Classes.		Raiyats (Rent free).		Raiyats (acres).	
No. of holdings.	Area.	No. of holdings.	Area.	No. of holdings.	Area.	No. of holdings.	Area.	No. of holdings.	Area.	No. of holdings.	Area.
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
1,570	4,419-96	34	98-44	..	..	236	331-68	858	1,028-37	412	564-85
364	2,453-53	16	130-90	..	..	195	366-87	204	295-62	267	747-02
887	4,066-68	27	103-11	..	..	207	118-81	547	497-91	427	2,169-73
946	3,109-57	1	82	..	..	459	427-48	1,135	1,917-35	459	987-87
885	5,231-85	300	100-24	..	..	355	292-12	1,592	1,337-91	550	498-34
632	5,152-90	22	287-91	..	..	108	270-83	15	33-72	269	678-35
5,234	24,434-40	400	720-98	..	..	1,560	1,807-70	4,351	5,110-91	2,384	5,566-16
1,034	5,853-33	153	166-98	..	..	116	67-55	4	13-41	262	355-93
639	2,151-35	30	2,304-37	..	..	459	585-41	..	..	210	270-64
912	5,635-94	129	448-90	2	10-28	123	112-75	1,032	1,109-27	363	917-02
285	1,469-28	15	39-07	2	8-64	1	2-15	92	148-26	15	16-06
525	2,268-32	17	222-48	..	..	193	325-21	268	406-49	88	111-30
1,014	6,187-77	2	7-41	..	..	134	289-44	1,203	1,362-07	692	1,320-61
4,409	23,565-99	316	3,279-30	4	18-92	1,026	1,382-51	2,599	3,039-56	1,630	2,092-16
716	4,973-05	20	49-99	1	9-09	166	212-25	30	28-86	490	824-95
1,137	2,772-03	12	52-55	..	..	460	638-26	8	2-10	620	843-40
967	5,798-99	12	43-07	..	..	249	217-47	33	27-02	430	914-86
1,539	5,483-80	3	117-28	..	..	225	454-76	1,295	1,671-95	821	1,771-59
4,359	19,027-87	17	262-89	1	9-09	1,100	1,522-74	1,366	1,729-93	2,361	4,354-80
1,358	2,984-54	8	1-53	2	2-14	177	188-83	2,020	1,208-05	950	982-50
1,778	4,536-73	7	..	1	..	307	230-49	6,579	3,416-54	1,037	519-51
1,016	2,555-14	1	561-87	..	..	297	354-09	4,135	2,965-75	929	617-65
2,231	4,821-01	..	..	..	..	283	328-13	3,438	2,712-10	1,366	1,883-74
6,383	14,897-42	16	563-40	3	2-14	1,064	1,101-54	16,172	16,362-44	4,282	4,663-40
20,385	81,925-77 or 128-00 Sq. miles	809	4,826-57 or 7-54 Sq. miles.	8	21-15	4,750	5,814-58 or 9-09 Sq. miles.	24,485	20,182-81 or 31-54 Sq. miles.	10,657	16,938-52 or 28-40 Sq. miles.

APPENDIX

Statistics of Tenancies and Rents,

Serial No.	Name of police-station.	Raiyats at fixed rent or rate of rent (cash).				Settled and occupancy raiyats (cash rent).			
		No. of holdings.	Area.	Rent.	Incidence of rent.	No. of holdings.	Area.	Rent.	Incidence of rent.
		25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
				Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.			Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
	Subdivision Berhampore (Sadar.)								
1	Berhampore town ..	4,352	8,489-74	10,784 4 7	2 5 4	40,424	49,640-13	1,60,712 4 11	3 3 9
2	Naoda	3,553	9,578-75	18,347 15 1	1 14 7	20,209	31,325-99	86,039 12 0	2 11 11
3	Dumkal	2,365	6,775-78	13,277 4 3	1 15 4	25,047	47,454-94	1,31,528 13 6	2 12 4
4	Hariharpara ..	4,770	10,230-33	21,542 1 2	2 1 8	31,919	38,791-90	1,08,027 8 4	2 12 7
5	Behdanga	8,467	12,153-71	34,567 1 9	2 13 6	45,938	51,851-57	1,78,021 10 9	3 6 11
6	Jahangl	647	2,427-20	4,364 15 7	1 12 9	24,703	30,855-33	80,384 9 5	2 9 8
		24,163	49,655-51	1,11,883 10 5	2 4 1	188,240	2,49,919-86	7,44,714 10 11	2 15 8
	Subdivision Lalbagh.								
1	Bhagawangola ..	4,142	6,878-21	14,132 2 0	2 0 10	37,718	49,531-94	1,77,529 2 6	3 9 4
2	Lalgola	281	765-90	1,462 11 9	1 14 6	28,328	38,710-34	1,14,846 5 3	2 15 5
3	Raninagar	1,613	4,913-51	8,060 3 6	1 10 3	33,661	55,089-98	1,44,527 14 11	2 10 0
4	Jiaganj	454	689-23	2,030 15 1	2 15 0	4,090	6,655-33	19,964 0 10	3 0 0
5	Murshidabad ..	1,884	3,555-75	8,298 12 11	2 5 4	19,144	24,405-28	70,363 12 6	2 14 1
6	Nabagram	4,532	9,886-27	33,229 5 3	3 5 9	32,057	43,351-14	1,67,774 12 10	3 13 11
		12,906	26,688-87	67,214 2 6	2 8 2	154,998	217,744-01	8,95,006 0 10	3 3 1
	Subdivision Jangipur.								
1	Samserganj	5,542	8,777-10	18,079 15 3	2 1 0	31,435	35,616-17	1,15,167 0 2	3 3 9
2	Raghnathganj ..	3,236	5,681-75	20,185 15 10	3 8 10	37,172	43,876-45	1,53,011 6 1	3 7 10
3	Suti	3,993	8,530-91	19,392 14 2	2 4 4	29,229	43,328-74	1,25,459 7 1	2 14 4
4	Sagaridighi ..	5,779	10,864-45	33,994 2 11	3 2 1	40,115	54,863-92	2,04,470 13 4	3 11 7
		18,550	33,854-21	91,653 0 2	2 11 4	137,951	177,685-28	5,98,108 10 8	3 6 10
	Subdivision Kandi.								
1	Kandi	8,600	11,936-74	44,431 7 1	3 11 6	31,850	30,348-00	1,49,421 2 10	4 14 9
2	Bharatpur	18,261	24,885-68	1,00,420 0 10	4 0 6	41,043	38,774-38	1,79,895 13 2	4 10 3
3	Burwan	6,187	10,762-31	45,546 8 7	4 3 9	41,377	42,175-51	1,98,369 10 5	4 9 6
4	Khargram	6,834	11,758-01	37,413 10 6	3 2 11	42,203	45,972-87	1,98,510 3 2	4 5 1
		39,882	59,342-74	2,27,811 11 0	3 13 5	156,473	158,270-76	7,26,196 13 7	4 9 5
	Total for District	95,501	169,541-33 or 284-91 Sq. miles.	4,98,562 8 1	2 15 1	837,862	893,819-91 or 1,285-86 Sq. miles.	27,84,026 4 0	3 7 0

VII.

District Murshidabad.

Non-occupancy raiyats (cash rent).				Settled and occupancy raiyats on fixed produce rent.		Settled and occupancy raiyats on share of produce rent.		Non-occupancy raiyats on fixed produce rent.		Non-occupancy raiyats on share of produce rent.		Settled and occupancy raiyats on combined cash and produce rent.	
No. of hold-ings.	Area.	Rent.	Incidence of rent.	No. of hold-ings.	Area.	No. of hold-ings.	Area.	No. of hold-ings.	Area.	No. of hold-ings.	Area.	No. of hold-ings.	Area.
33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46
		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.										
535	544-64	2,316 4 4	4 4 1	13	14-29	110	91-07	..	..	9	8-76	71	39-48
51	56-39	270 0 0	4 12 7	1	1-47	674	754-65	..	..	..	..	..	..
648	858-77	3,396 6 10	3 15 3	33	19-34	262	211-67	..	..	101	82-06	19	24-69
361	408-09	1,521 6 10	3 14 1	42	55-9	155	122-61	..	..	52	44-64	5	6-13
323	671-02	4,617 10 9	6 14 1	7	7-99	334	209-32	..	..	209	273-83	..	..
1,287	1,671-37	6,411 8 9	3 13 4	211	215-42	1,522	1,310-71	18	12-13	54	48-53	195	168-22
3,205	4,210-28	18,533 5 6	4 6 5	307	314-45	3,057	2,700-03	18	12-13	425	458-72	290	238-52
1,789	2,829-79	15,326 3 8	5 6 7	2	2-10	95	69-61	..	..	1	-68	20	14-49
158	220-82	1,006 14 10	4 8 11	..	..	287	247-04	..	..	44	33-37	6	7-07
1,206	1,342-05	3,539 6 5	2 10 1	235	232-66	713	548-70	10	9-15	114	146-71	14	13-61
304	527-68	1,919 4 6	3 10 2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
244	428-03	1,585 3 7	3 11 3	22	28-80	20	14-20	..	..	14	9-24	5	4-63
58	313-43	1,090 11 10	3 7 8	188	137-45	114	97-80	..	..	1	4-11	4	6-29
3,759	5,061-80	24,458 12 10	4 5 1	447	401-01	1,229	977-35	10	9-15	174	194-11	49	46-09
988	683-36	2,857 12 4	4 2 11	8	17-65	276	327-45	7	17-64	157	272-04	109	179-00
167	158-01	764 7 1	4 13 5	13	9-87	1,461	1,052-32	..	..	9	11-70	..	..
391	423-30	1,733 7 9	4 1 6	35	41-62	397	407-90	1	2-22	52	69-60	..	..
951	951-31	3,893 3 10	4 1 6	143	131-47	213	301-27	6	11-36	93	141-35	..	..
2,497	2,215-98	9,248 15 0	4 2 9	199	209-61	2,347	2,088-94	14	31-22	311	494-69	109	179-90
840	1,588-00	9,786 11 0	6 2 7	228	180-15	368	399-26	1	-31	25	166-06	1	-50
150	294-27	1,044 8 11	3 8 9	407	356-51	660	394-50	4	-84	24	16-61	14	23-28
171	191-73	898 6 9	4 10 11	435	314-45	371	190-91	8	8-30	6	7-53	10	7-48
191	484-52	2,555 7 8	3 0 2	310	404-46	330	275-04	4	6-79	25	34-74	36	72-53
1,352	2,558-52	14,285 2 4	5 9 4	1,380	1,255-57	1,729	1,259-71	17	16-24	80	224-04	61	103-79
10,813	14,646-58 or 22-89 Sq. miles.	68,526 3 8	4 8 4	2,333	2,171-84 or 3-39 Sq. miles.	8,362	7,026-03 or 10-98 Sq. miles.	59	68-74 or -10 Sq. miles.	990	1,372-46 or 2-14 Sq. miles.	509	568-30 or -89 Sq. miles.

APPENDIX

Statistics of Tenancies and Rents,

Serial No.	Name of police-station.	Non-occupancy raiyats on combined cash and produce rent.		Other classes.		Occupants (e.g. of non-agricultural holdings).			Under		
									With rights of occupancy (on cash rent).		
		No. of holdings.	Area.	No. of holdings.	Area.	No. of holdings.	Area.	Rent.	No. of holdings.	Area.	Rent.
1	2	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56
								Rs. a. p.			Rs. a. p.
	Subdivision Berhampore (Sadar).										
1	Berhampore town ..	..	..	225	365-04	5,330	1,056-31	17,587 10 1	4,468	1,054-92	8,035 9 7
2	Noda ..	..	..	10	21-57	250	27-30	381 1 4	4,489	1,061-83	7,750 2 8
3	Domkal ..	..	..	57	166-42	585	128-39	1,169 12 4	5,495	1,568-16	13,603 12 11
4	Hariharpura ..	..	..	51	357-52	428	77-79	624 11 0	4,526	903-42	8,404 12 10
5	Beldanga ..	..	..	86	203-17	1,025	278-69	2,927 11 3	6,207	781-09	8,605 1 8
6	Jalangi ..	..	..	105	213-88	446	65-04	958 10 6	502	149-27	1,210 3 8
		..	..	534	1,327-00	8,664	1,633-52	23,619 8 6	25,717	5,518-69	47,609 11 4
	Subdivision Lalbagh.										
1	Bhagawangola ..	..	..	64	321-87	284	72-53	1,609 11 6	3,468	679-50	6,156 5 3
2	Lalgola ..	6	3-57	34	81-14	438	47-98	1,487 9 6	3,008	731-23	8,225 2 6
3	Raninagar ..	..	..	288	317-04	495	103-36	1,083 13 5	4,629	1,423-16	11,708 10 8
4	Jiganj ..	..	..	42	27-61	4,203	592-91	11,743 1 0	109	21-73	212 15 4
5	Murshidabad ..	..	..	93	137-20	2,400	366-39	8,273 15 5	2,509	724-25	5,187 7 1
6	Nabagram ..	1	1-22	86	193-86	464	185-60	623 2 7	1,927	263-54	2,449 2 0
		7	4-79	607	1,078-81	8,284	1,368-77	23,821 5 5	16,340	3,843-44	33,939 10 10
	Subdivision Jangipur.										
1	Samserganj ..	..	..	49	109-52	1,218	187-02	2,135 9 7	1,225	202-03	1,763 13 3
2	Raghunatganj ..	..	..	143	276-06	2,739	455-15	7,022 7 2	3,492	664-07	7,562 11 3
3	Suti ..	..	..	115	179-22	636	116-37	870 2 3	2,470	438-83	3,662 14 0
4	Sagarighi ..	..	..	83	160-35	768	518-44	1,140 8 1	2,634	444-91	3,538 10 3
		..	..	390	725-15	5,361	1,276-98	11,768 11 1	9,830	1,749-84	16,528 0 9
	Subdivision Kandi.										
1	Kandi ..	..	..	190	252-66	1,304	251-96	2,561 3 6	2,856	374-34	4,192 1 10
2	Bharatpur ..	..	..	890	605-38	1,627	382-37	2,176 2 9	3,940	500-27	6,134 12 10
3	Burwan ..	..	..	978	912-27	1,209	364-94	1,782 12 4	3,692	306-98	4,143 12 8
4	Khargram ..	3	3-51	471	533-97	775	329-34	883 13 7	3,157	319-19	4,159 9 7
		3	3-51	2,529	2,304-28	4,975	1,328-61	7,404 0 2	13,945	1,500-78	18,630 4 11
	Total for District ..	10	8-30	4,080	5,438-84 or 8-49 Sq. miles.	27,284	5,807-88 or 8-76 Sq. miles.	66,643 9 2	65,862	12,812-72 or 19-91 Sq. miles.	1,16,707 11 10

VII.

District Murshidabad.

Ra'yats.									No'nal utabandi.			
Without rights of occupancy (on cash rent).			With rights of occupancy (fixed produce rent).		Without rights of occupancy (fixed produce rent).		Without rights of occupancy (share of produce rent).		Settled and occupancy.			
No. of holdings.	Area.	Rent.	No. of hold- ings.	Area.	No. of hold- ings.	Area.	No. of hold- ings.	Area.	No. of holdings.	Area.	Rent.	Incidence of rent.
57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69
		Rs. a. p.									Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
6,375	1,081-03	15,475 10 6	3	4-70	7	10-01	164	110-60	1,143	1,065-23	4,465 4 1	4 3 1
1,809	1,373-24	5,080 3 8	..	..	5	4-65	3	2-86	2,747	3,924-54	16,839 0 1	4 4 7
11,462	8,671-85	31,800 3 6	70	35-59	67	58-01	1,157	952-96	873	1,037-39	3,686 9 2	3 8 10
2,937	1,449-55	5,292 2 11	11	5-21	25	15-03	844	673-83	507	609-77	2,068 7 5	3 6 3
11,150	3,982-11	21,595 2 11	4	2-75	35	48-58	445	352-19	5,808	9,595-52	22,979 4 4	2 6 3
9,786	4,843-40	18,557 6 8	1	95	25	24-78	4,573	3,173-99	311	359-51	900 15 10	2 8 1
43,000	22,301-78	97,890 14 2	89	49-20	164	170-06	7,186	5,266-52	11,380	16,591-06	50,940 1 11	3 1 2
3,347	2,000-82	8,964 13 2	5	4-70	18	15-28	414	365-59	368	400-93	1,979 11 8	4 4 8
2,557	1,021-99	6,442 4 5	1	19	11	3-74	900	653-05	91	172-08	262 9 8	1 8 7
12,310	7,649-82	25,831 12 6	112	75-53	99	85-04	1,516	998-33	1,257	1,216-84	3,597 2 0	2 1 4
960	386-64	2,516 5 0	2	5-94	..	..	1	73	58	83-27	204 15 2	3 8 8
1,970	831-55	4,952 13 2	34	35-57	20	37-28	17	10-95	621	1,079-69	2,494 15 4	2 5 0
2,128	759-73	3,622 2 11	57	90-62	12	28-02	362	437-24	3,629	4,480-26	9,852 5 3	2 3 2
23,272	12,740-55	52,330 3 2	211	211-95	160	169-36	3,210	2,465-89	6,024	7,493-07	18,481 11 10	2 7 5
2,870	570-50	3,981 13 11	1	03	11	6-08	909	785-65	..	..	..	..
3,387	834-84	7,668 8 3	1	27	1	16	1,920	1,050-52	..	..	..	..
1,015	278-44	1,804 9 0	1	3-98	1	47	1,177	757-86	..	..	..	..
1,008	557-58	2,377 1 6	..	..	47	70-86	1,448	2,154-97	..	..	..	..
8,880	2,241-36	15,832 0 8	3	4-28	60	77-57	5,454	4,749-00	..	..	..	..
5,311	1,853-82	11,008 1 6	52	31-78	127	102-42	614	485-86	341	456-75	1,892 13 7	4 2 4
7,987	3,223-35	21,681 12 1	34	23-23	270	232-43	829	613-27	330	513-88	1,284 0 10	2 7 11
5,016	1,680-44	11,114 11 10	16	8-83	354	286-84	649	415-45	103	133-23	475 1 3	3 9 1
5,182	1,920-91	10,263 10 1	26	16-41	169	147-18	592	522-77	612	670-54	2,310 2 7	3 7 2
23,496	8,678-52	54,068 3 6	128	80-25	920	768-87	2,684	2,037-35	1,386	1,774-40	5,962 2 3	3 5 9
99,257	45,982-21 or 71-82 Sq. miles.	2,20,121 5 6	431	345-68 or 54 Sq. miles.	1,304	1,196-76 or 1-85 Sq. miles.	18,534	14,518-76 or 22-69 Sq. miles.	18,799	25,859-43 or 40-41 Sq. miles.	75,384 0 0	2 14 8

APPENDIX

Statistics of Tenancies and Rents,

Serial No.	Name of police-station.	Nominal utabandi.					Real utabandi not ordinarily			
		Non-occupancy.				Total of area of nominal utabandi.	Settled and occupancy.		Non-occupancy.	
		No. of holdings.	Area.	Rent.	Incidence of rent.		No. of holdings.	Area.	No. of holdings.	Area.
1	2	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78
	Subdivision Berhampore (Sadar).			Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.					
1	Berhampore town ..	228	339.15	1,227 7 7	3 5 2	1,404.38	27	29.45	82	82.54
2	Naoda	42	46.98	128 0 1	2 11 7	3,971.52	127	88.25	12	8.46
3	Domkal	158	135.41	417 6 2	3 1 4	1,172.80	475	1,083.38	211	109.56
4	Hariharpara ..	34	22.05	53 5 0	2 0 8	631.82	194	108.96	1	.37
5	Beldanga	204	203.80	632 11 10	3 1 8	9,799.32	..	..	..	..
6	Jalangi	708	673.88	1,407 4 7	2 1 5	1,033.39	..	..	..	..
		1,374	1,421.27	3,866 12 3	2 11 6	18,013.23	823	1,310.04	306	290.93
	Subdivision Lalbagh.									
1	Bhagawangola ..	527	597.39	3,480 12 4	5 13 3	1,058.32	247	335.01	33	28.12
2	Lalgola .. ..	..	..	..	..	172.08	..	..	..	..
3	Raninagar	6	2.63	14 5 0	5 7 5	1,219.47	195	814.21	21	27.15
4	Jinganj .. ..	..	..	..	..	83.27	..	..	..	..
5	Murshidabad ..	14	18.53	35 13 1	1 14 11	1,098.22	22	21.19	5	3.34
6	Nahagram	9	5.85	14 10 6	2 8 0	4,486.11	84	77.41	..	..
		556	624.40	3,545 9 8	5 10 10	8,117.47	548	1,247.82	59	58.61
	Subdivision Jangipur.									
1	Samserganj ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	Raghunathganj ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3	Suti .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4	Sagarighi .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	
	Subdivision Kandi.									
1	Kandi	147	158.74	729 10 8	4 9 7	615.49	..	..	16	11.07
2	Bharatpur	212	296.56	1,375 10 11	4 1 3	810.44	1	11.25	58	132.95
3	Burwan	150	133.01	539 7 6	4 0 10	266.24	..	..	..	..
4	Khargram	534	830.60	2,321 0 0	2 12 8	1,501.14	..	..	64	107.51
		1,043	1,418.91	4,965 13 1	3 7 11	3,193.31	1	11.25	138	251.53
	Total for District ..	2,973	3,464.58 or 5.41 Sq. miles.	12,378 3 0	3 9 2	29,324.01 or 45.82 Sq. miles.	1,372	2,569.11 or 4.01 Sq. miles.	503	601.07 or .94 Sq. miles.

VII.

District Murshidabad.

so held.	Real utabandi ordinarily so held.				Total of real utabandi both ordinarily and not ordinarily so held.	Area unoccupied (including area outside the record).	Total area of the police- stations.	Area occupied for public purpose.	Remarks.
Total area of real utabandi not ordinarily so held.	Number of holdings.	Area of plots in which occupancy rights accrued.	Area of plots in which no occupancy rights accrued.	Total of real utabandi ordinarily so held.					
79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88
111-99	645	392-62	779-19	1,171-81	1,283-80	2,310-59	80,459-49	8,425-13	
96-71	2,200	1,720-92	528-97	2,249-89	2,346-60	1,033-39	56,865-03	2,338-40	
1,282-94	3,855	2,752-42	1,907-80	4,720-22	6,003-16	1,186-80	75,166-82	2,338-20	
109-33	1,426	651-23	740-01	1,391-24	1,500-57	530-18	62,429-13	1,904-24	
..	157	14-72	189-33	204-05	204-05	1,770-61	91,716-45	3,681-13	
..	1	..	31	31	31	..	49,097-12	1,107-53	
1,600-97	8,284	5,531-91	4,205-61	9,737-52	11,338-49	6,837-57	415,734-01	14,794-63	
363-13	101	36-46	114-47	150-93	514-06	669-90	71,691-80	2,003-22	
..	1	46	..	46	46	874-46	50,582-22	1,323-15	
811-36	405	207-26	435-09	642-35	1,483-71	526-67	78,963-64	2,157-88	
..	..	..	..	..	..	426-34	12,625-69	312-86	
24-53	151	26-22	90-63	122-85	147-38	587-21	38,512-57	1,429-71	
77-41	194	35-13	193-90	229-39	306-80	131-90	75,704-78	2,967-30	
1,306-43	852	305-83	840-15	1,145-98	2,452-41	3,216-48	328,143-70	10,194-12	
..	..	..	..	..	..	292-18	56,801-96	2,192-09	
..	25	..	13-83	13-83	13-83	2,461-17	65,305-15	2,965-35	
..	..	..	..	..	..	910-69	65,472-45	2,510-46	
..	29	22-00	..	22-00	22-00	915-35	85,311-91	5,385-25	
..	54	22-00	13-83	35-83	35-83	4,579-39	272,891-47	13,053-09	
11-07	75	47-52	58-09	105-61	116-68	472-50	58,957-47	2,196-43	
144-20	130	..	209-85	209-85	354-05	401-64	84,565-06	2,926-65	
..	..	..	..	..	..	1,211-63	68,928-70	2,802-10	
107-51	44	..	41-51	41-51	149-02	454-70	78,304-77	3,845-51	
262-78	249	47-52	309-45	359-97	619-75	2,540-47	290,756-90	11,770-09	
3,170-18 or 4-65 Sq. miles.	9,438	5,907-26 or 9-23 Sq. miles.	5,369-04 or 8-39 Sq. miles.	11,276-30 or 17-62 Sq. miles.	14,446-48 or 22-57 Sq. miles.	17,173-91 or 26-83 Sq. miles.	1,307,526-11 or 2,043-60 Sq. miles.	49,812-53 or 77-83 Sq. miles.	

APPENDIX

Special Statistics (Grouping of Tenancies),

Serial No.	Name of police-station.	1 acre or less.		Over 1 and up to 2 acres.		Over 2 and up to 3 acres.		Over 3 and up to 4 acres.	
		No. of Tenancies.	Total area.	No. of Tenancies.	Total area.	No. of Tenancies.	Total area.	No. of Tenancies.	Total area.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	Subdivision Berhampore (Sadar).								
1	Berhampore town ..	38,874	13,701 ·82	9,700	13,796 ·97	4,010	9,819 ·58	2,034	6,094 ·91
2	Naoda	24,623	8,499 ·81	5,657	8,034 ·76	2,353	5,749 ·25	1,244	4,324 ·76
3	Domkal	20,365	10,246 ·29	6,792	9,707 ·00	2,975	7,316 ·01	1,561	5,412 ·45
4	Hariharpara	31,730	11,774 ·86	8,589	12,237 ·29	3,533	8,632 ·48	1,674	5,773 ·62
5	Beldanga	55,430	17,046 ·91	9,290	13,093 ·94	4,003	9,808 ·64	2,056	7,118 ·41
6	Jalangi	23,125	9,333 ·82	5,332	7,502 ·75	1,871	4,587 ·70	900	3,128 ·43
	Total ..	203,156	70,597 ·51	45,360	64,372 ·71	18,745	45,913 ·66	9,478	32,752 ·58
	Subdivision Lalbagh.								
1	Bhagawangola	34,108	12,680 ·11	9,164	12,872 ·52	3,824	9,302 ·42	1,924	6,716 ·81
2	Lalgola	23,849	8,858 ·80	6,238	8,952 ·91	2,527	6,154 ·50	1,197	4,077 ·24
3	Raninagar	31,724	12,035 ·02	8,504	12,064 ·42	3,539	8,732 ·17	1,990	6,911 ·49
4	Jiaganj	4,227	1,302 ·39	1,158	1,675 ·26	534	1,304 ·77	275	954 ·90
5	Murshidabad	17,952	6,524 ·32	4,775	6,779 ·42	1,947	4,748 ·08	972	3,355 ·94
6	Nabagram	30,489	10,729 ·80	8,490	12,114 ·92	3,706	9,020 ·80	1,936	6,701 ·37
	Total ..	142,340	52,130 ·44	38,338	54,459 ·45	16,077	39,262 ·74	8,204	28,717 ·75
	Subdivision Jangipur.								
1	Samserganj	30,082	11,131 ·43	7,264	10,348 ·70	2,824	6,873 ·98	1,276	4,405 ·38
2	Raghunathganj	36,913	12,075 ·28	8,119	11,547 ·56	3,269	7,977 ·10	1,610	5,591 ·01
3	Suti	27,024	8,953 ·60	6,821	9,783 ·38	2,959	7,233 ·12	1,522	5,363 ·03
4	Sagardighi	35,670	12,562 ·14	11,042	15,824 ·87	4,771	11,673 ·58	2,335	8,028 ·48
	Total ..	129,689	44,722 ·45	33,246	47,504 ·51	13,823	33,757 ·78	6,743	23,388 ·50
	Subdivision Kandi.								
1	Kandi	41,229	11,963 ·23	8,032	10,414 ·62	2,900	7,068 ·28	1,392	4,792 ·06
2	Bharatpur	67,245	18,154 ·70	10,292	15,097 ·06	4,114	10,018 ·60	1,951	6,744 ·09
3	Burwan	47,399	13,845 ·36	8,968	12,483 ·65	3,552	8,661 ·90	1,822	6,286 ·52
4	Khargram	48,045	14,650 ·28	10,364	14,580 ·05	3,981	9,716 ·16	1,860	6,447 ·22
	Total ..	203,918	58,613 ·57	37,656	52,575 ·38	14,547	35,464 ·94	7,034	24,269 ·89
	District Total ..	679,112	226,083 ·97 or 353 ·22 sq. miles.	154,609	218,912 ·05 or 342 ·05 sq. miles.	63,192	154,399 ·12 or 241 ·25 sq. miles.	31,549	109,128 ·72 or 170 ·51 sq. miles.

VIII.

District Murshidabad.

Over 4 and up to 5 acres.		Over 5 and up to 15 acres		Over 15 and up to 25 acres.		Over 25 acres.		Total of cultivated areas.	
No. of Tenancies.	Total area.	No. of Tenancies.	Total area.	No. of Tenancies.	Total area.	No. of Tenancies.	Total area.	No. of Tenancies.	Total area.
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1,114	5,031-87	1,935	14,528-44	138	2,585-04	112	5,983-13	57,926	72,441-76
701	3,143-76	1,717	14,056-69	234	4,446-23	117	5,185-25	36,646	53,440-51
1,025	4,595-39	2,412	19,401-36	316	5,898-54	165	9,028-38	44,611	71,605-42
971	4,327-75	1,629	12,238-50	102	1,916-62	50	2,813-85	48,287	59,711-97
1,241	5,614-98	2,376	18,357-76	207	3,868-10	168	10,210-67	74,771	85,113-41
579	2,610-58	1,297	10,545-03	192	3,580-78	95	5,961-02	33,400	47,250-11
5,631	25,324-33	11,366	80,127-78	1,689	22,295-31	707	39,182-30	295,611	389,566-18
974	4,369-06	1,869	15,128-68	109	2,040-01	68	3,578-76	52,040	66,688-37
627	2,245-28	1,172	9,076-18	714	2,139-93	56	4,162-64	35,780	45,667-48
1,067	4,757-29	2,441	19,123-81	241	4,540-13	125	7,843-58	49,634	76,007-91
137	621-51	311	2,456-76	36	730-56	28	1,354-36	6,706	10,400-51
554	2,458-28	939	7,092-94	72	1,352-47	61	3,057-54	27,272	35,368-99
1,020	4,590-32	2,100	15,881-74	180	3,338-10	119	9,917-32	48,058	72,294-37
4,388	19,041-74	8,835	68,760-11	752	14,141-20	457	29,914-20	219,490	306,427-63
769	3,409-91	1,335	10,412-25	106	1,969-98	65	3,978-75	43,721	52,530-38
840	3,762-04	1,648	12,591-34	138	2,551-54	62	2,676-34	52,599	58,772-21
861	3,890-54	1,871	14,581-52	190	3,781-07	103	7,258-88	41,351	60,845-74
1,379	6,165-69	2,242	16,789-14	175	3,161-90	117	5,377-83	57,731	79,583-63
3,849	17,228-18	7,096	54,374-25	609	11,464-49	347	19,291-80	195,402	251,731-96
786	3,524-68	1,315	9,813-42	83	1,522-72	62	5,360-32	55,799	54,759-33
1,092	4,901-02	2,049	15,461-08	135	2,535-18	77	6,076-64	86,955	78,988-97
985	4,378-48	1,826	13,664-26	94	1,678-13	30	1,787-03	64,676	62,785-33
1,198	5,335-20	1,995	14,889-14	120	2,226-45	61	3,509-94	67,633	71,254-44
4,061	18,139-98	7,185	53,827-90	432	7,962-48	230	16,733-93	275,063	267,588-07
17,929	79,734-23 or 124-58 Sq. miles.	34,462	266,090-04 or 415-77 Sq. miles.	2,982	55,863-48 or 87-29 Sq. miles.	1,741	105,122-23 or 164-25 Sq. miles.	985,596	1,215,313-84 or 1,898-92 Sq. miles.

APPENDIX

Special Statistics (Grouping of Tenancies),

Serial No.	Name of police-station	District Board.		Public Works Department.		Railway.		Dakhalkar.	
		No. of Tenancies.	Total area.	No. of Tenancies.	Total area.	No. of Tenancies.	Total area.	No. of Tenancies.	Total area.
1	2	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
	Subdivision Berhampore (Sadar).								
1	Berhampore town ..	106	667.14	21	104.26	32	757.52	1,696	720.62
2	Naoda	14	156.68	..	..	..	..	239	53.51
3	Domkal	48	224.45	3	61.60	..	..	197	130.56
4	Hartharpara	30	138.05	..	..	..	..	67	244.31
5	Beldanga	61	380.61	22	231.40	27	781.40	741	345.15
6	Jalangi	15	247.22	4	210.35	..	..	85	20.14
	Total ..	274	1,823.15	50	607.61	50	1,538.92	3,025	1,514.20
	Subdivision Lalbagh.								
1	Bhagawangola	47	299.18	36	251.59	6	155.51	99	108.31
2	Lalgola	19	121.16	27	162.95	8	309.52	29	37.38
3	Raulnagar	71	470.07	..	..	..	..	102	55.16
4	Jhaganj	54	151.85	14	56.25	26	499.68	284	126.84
5	Murshidabad	112	379.91	9	31.31	23	372.77	119	69.58
6	Nubagram	53	199.34	..	..	..	..	76	272.16
	Total ..	356	1,625.71	86	592.10	63	1,337.48	1,109	669.43
	Subdivision Jangipur.								
1	Samserganj	43	171.14	3	3.17	23	402.47	279	88.81
2	Raghunathganj	71	323.04	9	52.28	10	115.66	1,338	399.32
3	Suti	101	299.41	1	1.18	10	217.01	196	128.22
4	Sagarighi	104	284.77	8	22.73	41	601.11	755	785.24
	Total ..	319	1,078.36	21	79.36	84	1,336.25	2,568	1,351.59
	Subdivision Kandi.								
1	Kandi	52	139.43	4	27.18	1	10.02	969	399.36
2	Bharatpur	68	140.37	1	24	11	169.55	1,713	758.74
3	Burwan	104	307.83	..	..	..	..	1,578	1,933.99
4	Khargram	51	132.83	..	..	..	..	700	685.38
	Total ..	275	720.46	5	27.42	12	179.57	4,960	2,877.47
	District Total ..	1,224	5,256.68 or 8.21 Sq. miles.	162	1,216.49 or 1.90 Sq. miles.	218	4,422.22 or 6.91 Sq. miles.	11,662	6,412.78 or 10.02 Sq. miles.

*Remarks—

District Board	..	..	..	..
Public Works Department	..	..	..	..
Railways	..	..	..	..
Dakhalkar	..	..	..	..
Basat and Chandina	..	..	..	..
Other classes	..	..	..	..
Outside the record	..	..	..	..
Under-ryats without rights of occupancy	..	..	..	..
Uncultivated areas in khas possession of proprietors and tenure-holders.	..	..	..	..
Total of interests excluded from the statistics	..	..	..	..
Total of interests accounted for	..	..	..	..
Total of interests in the District	..	..	..	..

District Murshidabad.

Basat and Chandina.		Other classes.		Under- riayats without occu- pancy rights.	Uncultiva- ted lands in khas possession of proprietors and tenure- holders.	Outside the Reg. cud.	Total of uncultivated areas.		Grand Total.		*Remarks. (Showing details of interests excluded from the statistics.)
No. of Tenancies.	Total area.	No. of Tenancies.	Total area.	No. of Tenancies.	Area.	Total area.	No. of Tenancies.	Total area.	No. of Tenancies.	Total area.	
29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
4,459	561-34	18	216-52	6,546	2,679-74	2,310-59	12,878	8,017-73	70,804	80,459-40	
60	5-19	1	1-62	1,907	2,174-13	1,033-39	2,221	3,424-52	38,867	56,865-03	
499	104-69	3	1-26	12,686	1,852-04	1,186-80	13,436	3,561-40	58,047	75,166-82	
397	54-33	1	7-26	3,806	1,740-03	530-18	4,301	2,714-16	52,588	62,429-13	
991	85-77	1	1-52	11,630	2,991-58	1,776-61	13,473	6,603-04	88,241	91,716-45	
442	64-34	1	8-45	14,384	1,296-51	...	14,931	1,847-01	48,331	49,097-12	
6,848	875-66	25	236-63	50,959	12,734-03	6,837-57	61,240	26,167-86	356,881	415,734-04	
214	21-53	7	21-23	3,779	3,479-18	669-90	4,188	5,006-43	56,228	71,694-80	
420	58-82	4	5-17	3,468	3,341-98	874-46	3,984	4,914-74	39,764	50,582-22	
668	119-20	7	23-15	13,925	1,760-58	526-67	14,773	2,955-73	64,407	78,963-44	
3,482	471-50	31	85-74	961	406-98	426-34	4,852	2,225-18	11,558	12,625-69	
2,288	283-02	40	116-27	2,067	1,273-51	587-21	4,598	3,143-58	31,870	38,512-57	
87	6-61	11	4-77	2,502	2,855-63	131-90	3,120	3,470-41	51,187	75,764-78	
7,168	969-68	100	286-33	26,642	13,117-86	3,216-48	35,924	21,716-07	255,014	328,148-70	
958	131-88	6	32-56	3,790	3,199-37	292-18	5,102	4,271-58	48,823	56,801-96	
927	119-80	9	42-73	5,308	2,988-94	2,461-17	7,672	6,532-94	60,271	65,305-15	
452	34-81	1	13	2,193	3,035-26	910-69	2,954	4,626-71	44,305	65,472-45	
188	46-33	...	...	3,103	3,072-75	915-35	4,199	5,728-28	61,030	85,311-91	
2,525	332-82	16	75-42	14,394	12,296-32	4,579-39	19,927	21,159-51	215,329	272,891-47	
473	39-80	24	61-64	6,052	3,348-21	472-50	7,575	4,498-14	63,374	58,957-47	
686	54-83	10	9-63	9,086	4,032-99	401-64	11,575	5,576-99	98,630	84,565-96	
519	35-97	18	21-28	6,019	3,532-67	1,211-63	8,238	6,143-37	72,914	68,928-70	
483	42-75	11	27-99	5,943	5,606-68	454-70	7,188	6,950-33	74,821	78,304-77	
2,161	173-35	63	120-51	27,100	16,520-55	2,540-47	34,576	23,168-83	309,639	290,756-90	
18,702	2,342-51 or 3-66 Sq. miles.	204	718-92 or 1-12 Sq. miles.	119,095	54,668-76 or 85-42 Sq. miles.	17,173-91 or 26-83 Sq. miles.	151,267	92,212-27 or 144-08 Sq. miles.	1,136,863	1,307,526-11 or 2,043-00 Sq. miles.	
Tenancies.	Area.										
1,224	5,256-08										
162	1,216-40										
218	4,442-22										
11,662	6,412-78										
18,702	2,342-51										
204	718-92										
479 Khatians.	17,173-91										
119,095	..										
..	54,668-76										
151,267	92,212-27										
985,596	1,215,313-64										
1,136,863	1,307,526-11										

INDEX TO Specimen Irrigation Map

APPENDIX VIII (A)

SAGARDIGHI	Jiaganj	NARAGRAM
4 Chandpur Chak	18 Sadek Sorel	32 BU Baga
5 Anuppur	19 Gajati Anuppur	43 Nuli Patali
6 Durgā Chandpur	20 Nuryanpur	44 Bhabanpur
11 Jhānagar	21 Joyanpur	45 Parbatpur
12 Uttar Debagram	22 Balipukur	47 Sijilmati
13 Uttar Khatkhatpur	23 Bichanpur	49 Arunādhaga
15 Khatmat Nisipitral	24 Chandpur	51 Balidaghat
16 Tantiatal	25 Bikhāni	52 Tāderan
28 Bora	26 Ambanagar	53 Chāndpur
29 Kothā	27 Bāpān	54 Panchānandpur
31 Nisipitral	28 Kachanagar	55 Nagardighi
32 Būhā	29 Bagampur	56 Brahmapur
34 Balipāra	30 Rāmāgar	59 Isānagar
36 Athā	31 Rāmānagar	71 Naganādh
37 Spāmpur	32 Bhalidaghat	75 Digari
38 Dandipur	33 Motānāpāl	76 Anandpur
39 Bānā	34 Khatkhatpur	79 Gāndighi
38 Udaynagar	35 Pānāni	78 Achāra
36 Bānā Pānāni	36 Patanapur Diar	80 Bānāpāl
37 Pānā	37 Nānāpur	82 Bānāpāl
39 Arāni Bānāpāl	42 Chānāpur	83 Chānāpur
41 Khatkhatpur	43 Anāpur	84 Bānāpāl
42 Khatmat Gādi	44 Patanapur	85 Bānāpāl
43 Nāpāl	45 Khatkhatpur	86 Khatkhatpur
47 Bānāpāl	46 Mānāpur	89 Tānāpāl
47 Chānāpāl	47 Mānāpur Diar	100 Khatkhatpur
50 Chak Khatkhatpur	48 Mānāpur	102 Pānāpāl
51 Surpur	49 Chānāpāl	104 Bānāpāl
52 Bānāpāl	50 Lānāpāl	106 Bānāpāl
53 Mānāpāl	51 Mānāpāl	107 Bānāpāl
55 Isānagar	52 Chānāpāl	110 Jagatnagar
56 Chak Isānagar	54 Bānāpāl	111 Sānāpāl
57 Bānāpāl	55 Bānāpāl	113 Bānāpāl
58 Bānāpāl	56 Jānāpāl	115 Mahāpāl
59 Chak Bānāpāl	57 Pānāpāl	116 Pānāpāl
73 Mānāpāl	58 Anāpāl	
74 Jānāpāl	59 Kānāpāl	
75 Bānāpāl	60 Kānāpāl	
76 Bānāpāl	61 Bānāpāl	
77 Bānāpāl	62 Bānāpāl	
78 Bānāpāl	63 Chānāpāl	
79 Bānāpāl	64 Mānāpāl	
80 Bānāpāl	65 Bānāpāl	
81 Bānāpāl	66 Bānāpāl	
82 Bānāpāl	67 Bānāpāl	
83 Bānāpāl	68 Bānāpāl	
84 Bānāpāl	69 Bānāpāl	
85 Bānāpāl	70 Bānāpāl	
86 Bānāpāl	71 Bānāpāl	
87 Bānāpāl	72 Bānāpāl	
88 Bānāpāl	73 Bānāpāl	
89 Bānāpāl	74 Bānāpāl	
90 Bānāpāl	75 Bānāpāl	
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97 Bānāpāl	82 Bānāpāl	
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102 Bānāpāl	87 Bānāpāl	
103 Bānāpāl	88 Bānāpāl	
104 Bānāpāl	89 Bānāpāl	
105 Bānāpāl	90 Bānāpāl	
106 Bānāpāl	91 Bānāpāl	
107 Bānāpāl	92 Bānāpāl	
108 Bānāpāl	93 Bānāpāl	
109 Bānāpāl	94 Bānāpāl	
110 Bānāpāl	95 Bānāpāl	
111 Bānāpāl	96 Bānāpāl	
112 Bānāpāl	97 Bānāpāl	
113 Bānāpāl	98 Bānāpāl	
114 Bānāpāl	99 Bānāpāl	
115 Bānāpāl	100 Bānāpāl	
116 Bānāpāl	101 Bānāpāl	
117 Bānāpāl	102 Bānāpāl	
118 Bānāpāl	103 Bānāpāl	
119 Bānāpāl	104 Bānāpāl	
120 Bānāpāl	105 Bānāpāl	
121 Bānāpāl	106 Bānāpāl	
122 Bānāpāl	107 Bānāpāl	
123 Bānāpāl	108 Bānāpāl	
124 Bānāpāl	109 Bānāpāl	
125 Bānāpāl	110 Bānāpāl	
126 Bānāpāl	111 Bānāpāl	
127 Bānāpāl	112 Bānāpāl	
128 Bānāpāl	113 Bānāpāl	
129 Bānāpāl	114 Bānāpāl	
130 Bānāpāl	115 Bānāpāl	
131 Bānāpāl	116 Bānāpāl	
132 Bānāpāl	117 Bānāpāl	
133 Bānāpāl	118 Bānāpāl	
134 Bānāpāl	119 Bānāpāl	
135 Bānāpāl	120 Bānāpāl	
136 Bānāpāl	121 Bānāpāl	
137 Bānāpāl	122 Bānāpāl	
138 Bānāpāl	123 Bānāpāl	
139 Bānāpāl	124 Bānāpāl	
140 Bānāpāl	125 Bānāpāl	
141 Bānāpāl	126 Bānāpāl	
142 Bānāpāl	127 Bānāpāl	
143 Bānāpāl	128 Bānāpāl	
144 Bānāpāl	129 Bānāpāl	
145 Bānāpāl	130 Bānāpāl	
146 Bānāpāl	131 Bānāpāl	
147 Bānāpāl	132 Bānāpāl	
148 Bānāpāl	133 Bānāpāl	
149 Bānāpāl	134 Bānāpāl	
150 Bānāpāl	135 Bānāpāl	
151 Bānāpāl	136 Bānāpāl	
152 Bānāpāl	137 Bānāpāl	
153 Bānāpāl	138 Bānāpāl	
154 Bānāpāl	139 Bānāpāl	
155 Bānāpāl	140 Bānāpāl	
156 Bānāpāl	141 Bānāpāl	
157 Bānāpāl	142 Bānāpāl	
158 Bānāpāl	143 Bānāpāl	
159 Bānāpāl	144 Bānāpāl	
160 Bānāpāl	145 Bānāpāl	
161 Bānāpāl	146 Bānāpāl	
162 Bānāpāl	147 Bānāpāl	
163 Bānāpāl	148 Bānāpāl	
164 Bānāpāl	149 Bānāpāl	
165 Bānāpāl	150 Bānāpāl	
166 Bānāpāl	151 Bānāpāl	
167 Bānāpāl	152 Bānāpāl	
168 Bānāpāl	153 Bānāpāl	
169 Bānāpāl	154 Bānāpāl	
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171 Bānāpāl	156 Bānāpāl	
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177 Bānāpāl	162 Bānāpāl	
178 Bānāpāl	163 Bānāpāl	
179 Bānāpāl	164 Bānāpāl	
180 Bānāpāl	165 Bānāpāl	

- 181 Chōmōkutsu
- 182 Chūpō
- 183 Kōmōpō
- 184 Gōyō Shōgō
- 185 Dōshō Kōmō
- 186 Arō Jōdōpō
- 187 Gōbōdōmōdō
- 188 Pōdō
- 189 Bōdō
- 190 Dōdōpō
- 191 Mōdōpō
- 192 Mōdōpō
- 193 Mōdōpō
- 194 Gōdōpō
- 195 Kōdōpō

JIAGANJ

- 1 Uter Gōpō
- 2 Pōdō Kōpō
- 3 Sōdōpō
- 4 Kōpō
- 5 Dōdōpō
- 6 Kōdōpō
- 7 Gōdōpō
- 8 Mōdōpō
- 9 Mōdōpō
- 10 Mōdōpō
- 11 Pōdō
- 12 Sōdōpō
- 13 Gōdōpō
- 14 Mōdōpō
- 15 Jōdōpō
- 16 Chōpō

- 19 Bōpō
- 20 Kōdōpō
- 21 Kōdōpō
- 22 Jōdōpō
- 23 Gōdōpō
- 24 Chōpō
- 25 Bōdōpō
- 26 Pōdōpō
- 27 Mōdōpō
- 28 Chōpō

NABAGRAM

- 2 Mōdōpō
- 3 Dōdōpō
- 4 Mōdōpō
- 5 Tōdōpō
- 6 Bōdōpō
- 7 Jōdōpō
- 8 Mōdōpō
- 9 Mōdōpō
- 10 Jōdōpō
- 11 Chōpō
- 12 Bōdōpō
- 13 Pōdōpō
- 14 Kōdōpō
- 15 Jōdōpō
- 16 Kōdōpō

INDEX TO Specimen Irrigation Map

APPENDIX VIII (A)

BELDANGA	HARIHARPARA	BANINAGAR	NAODA
1. Ekdipar	1. Gobindapur	1. Depatigara	1. Ardoi Biharia
2. Haldipur	2. Balarampur	2. Bui Pachabara	2. Ghindabara
3. Char Kudla	3. Baharban	3. Ramnagar Kachhik	3. Bhagabara
4. Char Kaddang	4. Kamlapur	4. Kanchandrapur	4. Char Gauripur
5. Pababara	5. Chhota Baharban	5. Dier Sibnagar	5. Mohapur
6. Sankarpur	6. Jharpur	6. Rajkail Khamahal	6. Char Fakhnagar
7. Gangapur	7. Haripur		7. Char Nadnagar
8. Mahabharat	8. Kachhapur		8. Char Suranagar
9. Gopalpur	9. Simul Jai		9. Suranagar
10. Sahapur	10. Tulpur		10. Kanchapara
11. Ratnagar	11. Bui Bhindardaha		11. Paschim Char Brindabara
12. Setibara	12. Mahirbar		12. Char Narayanpur
13. Kachh	13. Rangpur		13. Farba Char Brindabara
14. Bui Bhindardaha	14. Bhindardaha		14. Sibnagar
15. Pababara	15. Nalpur		15. Char Kachh
16. Jafnab	16. Patnagar Gobindapur		16. Char Bakhnagar
17. Sattapur	17. Kanchipur Pababara		
18. Chollanagar	18. Ratanpur		
19. Kachhara	19. Char Tekna		
20. Kachhara	20. Tekna		
21. Kachhara	21. Jankhara		
22. Kachhara	22. Kachhara		
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99. Kachhara	99. Kachhara		
100. Kachhara	100. Kachhara		

APPENDIX VIII (A)

KHARGRAM	BARWAN	KANDI	*BHARATPUR	BAHARAMPURTOWN
1 Chak Bhatnagar	34 Bhatnagar	33 Bhatnagar	120 Bhatnagar	101 Bhatnagar
2 Chak Bhatnagar	35 Bhatnagar	34 Bhatnagar	121 Bhatnagar	102 Bhatnagar
3 Namadanga	37 Bhatnagar	35 Bhatnagar	122 Bhatnagar	103 Bhatnagar
11 Dahanu	39 Bhatnagar	36 Bhatnagar	123 Bhatnagar	104 Bhatnagar
12 Jaldhara	40 Bhatnagar	37 Bhatnagar	124 Bhatnagar	105 Bhatnagar
13 Dahanu	41 Bhatnagar	38 Bhatnagar	125 Bhatnagar	106 Bhatnagar
14 Bhatnagar	42 Bhatnagar	39 Bhatnagar	126 Bhatnagar	107 Bhatnagar
15 Bhatnagar	43 Bhatnagar	40 Bhatnagar	127 Bhatnagar	108 Bhatnagar
16 Bhatnagar	44 Bhatnagar	41 Bhatnagar	128 Bhatnagar	109 Bhatnagar
17 Bhatnagar	45 Bhatnagar	42 Bhatnagar	129 Bhatnagar	110 Bhatnagar
18 Bhatnagar	46 Bhatnagar	43 Bhatnagar	130 Bhatnagar	111 Bhatnagar
19 Bhatnagar	47 Bhatnagar	44 Bhatnagar	131 Bhatnagar	112 Bhatnagar
20 Bhatnagar	48 Bhatnagar	45 Bhatnagar	132 Bhatnagar	113 Bhatnagar
21 Bhatnagar	49 Bhatnagar	46 Bhatnagar	133 Bhatnagar	114 Bhatnagar
22 Bhatnagar	50 Bhatnagar	47 Bhatnagar	134 Bhatnagar	115 Bhatnagar
23 Bhatnagar	51 Bhatnagar	48 Bhatnagar	135 Bhatnagar	116 Bhatnagar
24 Bhatnagar	52 Bhatnagar	49 Bhatnagar	136 Bhatnagar	117 Bhatnagar
25 Bhatnagar	53 Bhatnagar	50 Bhatnagar	137 Bhatnagar	118 Bhatnagar
26 Bhatnagar	54 Bhatnagar	51 Bhatnagar	138 Bhatnagar	119 Bhatnagar
27 Bhatnagar	55 Bhatnagar	52 Bhatnagar	139 Bhatnagar	120 Bhatnagar
28 Bhatnagar	56 Bhatnagar	53 Bhatnagar	140 Bhatnagar	121 Bhatnagar
29 Bhatnagar	57 Bhatnagar	54 Bhatnagar	141 Bhatnagar	122 Bhatnagar
30 Bhatnagar	58 Bhatnagar	55 Bhatnagar	142 Bhatnagar	123 Bhatnagar
31 Bhatnagar	59 Bhatnagar	56 Bhatnagar	143 Bhatnagar	124 Bhatnagar
32 Bhatnagar	60 Bhatnagar	57 Bhatnagar	144 Bhatnagar	125 Bhatnagar
33 Bhatnagar	61 Bhatnagar	58 Bhatnagar	145 Bhatnagar	126 Bhatnagar
34 Bhatnagar	62 Bhatnagar	59 Bhatnagar	146 Bhatnagar	127 Bhatnagar
35 Bhatnagar	63 Bhatnagar	60 Bhatnagar	147 Bhatnagar	128 Bhatnagar
36 Bhatnagar	64 Bhatnagar	61 Bhatnagar	148 Bhatnagar	129 Bhatnagar
37 Bhatnagar	65 Bhatnagar	62 Bhatnagar	149 Bhatnagar	130 Bhatnagar
38 Bhatnagar	66 Bhatnagar	63 Bhatnagar	150 Bhatnagar	131 Bhatnagar
39 Bhatnagar	67 Bhatnagar	64 Bhatnagar	151 Bhatnagar	132 Bhatnagar
40 Bhatnagar	68 Bhatnagar	65 Bhatnagar	152 Bhatnagar	133 Bhatnagar
41 Bhatnagar	69 Bhatnagar	66 Bhatnagar	153 Bhatnagar	134 Bhatnagar
42 Bhatnagar	70 Bhatnagar	67 Bhatnagar	154 Bhatnagar	135 Bhatnagar
43 Bhatnagar	71 Bhatnagar	68 Bhatnagar	155 Bhatnagar	136 Bhatnagar
44 Bhatnagar	72 Bhatnagar	69 Bhatnagar	156 Bhatnagar	137 Bhatnagar
45 Bhatnagar	73 Bhatnagar	70 Bhatnagar	157 Bhatnagar	138 Bhatnagar
46 Bhatnagar	74 Bhatnagar	71 Bhatnagar	158 Bhatnagar	139 Bhatnagar
47 Bhatnagar	75 Bhatnagar	72 Bhatnagar	159 Bhatnagar	140 Bhatnagar
48 Bhatnagar	76 Bhatnagar	73 Bhatnagar	160 Bhatnagar	141 Bhatnagar
49 Bhatnagar	77 Bhatnagar	74 Bhatnagar	161 Bhatnagar	142 Bhatnagar
50 Bhatnagar	78 Bhatnagar	75 Bhatnagar	162 Bhatnagar	143 Bhatnagar
51 Bhatnagar	79 Bhatnagar	76 Bhatnagar	163 Bhatnagar	144 Bhatnagar
52 Bhatnagar	80 Bhatnagar	77 Bhatnagar	164 Bhatnagar	145 Bhatnagar
53 Bhatnagar	81 Bhatnagar	78 Bhatnagar	165 Bhatnagar	146 Bhatnagar
54 Bhatnagar	82 Bhatnagar	79 Bhatnagar	166 Bhatnagar	147 Bhatnagar
55 Bhatnagar	83 Bhatnagar	80 Bhatnagar	167 Bhatnagar	148 Bhatnagar
56 Bhatnagar	84 Bhatnagar	81 Bhatnagar	168 Bhatnagar	149 Bhatnagar
57 Bhatnagar	85 Bhatnagar	82 Bhatnagar	169 Bhatnagar	150 Bhatnagar
58 Bhatnagar	86 Bhatnagar	83 Bhatnagar	170 Bhatnagar	151 Bhatnagar
59 Bhatnagar	87 Bhatnagar	84 Bhatnagar	171 Bhatnagar	152 Bhatnagar
60 Bhatnagar	88 Bhatnagar	85 Bhatnagar	172 Bhatnagar	153 Bhatnagar
61 Bhatnagar	89 Bhatnagar	86 Bhatnagar	173 Bhatnagar	154 Bhatnagar
62 Bhatnagar	90 Bhatnagar	87 Bhatnagar	174 Bhatnagar	155 Bhatnagar
63 Bhatnagar	91 Bhatnagar	88 Bhatnagar	175 Bhatnagar	156 Bhatnagar
64 Bhatnagar	92 Bhatnagar	89 Bhatnagar	176 Bhatnagar	157 Bhatnagar
65 Bhatnagar	93 Bhatnagar	90 Bhatnagar	177 Bhatnagar	158 Bhatnagar
66 Bhatnagar	94 Bhatnagar	91 Bhatnagar	178 Bhatnagar	159 Bhatnagar
67 Bhatnagar	95 Bhatnagar	92 Bhatnagar	179 Bhatnagar	160 Bhatnagar
68 Bhatnagar	96 Bhatnagar	93 Bhatnagar	180 Bhatnagar	161 Bhatnagar
69 Bhatnagar	97 Bhatnagar	94 Bhatnagar	181 Bhatnagar	162 Bhatnagar
70 Bhatnagar	98 Bhatnagar	95 Bhatnagar	182 Bhatnagar	163 Bhatnagar
71 Bhatnagar	99 Bhatnagar	96 Bhatnagar	183 Bhatnagar	164 Bhatnagar
72 Bhatnagar	100 Bhatnagar	97 Bhatnagar	184 Bhatnagar	165 Bhatnagar
73 Bhatnagar	101 Bhatnagar	98 Bhatnagar	185 Bhatnagar	166 Bhatnagar
74 Bhatnagar	102 Bhatnagar	99 Bhatnagar	186 Bhatnagar	167 Bhatnagar
75 Bhatnagar	103 Bhatnagar	100 Bhatnagar	187 Bhatnagar	168 Bhatnagar
76 Bhatnagar	104 Bhatnagar	101 Bhatnagar	188 Bhatnagar	169 Bhatnagar
77 Bhatnagar	105 Bhatnagar	102 Bhatnagar	189 Bhatnagar	170 Bhatnagar
78 Bhatnagar	106 Bhatnagar	103 Bhatnagar	190 Bhatnagar	171 Bhatnagar
79 Bhatnagar	107 Bhatnagar	104 Bhatnagar	191 Bhatnagar	172 Bhatnagar
80 Bhatnagar	108 Bhatnagar	105 Bhatnagar	192 Bhatnagar	173 Bhatnagar
81 Bhatnagar	109 Bhatnagar	106 Bhatnagar	193 Bhatnagar	174 Bhatnagar
82 Bhatnagar	110 Bhatnagar	107 Bhatnagar	194 Bhatnagar	175 Bhatnagar
83 Bhatnagar	111 Bhatnagar	108 Bhatnagar	195 Bhatnagar	176 Bhatnagar
84 Bhatnagar	112 Bhatnagar	109 Bhatnagar	196 Bhatnagar	177 Bhatnagar
85 Bhatnagar	113 Bhatnagar	110 Bhatnagar	197 Bhatnagar	178 Bhatnagar
86 Bhatnagar	114 Bhatnagar	111 Bhatnagar	198 Bhatnagar	179 Bhatnagar
87 Bhatnagar	115 Bhatnagar	112 Bhatnagar	199 Bhatnagar	180 Bhatnagar
88 Bhatnagar	116 Bhatnagar	113 Bhatnagar	200 Bhatnagar	181 Bhatnagar
89 Bhatnagar	117 Bhatnagar	114 Bhatnagar	201 Bhatnagar	182 Bhatnagar
90 Bhatnagar	118 Bhatnagar	115 Bhatnagar	202 Bhatnagar	183 Bhatnagar
91 Bhatnagar	119 Bhatnagar	116 Bhatnagar	203 Bhatnagar	184 Bhatnagar
92 Bhatnagar	120 Bhatnagar	117 Bhatnagar	204 Bhatnagar	185 Bhatnagar
93 Bhatnagar	121 Bhatnagar	118 Bhatnagar	205 Bhatnagar	186 Bhatnagar
94 Bhatnagar	122 Bhatnagar	119 Bhatnagar	206 Bhatnagar	187 Bhatnagar
95 Bhatnagar	123 Bhatnagar	120 Bhatnagar	207 Bhatnagar	188 Bhatnagar
96 Bhatnagar	124 Bhatnagar	121 Bhatnagar	208 Bhatnagar	189 Bhatnagar
97 Bhatnagar	125 Bhatnagar	122 Bhatnagar	209 Bhatnagar	190 Bhatnagar
98 Bhatnagar	126 Bhatnagar	123 Bhatnagar	210 Bhatnagar	191 Bhatnagar
99 Bhatnagar	127 Bhatnagar	124 Bhatnagar	211 Bhatnagar	192 Bhatnagar
100 Bhatnagar	128 Bhatnagar	125 Bhatnagar	212 Bhatnagar	193 Bhatnagar
101 Bhatnagar	129 Bhatnagar	126 Bhatnagar	213 Bhatnagar	194 Bhatnagar
102 Bhatnagar	130 Bhatnagar	127 Bhatnagar	214 Bhatnagar	195 Bhatnagar
103 Bhatnagar	131 Bhatnagar	128 Bhatnagar	215 Bhatnagar	196 Bhatnagar
104 Bhatnagar	132 Bhatnagar	129 Bhatnagar	216 Bhatnagar	197 Bhatnagar
105 Bhatnagar	133 Bhatnagar	130 Bhatnagar	217 Bhatnagar	198 Bhatnagar
106 Bhatnagar	134 Bhatnagar	131 Bhatnagar	218 Bhatnagar	199 Bhatnagar
107 Bhatnagar	135 Bhatnagar	132 Bhatnagar	219 Bhatnagar	200 Bhatnagar
108 Bhatnagar	136 Bhatnagar	133 Bhatnagar	220 Bhatnagar	201 Bhatnagar
109 Bhatnagar	137 Bhatnagar	134 Bhatnagar	221 Bhatnagar	202 Bhatnagar
110 Bhatnagar	138 Bhatnagar	135 Bhatnagar	222 Bhatnagar	203 Bhatnagar
111 Bhatnagar	139 Bhatnagar	136 Bhatnagar	223 Bhatnagar	204 Bhatnagar
112 Bhatnagar	140 Bhatnagar	137 Bhatnagar	224 Bhatnagar	205 Bhatnagar
113 Bhatnagar	141 Bhatnagar	138 Bhatnagar	225 Bhatnagar	206 Bhatnagar
114 Bhatnagar	142 Bhatnagar	139 Bhatnagar	226 Bhatnagar	207 Bhatnagar
115 Bhatnagar	143 Bhatnagar	140 Bhatnagar	227 Bhatnagar	208 Bhatnagar
116 Bhatnagar	144 Bhatnagar	141 Bhatnagar	228 Bhatnagar	209 Bhatnagar
117 Bhatnagar	145 Bhatnagar	142 Bhatnagar	229 Bhatnagar	210 Bhatnagar
118 Bhatnagar	146 Bhatnagar	143 Bhatnagar	230 Bhatnagar	211 Bhatnagar
119 Bhatnagar	147 Bhatnagar	144 Bhatnagar	231 Bhatnagar	212 Bhatnagar
120 Bhatnagar	148 Bhatnagar	145 Bhatnagar	232 Bhatnagar	213 Bhatnagar
121 Bhatnagar	149 Bhatnagar	146 Bhatnagar	233 Bhatnagar	214 Bhatnagar
122 Bhatnagar	150 Bhatnagar	147 Bhatnagar	234 Bhatnagar	215 Bhatnagar
123 Bhatnagar	151 Bhatnagar	148 Bhatnagar	235 Bhatnagar	216 Bhatnagar
124 Bhatnagar	152 Bhatnagar	149 Bhatnagar	236 Bhatnagar	217 Bhatnagar
125 Bhatnagar	153 Bhatnagar	150 Bhatnagar	237 Bhatnagar	218 Bhatnagar
126 Bhatnagar	154 Bhatnagar	151 Bhatnagar	238 Bhatnagar	219 Bhatnagar
127 Bhatnagar	155 Bhatnagar	152 Bhatnagar	239 Bhatnagar	220 Bhatnagar
128 Bhatnagar	156 Bhatnagar	153 Bhatnagar	240 Bhatnagar	221 Bhatnagar
129 Bhatnagar	157 Bhatnagar	154 Bhatnagar	241 Bhatnagar	222 Bhatnagar
130 Bhatnagar	158 Bhatnagar	155 Bhatnagar	242 Bhatnagar	223 Bhatnagar
131 Bhatnagar	159 Bhatnagar	156 Bhatnagar	243 Bhatnagar	224 Bhatnagar
132 Bhatnagar	160 Bhatnagar	157 Bhatnagar	244 Bhatnagar	225 Bhatnagar
133 Bhatnagar	161 Bhatnagar	158 Bhatnagar	245 Bhatnagar	226 Bhatnagar
134 Bhatnagar	162 Bhatnagar	159 Bhatnagar	246 Bhatnagar	227 Bhatnagar
135 Bhatnagar	163 Bhatnagar	160 Bhatnagar	247 Bhatnagar	228 Bhatnagar
136 Bhatnagar	164 Bhatnagar	161 Bhatnagar	248 Bhatnagar	229 Bhatnagar
137 Bhatnagar	165 Bhatnagar	162 Bhatnagar	249 Bhatnagar	230 Bhatnagar
138 Bhatnagar	166 Bhatnagar	163 Bhatnagar	250 Bhatnagar	231 Bhatnagar
139 Bhatnagar	167 Bhatnagar	164 Bhatnagar	251 Bhatnagar	232 Bhatnagar
140 Bhatnagar	168 Bhatnagar	165 Bhatnagar	252 Bhatnagar	233 Bhatnagar
141 Bhatnagar	169 Bhatnagar	166 Bhatnagar	253 Bhatnagar	234 Bhatnagar
142 Bhatnagar	170 Bhatnagar	167 Bhatnagar	254 Bhatnagar	235 Bhatnagar
143 Bhatnagar	171 Bhatnagar	168 Bhatnagar	255 Bhatnagar	236 Bhatnagar
144 Bhatnagar	172 Bhatnagar	169 Bhatnagar	256 Bhatnagar	237 Bhatnagar
145 Bhatnagar	173 Bhatnagar	170 Bhatnagar	257 Bhatnagar	238 Bhatnagar
146 Bhatnagar	174 Bhatnagar	171 Bhatnagar	258 Bhatnagar	239 Bhatnagar
147 Bhatnagar	175 Bhatnagar	172 Bhatnagar	259 Bhatnagar	240 Bhatnagar
148 Bhatnagar	176 Bhatnagar	173 Bhatnagar	260 Bhatnagar	241 Bhatnagar
149 Bhatnagar	177 Bhatnagar	174 Bhatnagar	261 Bhatnagar	242 Bhatnagar
150 Bhatnagar	178 Bhatnagar	175 Bhatnagar	262 Bhatnagar	243 Bhatnagar
151 Bhatnagar	179 Bhatnagar	176 Bhatnagar	263 Bhatnagar	244 Bhatnagar
152 Bhatnagar	180 Bhatnagar	177 Bhatnagar	264 Bhatnagar	245 Bhatnagar
153 Bhatnagar	181 Bhatnagar	178 Bhatnagar	265 Bhatnagar	246 Bhatnagar
154 Bhatnagar	182 Bhatnagar	179 Bhatnagar	266 Bhatnagar	247 Bhatnagar
155 Bhatnagar	183 Bhatnagar	180 Bhatnagar	267 Bhatnagar	248 Bhatnagar
156 Bhatnagar	184 Bhatnagar	181 Bhatnagar	268 Bhatnagar	249 Bhatnagar
157 Bhatnagar	185 Bhatnagar	182 Bhatnagar	269 Bhatnagar	250 Bhatnagar
158 Bhatnagar	186 Bhatnagar	183 Bhatnagar	270 Bhatnagar	251 Bhatnagar
159 Bhatnagar	187 Bhatnagar	184 Bhatnagar	271 Bhatnagar	252 Bhatnagar
160 Bhatnagar	188 Bhatnagar	185 Bhatnagar	272 Bhatnagar	253 Bhatnagar
161 Bhatnagar	189 Bhatnagar	186 Bhatnagar	273 Bhatnagar	254 Bhatnagar
162 Bhatnagar	190 Bhatnagar	187 Bhatnagar	274 Bhatnagar	255 Bhatnagar
163 Bhatnagar	191 Bhatnagar	188 Bhatnagar	275 Bhatnagar	256 Bhatnagar
164 Bhatnagar	192 Bhatnagar	189 Bhatnagar	276 Bhatnagar	257 Bhatnagar
165 Bhatnagar	193 Bhatnagar	190 Bhatnagar	277 Bhatnagar	258 Bhatnagar
166 Bhatnagar	194 Bhatnagar	191 Bhatnagar	278 Bhatnagar	259 Bhatnagar
167 Bhatnagar	195 Bhatnagar	192 Bhatnagar	279 Bhatnagar	260 Bhatnagar
168 Bhatnagar	196 Bhatnagar	193 Bhatnagar	280 Bhatnagar	261 Bhatnagar
169 Bhatnagar	197 Bhatnagar	194 Bhatnagar	281 Bhatnagar	262 Bhatnagar
170 Bhatnagar	198 Bhatnagar	195 Bhatnagar	282 Bhatnagar	263 Bhatnagar
171 Bhatnagar	199 Bhatnagar	196 Bhatnagar	283 Bhatnagar	264 Bhatnagar
172 Bhatnagar	200 Bhatnagar	197 Bhatnagar	284 Bhatnagar	265 Bhatnagar
173 Bhatnagar	201 Bhatnagar	198 Bhatnagar	285 Bhatnagar	266 Bhatnagar
174 Bhatnagar	202 Bhatnagar	199 Bhatnagar	286 Bhatnagar	267 Bhatnagar
175 Bhatnagar	203 Bhatnagar	200 Bhatnagar	287 Bhatnagar	268 Bhatnagar
176 Bhatnagar	204 Bhatnagar	201 Bhatnagar	288 Bhatnagar	269 Bhatnagar
177 Bhatnagar	205 Bhatnagar	202 Bhatnagar	289 Bhatnagar	270 Bhatnagar
178 Bhatnagar	206 Bhatnagar	203 Bhatnagar	290 Bhatnagar	271 Bhatnagar
179 Bhatnagar	207 Bhatnagar	204 Bhatnagar	291 Bhatnagar	272 Bhatnagar
180 Bhatnagar	208 Bhatnagar	205 Bhatnagar	292 Bhatnagar	273 Bhatnagar
181 Bhatnagar	209 Bhatnagar	206 Bhatnagar	293 Bhatnagar	274 Bhatnagar
182 Bhatnagar	210 Bhatnagar	207 Bhatnagar	294 Bhatnagar	275 Bhatnagar
183 Bhatnagar	211 Bhatnagar	208 Bhatnagar	295 Bhatnagar	276 Bhatnagar
184 Bhatnagar	212 Bhatnagar	209 Bhatnagar	296 Bhatnagar	277 Bhatnagar
185 Bhatnagar	213 Bhatnagar	210 Bhatnagar	297 Bhatnagar	278 Bhatnagar
186 Bhatnagar	214 Bhatnagar	211 Bhatnagar	298 Bhatnagar	279 Bhatnagar
187 Bhatnagar	215 Bhatnagar	212 Bhatnagar	299 Bhatnagar	280 Bhatnagar
188 Bhatnagar	216 Bhatnagar	213 Bhatnagar	300 Bhatnagar	281 Bhatnagar
189 Bhatnagar	217 Bhatnagar	214 Bhatnagar	301 Bhatnagar	282 Bhatnagar
190 Bhatnagar	218 Bhatnagar	215 Bhatnagar	302 Bhatnagar	283 Bhatnagar
191 Bhatnagar	219 Bhatnagar	216 Bhatnagar	303 Bhatnagar	284 Bhatnagar
192 Bhatnagar	220 Bhatnagar	217 Bhatnagar	304 Bhatnagar	285 Bhatnagar
193 Bhatnagar	221 Bhatnagar	218 Bhatnagar	305 Bhatnagar	286 Bhatnagar
194 Bhatnagar	222 Bhatnagar	219 Bhatnagar	306 Bhatnagar	287 Bhatnagar
195 Bhatnagar	223 Bhatnagar	220 Bhatnagar	307 Bhatnagar	288 Bhatnagar
196 Bhatnagar	224 Bhatnagar	221 Bhatnagar	308 Bhatnagar	289 Bhatnagar
197 Bhatnagar	225 Bhatnagar	222 Bhatnagar	309 Bhatnagar	290 Bhatnagar
198 Bhatnagar	226 Bhatnagar	223 Bhatnagar	310 Bhatnagar	291 Bhatnagar
199 Bhatnagar	227 Bhatnagar	224 Bhatnagar	311 Bhatnagar	292 Bhatnagar
200 Bhatnagar	228 Bhatnagar	225 Bhatnagar	312 Bhatnagar	293 Bhatnagar
201 Bhatnagar	229 Bhatnagar	226 Bhatnagar	313 Bhatnagar	294 Bhatnagar
202 Bhatnagar	230 Bhatnagar	227 Bhatnagar	314 Bhatnagar	295 Bhatnagar
203 Bhatnagar	231 Bhatnagar	228 Bhatnagar	315 Bhatnagar	296 Bhatnagar
204 Bhatnagar	2			

APPENDIX VIII (A)

SAMBRANGANJ

SUTI

LALGOLA

SHAGABANGOLA

1 Arant Jet Bander	38 Atapachhi	12 Dandak	128 Char Nalidong
2 Bani	39 Bapachhi	13 Chak Dap Gansayur	129 Kaimhuri
3 Jet Bander	40 Bapachhi	14 Kaimhuri	130 Kaimhuri
4 Kaimhuri	41 Bapachhi	15 Dandak	131 Kaimhuri
5 Parapachhi	42 Chak Bapachhi	16 Gachhi	
6 Bani Gansayur	43 Bapachhi	17 Chak Amavanda	
7 Bapachhi	44 Chak Bapachhi	18 Kaimhuri	
8 Bani	45 Kaimhuri	19 Kaimhuri	
9 Uter Bapachhi	46 Bapachhi	20 Kaimhuri	
10 Bapachhi	47 Bapachhi	21 Kaimhuri	
11 Bapachhi	48 Bapachhi	22 Kaimhuri	
12 Bapachhi	49 Bapachhi	23 Kaimhuri	
13 Bapachhi	50 Bapachhi	24 Kaimhuri	
14 Bapachhi	51 Bapachhi	25 Kaimhuri	
15 Bapachhi	52 Bapachhi	26 Kaimhuri	
16 Bapachhi	53 Bapachhi	27 Kaimhuri	
17 Bapachhi	54 Bapachhi	28 Kaimhuri	
18 Bapachhi	55 Bapachhi	29 Kaimhuri	
19 Bapachhi	56 Bapachhi	30 Kaimhuri	
20 Bapachhi	57 Bapachhi	31 Kaimhuri	
21 Bapachhi	58 Bapachhi	32 Kaimhuri	
22 Bapachhi	59 Bapachhi	33 Kaimhuri	
23 Bapachhi	60 Bapachhi	34 Kaimhuri	
24 Bapachhi	61 Bapachhi	35 Kaimhuri	
25 Bapachhi	62 Bapachhi	36 Kaimhuri	
26 Bapachhi	63 Bapachhi	37 Kaimhuri	
27 Bapachhi	64 Bapachhi	38 Kaimhuri	
28 Bapachhi	65 Bapachhi	39 Kaimhuri	
29 Bapachhi	66 Bapachhi	40 Kaimhuri	
30 Bapachhi	67 Bapachhi	41 Kaimhuri	
31 Bapachhi	68 Bapachhi	42 Kaimhuri	
32 Bapachhi	69 Bapachhi	43 Kaimhuri	
33 Bapachhi	70 Bapachhi	44 Kaimhuri	
34 Bapachhi	71 Bapachhi	45 Kaimhuri	
35 Bapachhi	72 Bapachhi	46 Kaimhuri	
36 Bapachhi	73 Bapachhi	47 Kaimhuri	
37 Bapachhi	74 Bapachhi	48 Kaimhuri	
38 Bapachhi	75 Bapachhi	49 Kaimhuri	
39 Bapachhi	76 Bapachhi	50 Kaimhuri	
40 Bapachhi	77 Bapachhi	51 Kaimhuri	
41 Bapachhi	78 Bapachhi	52 Kaimhuri	
42 Bapachhi	79 Bapachhi	53 Kaimhuri	
43 Bapachhi	80 Bapachhi	54 Kaimhuri	
44 Bapachhi	81 Bapachhi	55 Kaimhuri	
45 Bapachhi	82 Bapachhi	56 Kaimhuri	
46 Bapachhi	83 Bapachhi	57 Kaimhuri	
47 Bapachhi	84 Bapachhi	58 Kaimhuri	
48 Bapachhi	85 Bapachhi	59 Kaimhuri	
49 Bapachhi	86 Bapachhi	60 Kaimhuri	
50 Bapachhi	87 Bapachhi	61 Kaimhuri	
51 Bapachhi	88 Bapachhi	62 Kaimhuri	
52 Bapachhi	89 Bapachhi	63 Kaimhuri	
53 Bapachhi	90 Bapachhi	64 Kaimhuri	
54 Bapachhi	91 Bapachhi	65 Kaimhuri	
55 Bapachhi	92 Bapachhi	66 Kaimhuri	
56 Bapachhi	93 Bapachhi	67 Kaimhuri	
57 Bapachhi	94 Bapachhi	68 Kaimhuri	
58 Bapachhi	95 Bapachhi	69 Kaimhuri	
59 Bapachhi	96 Bapachhi	70 Kaimhuri	
60 Bapachhi	97 Bapachhi	71 Kaimhuri	
61 Bapachhi	98 Bapachhi	72 Kaimhuri	
62 Bapachhi	99 Bapachhi	73 Kaimhuri	
63 Bapachhi	100 Bapachhi	74 Kaimhuri	
64 Bapachhi	101 Bapachhi	75 Kaimhuri	
65 Bapachhi	102 Bapachhi	76 Kaimhuri	
66 Bapachhi	103 Bapachhi	77 Kaimhuri	
67 Bapachhi	104 Bapachhi	78 Kaimhuri	
68 Bapachhi	105 Bapachhi	79 Kaimhuri	
69 Bapachhi	106 Bapachhi	80 Kaimhuri	
70 Bapachhi	107 Bapachhi	81 Kaimhuri	
71 Bapachhi	108 Bapachhi	82 Kaimhuri	
72 Bapachhi	109 Bapachhi	83 Kaimhuri	
73 Bapachhi	110 Bapachhi	84 Kaimhuri	
74 Bapachhi	111 Bapachhi	85 Kaimhuri	
75 Bapachhi	112 Bapachhi	86 Kaimhuri	
76 Bapachhi	113 Bapachhi	87 Kaimhuri	
77 Bapachhi	114 Bapachhi	88 Kaimhuri	
78 Bapachhi	115 Bapachhi	89 Kaimhuri	
79 Bapachhi	116 Bapachhi	90 Kaimhuri	
80 Bapachhi	117 Bapachhi	91 Kaimhuri	
81 Bapachhi	118 Bapachhi	92 Kaimhuri	
82 Bapachhi	119 Bapachhi	93 Kaimhuri	
83 Bapachhi	120 Bapachhi	94 Kaimhuri	
84 Bapachhi	121 Bapachhi	95 Kaimhuri	
85 Bapachhi	122 Bapachhi	96 Kaimhuri	
86 Bapachhi	123 Bapachhi	97 Kaimhuri	
87 Bapachhi	124 Bapachhi	98 Kaimhuri	
88 Bapachhi	125 Bapachhi	99 Kaimhuri	
89 Bapachhi	126 Bapachhi	100 Kaimhuri	
90 Bapachhi	127 Bapachhi	101 Kaimhuri	
91 Bapachhi	128 Bapachhi	102 Kaimhuri	
92 Bapachhi	129 Bapachhi	103 Kaimhuri	
93 Bapachhi	130 Bapachhi	104 Kaimhuri	
94 Bapachhi	131 Bapachhi	105 Kaimhuri	
95 Bapachhi	132 Bapachhi	106 Kaimhuri	
96 Bapachhi	133 Bapachhi	107 Kaimhuri	
97 Bapachhi	134 Bapachhi	108 Kaimhuri	
98 Bapachhi	135 Bapachhi	109 Kaimhuri	
99 Bapachhi	136 Bapachhi	110 Kaimhuri	
100 Bapachhi	137 Bapachhi	111 Kaimhuri	
101 Bapachhi	138 Bapachhi	112 Kaimhuri	
102 Bapachhi	139 Bapachhi	113 Kaimhuri	
103 Bapachhi	140 Bapachhi	114 Kaimhuri	
104 Bapachhi	141 Bapachhi	115 Kaimhuri	
105 Bapachhi	142 Bapachhi	116 Kaimhuri	
106 Bapachhi	143 Bapachhi	117 Kaimhuri	
107 Bapachhi	144 Bapachhi	118 Kaimhuri	
108 Bapachhi	145 Bapachhi	119 Kaimhuri	
109 Bapachhi	146 Bapachhi	120 Kaimhuri	
110 Bapachhi	147 Bapachhi	121 Kaimhuri	
111 Bapachhi	148 Bapachhi	122 Kaimhuri	
112 Bapachhi	149 Bapachhi	123 Kaimhuri	
113 Bapachhi	150 Bapachhi	124 Kaimhuri	
114 Bapachhi	151 Bapachhi	125 Kaimhuri	
115 Bapachhi	152 Bapachhi	126 Kaimhuri	
116 Bapachhi	153 Bapachhi	127 Kaimhuri	
117 Bapachhi	154 Bapachhi	128 Kaimhuri	
118 Bapachhi	155 Bapachhi	129 Kaimhuri	
119 Bapachhi	156 Bapachhi	130 Kaimhuri	
120 Bapachhi	157 Bapachhi	131 Kaimhuri	
121 Bapachhi	158 Bapachhi	132 Kaimhuri	
122 Bapachhi	159 Bapachhi	133 Kaimhuri	
123 Bapachhi	160 Bapachhi	134 Kaimhuri	
124 Bapachhi	161 Bapachhi	135 Kaimhuri	
125 Bapachhi	162 Bapachhi	136 Kaimhuri	
126 Bapachhi	163 Bapachhi	137 Kaimhuri	
127 Bapachhi	164 Bapachhi	138 Kaimhuri	
128 Bapachhi	165 Bapachhi	139 Kaimhuri	
129 Bapachhi	166 Bapachhi	140 Kaimhuri	
130 Bapachhi	167 Bapachhi	141 Kaimhuri	
131 Bapachhi	168 Bapachhi	142 Kaimhuri	
132 Bapachhi	169 Bapachhi	143 Kaimhuri	
133 Bapachhi	170 Bapachhi	144 Kaimhuri	
134 Bapachhi	171 Bapachhi	145 Kaimhuri	
135 Bapachhi	172 Bapachhi	146 Kaimhuri	
136 Bapachhi	173 Bapachhi	147 Kaimhuri	
137 Bapachhi	174 Bapachhi	148 Kaimhuri	
138 Bapachhi	175 Bapachhi	149 Kaimhuri	
139 Bapachhi	176 Bapachhi	150 Kaimhuri	
140 Bapachhi	177 Bapachhi	151 Kaimhuri	
141 Bapachhi	178 Bapachhi	152 Kaimhuri	
142 Bapachhi	179 Bapachhi	153 Kaimhuri	
143 Bapachhi	180 Bapachhi	154 Kaimhuri	
144 Bapachhi	181 Bapachhi	155 Kaimhuri	
145 Bapachhi	182 Bapachhi	156 Kaimhuri	
146 Bapachhi	183 Bapachhi	157 Kaimhuri	
147 Bapachhi	184 Bapachhi	158 Kaimhuri	
148 Bapachhi	185 Bapachhi	159 Kaimhuri	
149 Bapachhi	186 Bapachhi	160 Kaimhuri	
150 Bapachhi	187 Bapachhi	161 Kaimhuri	
151 Bapachhi	188 Bapachhi	162 Kaimhuri	
152 Bapachhi	189 Bapachhi	163 Kaimhuri	
153 Bapachhi	190 Bapachhi	164 Kaimhuri	
154 Bapachhi	191 Bapachhi	165 Kaimhuri	
155 Bapachhi	192 Bapachhi	166 Kaimhuri	
156 Bapachhi	193 Bapachhi	167 Kaimhuri	
157 Bapachhi	194 Bapachhi	168 Kaimhuri	
158 Bapachhi	195 Bapachhi	169 Kaimhuri	
159 Bapachhi	196 Bapachhi	170 Kaimhuri	
160 Bapachhi	197 Bapachhi	171 Kaimhuri	
161 Bapachhi	198 Bapachhi	172 Kaimhuri	
162 Bapachhi	199 Bapachhi	173 Kaimhuri	
163 Bapachhi	200 Bapachhi	174 Kaimhuri	
164 Bapachhi	201 Bapachhi	175 Kaimhuri	
165 Bapachhi	202 Bapachhi	176 Kaimhuri	
166 Bapachhi	203 Bapachhi	177 Kaimhuri	
167 Bapachhi	204 Bapachhi	178 Kaimhuri	
168 Bapachhi	205 Bapachhi	179 Kaimhuri	
169 Bapachhi	206 Bapachhi	180 Kaimhuri	
170 Bapachhi	207 Bapachhi	181 Kaimhuri	
171 Bapachhi	208 Bapachhi	182 Kaimhuri	
172 Bapachhi	209 Bapachhi	183 Kaimhuri	
173 Bapachhi	210 Bapachhi	184 Kaimhuri	
174 Bapachhi	211 Bapachhi	185 Kaimhuri	
175 Bapachhi	212 Bapachhi	186 Kaimhuri	
176 Bapachhi	213 Bapachhi	187 Kaimhuri	
177 Bapachhi	214 Bapachhi	188 Kaimhuri	
178 Bapachhi	215 Bapachhi	189 Kaimhuri	
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180 Bapachhi	217 Bapachhi	191 Kaimhuri	
181 Bapachhi	218 Bapachhi	192 Kaimhuri	
182 Bapachhi	219 Bapachhi	193 Kaimhuri	
183 Bapachhi	220 Bapachhi	194 Kaimhuri	
184 Bapachhi	221 Bapachhi	195 Kaimhuri	
185 Bapachhi	222 Bapachhi	196 Kaimhuri	
186 Bapachhi	223 Bapachhi	197 Kaimhuri	
187 Bapachhi	224 Bapachhi	198 Kaimhuri	
188 Bapachhi	225 Bapachhi	199 Kaimhuri	
189 Bapachhi	226 Bapachhi	200 Kaimhuri	
190 Bapachhi	227 Bapachhi	201 Kaimhuri	
191 Bapachhi	228 Bapachhi	202 Kaimhuri	
192 Bapachhi	229 Bapachhi	203 Kaimhuri	
193 Bapachhi	230 Bapachhi	204 Kaimhuri	
194 Bapachhi	231 Bapachhi	205 Kaimhuri	
195 Bapachhi	232 Bapachhi	206 Kaimhuri	
196 Bapachhi	233 Bapachhi	207 Kaimhuri	
197 Bapachhi	234 Bapachhi	208 Kaimhuri	
198 Bapachhi	235 Bapachhi	209 Kaimhuri	
199 Bapachhi	236 Bapachhi	210 Kaimhuri	
200 Bapachhi	237 Bapachhi	211 Kaimhuri	
201 Bapachhi	238 Bapachhi	212 Kaimhuri	
202 Bapachhi	239 Bapachhi	213 Kaimhuri	
203 Bapachhi	240 Bapachhi	214 Kaimhuri	
204 Bapachhi	241 Bapachhi	215 Kaimhuri	
205 Bapachhi	242 Bapachhi	216 Kaimhuri	
206 Bapachhi	243 Bapachhi	217 Kaimhuri	
207 Bapachhi	244 Bapachhi	218 Kaimhuri	
208 Bapachhi	245 Bapachhi	219 Kaimhuri	
209 Bapachhi	246 Bapachhi	220 Kaimhuri	
210 Bapachhi	247 Bapachhi	221 Kaimhuri	
211 Bapachhi	248 Bapachhi	222 Kaimhuri	
212 Bapachhi	249 Bapachhi	223 Kaimhuri	
213 Bapachhi	250 Bapachhi	224 Kaimhuri	
214 Bapachhi	251 Bapachhi	225 Kaimhuri	
215 Bapachhi	252 Bapachhi	226 Kaimhuri	
216 Bapachhi	253 Bapachhi	227 Kaimhuri	
217 Bapachhi	254 Bapachhi	228 Kaimhuri	
218 Bapachhi	255 Bapachhi	229 Kaimhuri	
219 Bapachhi	256 Bapachhi	230 Kaimhuri	
220 Bapachhi	257 Bapachhi	231 Kaimhuri	
221 Bapachhi	258 Bapachhi	232 Kaimhuri	
222 Bapachhi	259 Bapachhi	233 Kaimhuri	
223 Bapachhi	260 Bapachhi	234 Kaimhuri	
224 Bapachhi	261 Bapachhi	235 Kaimhuri	
225 Bapachhi	262 Bapachhi	236 Kaimhuri	
226 Bapachhi	263 Bapachhi	237 Kaimhuri	
227 Bapachhi	264 Bapachhi	238 Kaimhuri	
228 Bapachhi	265 Bapachhi	239 Kaimhuri	
229 Bapachhi	266 Bapachhi	240 Kaimhuri	
230 Bapachhi	267 Bapachhi	241 Kaimhuri	
231 Bapachhi	268 Bapachhi	242 Kaimhuri	
232 Bapachhi	269 Bapachhi	243 Kaimhuri	
233 Bapachhi	270 Bapachhi	244 Kaimhuri	
234 Bapachhi	271 Bapachhi	245 Kaimhuri	
235 Bapachhi	272 Bapachhi	246 Kaimhuri	
236 Bapachhi	273 Bapachhi	247 Kaimhuri	
237 Bapachhi	274 Bapachhi	248 Kaimhuri	
238 Bapachhi	275 Bapachhi	249 Kaimhuri	
239 Bapachhi	276 Bapachhi	250 Kaimhuri	
240 Bapachhi	277 Bapachhi	251 Kaimhuri	
241 Bapachhi	278 Bapachhi	252 Kaimhuri	
242 Bapachhi	279 Bapachhi	253 Kaimhuri	
243 Bapachhi	280 Bapachhi	254 Kaimhuri	
244 Bapachhi	281 Bapachhi	255 Kaimhuri	
245 Bapachhi	282 Bapachhi	256 Kaimhuri	
246 Bapachhi	283 Bapachhi	257 Kaimhuri	
247 Bapachhi	284 Bapachhi	258 Kaimhuri	
248 Bapachhi	285 Bapachhi	259 Kaimhuri	
249 Bapachhi	286 Bapachhi	260 Kaimhuri	
250 Bapachhi	287 Bapachhi	261 Kaimhuri	
251 Bapachhi	288 Bapachhi	262 Kaimhuri	
252 Bapachhi	289 Bapachhi	263 Kaimhuri	
253 Bapachhi	290 Bapachhi	264 Kaimhuri	
254 Bapachhi	291 Bapachhi	265 Kaimhuri	
255 Bapachhi	292 Bapachhi	266 Kaimhuri	
256 Bapachhi	293 Bapachhi	267 Kaimhuri	
257 Bapachhi	294 Bapachhi	268 Kaimhuri	
258 Bapachhi	295 Bapachhi	269 Kaimhuri	
259 Bapachhi	296 Bapachhi	270 Kaimhuri	
260 Bapachhi	297 Bapachhi	271 Kaimhuri	
261 Bapachhi	298 Bapachhi	272 Kaimhuri	
262 Bapachhi	299 Bapachhi	273 Kaimhuri	
263 Bapachhi	300 Bapachhi	274 Kaimhuri	
264 Bapachhi	301 Bapachhi	275 Kaimhuri	
265 Bapachhi	302 Bapachhi	276 Kaimhuri	
266 Bapachhi	303 Bapachhi	277 Kaimhuri	
267 Bapachhi	304 Bapachhi	278 Kaimhuri	
268 Bapachhi	305 Bapachhi	279 Kaimhuri	
269 Bapachhi	306 Bapachhi	280 Kaimhuri	
270 Bapachhi	307 Bapachhi	281 Kaimhuri	
271 Bapachhi	308 Bapachhi	282 Kaimhuri	
272 Bapachhi	309 Bapachhi	283 Kaimhuri	
273 Bapachhi	310 Bapachhi	284 Kaimhuri	
274 Bapachhi	311 Bapachhi	285 Kaimhuri	
275 Bapachhi	312 Bapachhi	286 Kaimhuri	
276 Bapachhi	313 Bapachhi	287 Kaimhuri	
277 Bapachhi	314 Bapachhi	288 Kaimhuri	
278 Bapachhi	315 Bapachhi	289 Kaimhuri	
279 Bapachhi	316 Bapachhi	290 Kaimhuri	
280 Bapachhi	317 Bapachhi	291 Kaimhuri	
281 Bapachhi	318 Bapachhi	292 Kaimhuri	
282 Bapachhi	319 Bapachhi	293 Kaimhuri	
283 Bapachhi	320 Bapachhi	294 Kaimhuri	
284 Bapachhi	321 Bapachhi	295 Kaimhuri	
285 Bapachhi	322 Bapachhi	296 Kaimhuri	
286 Bapachhi	323 Bapachhi	297 Kaimhuri	
287 Bapachhi	324 Bapachhi	298 Kaimhuri	
288 Bapachhi	325 Bapachhi	299 Kaimhuri	
289 Bapachhi	326 Bapachhi	300 Kaimhuri	
290 Bapachhi	327 Bapachhi	301 Kaimhuri	
291 Bapachhi	328 Bapachhi	302 Kaimhuri	
2			

10 Pūvāḥ
 11 Kūṣṭhāṇḍī
 12 Mahāndravya
 13 Nāṣṭhāḥ
 14 Aśṭāṅga
 15 Jyotiṣa
 16 Nāṣṭhāṇḍī
 17 Labhāṇḍī
 18 Nāṣṭhāṇḍī
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 40 Nāṣṭhāṇḍī

101 Nāṣṭhāṇḍī
 102 Nāṣṭhāṇḍī
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 116 Nāṣṭhāṇḍī
 117 Nāṣṭhāṇḍī
 118 Nāṣṭhāṇḍī
 119 Nāṣṭhāṇḍī
 120 Nāṣṭhāṇḍī

LALGOLA

1 Nāṣṭhāṇḍī
 2 Nāṣṭhāṇḍī
 3 Nāṣṭhāṇḍī
 4 Nāṣṭhāṇḍī
 5 Nāṣṭhāṇḍī
 6 Nāṣṭhāṇḍī
 7 Nāṣṭhāṇḍī
 8 Nāṣṭhāṇḍī
 9 Nāṣṭhāṇḍī
 10 Nāṣṭhāṇḍī
 11 Nāṣṭhāṇḍī

120 Nāṣṭhāṇḍī
 121 Nāṣṭhāṇḍī
 122 Nāṣṭhāṇḍī
 123 Nāṣṭhāṇḍī
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 146 Nāṣṭhāṇḍī
 147 Nāṣṭhāṇḍī
 148 Nāṣṭhāṇḍī
 149 Nāṣṭhāṇḍī
 150 Nāṣṭhāṇḍī

APPENDIX IX (b).

Specimen Irrigation record with translation of entries into English.

<div> <div>জল সেচনের স্বত্ব লিপি</div> <div>Record of rights of irrigation</div> <div> <div>জিলা মুর্শিদাবাদ</div> <div>District Murshidabad</div> </div> <div> <div>মৌজা কীরিটেওয়ারী</div> <div>Mauza Kiriteawari</div> </div> <div> <div>জে: এল: নং ১০১</div> <div>J. L. No. 101</div> </div> <div> <div>থানা নবগ্রাম</div> <div>Police Station Nabagram</div> </div> <div> <div>পরগণা রুকুনপুর গং</div> <div>Pargana Rukunpur and others</div> </div> <div> <div>রে: সা: নং ২০০</div> <div>R. S. No. 200</div> </div> </div>						
১	২	৩		৪	৫	৬
যে দাগ হইতে জল সেচন হয় তাহার নম্বর ও শ্রেণী।	খতিয়ান নম্বর।	অমির পরিমাণ।		যে যে দাগের উপর সাময়িক নালী কাটা হয় তাহার নম্বর।	১ কলমে লিখিত দাগ হইতে যে যে দাগে জল সেচন হয় তাহার নম্বর।	৫ কলমে লিখিত দাগে যে প্রণালীতে জল সেচন হয় তাহার বিবরণ।
Number and classification of the source of irrigation.	Khatian number	এ:	শ:	Plots through which temporary channels pass.	Plots irrigated from the source in column 1.	Details of the methods of irrigation of plots mentioned in column 5.
১	২	Ac.	Dec	৪	৫	৬
৪১ পুকুর প্রঃ ঘৃতকুমারী পুকুর। 41 Tank called Ghritaku- mari.	২৫৮ 258		১৬ 16	২৭,৩৮ 27,28 ২৭,২৪,২৫,২০,১৮ 27,24,25,20,18	২৭,৩০,৩২,৪০ 27,30,39,40 ২৮,২৯ 28,29 ১৭,১৮,২০,২৪,২৫, ২৬। 17,18,20,24,25, 26.	২৭ দাগের পাশ্বে তীর- চিহ্নিত নালী দ্বারা। Through arrow-marked channel by the side of plot No. 27. ২৭ দাগের পাশ্বে তীর- চিহ্নিত নালী তৎপর ৪ কলমে লিখিত দাগের উপর দিয়া (১) প্রথম প্রণালী অনুসারে। Arrow-marked channel by the side of plot No. 27, then accord- ing to method No. 1 below, through plots in column 4. ২৭ দাগের পাশ্বে তীর- চিহ্নিত নালী তৎপর ৪ কলমে লিখিত দাগের উপর দিয়া (১) প্রথম প্রণালী অনুসারে। Arrow-marked channel by the side of plot No. 27, then accord- ing to method No. 1 below, through plots in column 4.

(১) প্রথম প্রণালী :—জলসেচন হইতে অভ্যন্তর দাগের উপর প্রবাহিত দাগের সাময়িক নালী কাটা জল সেচন হয় এবং তাহাতে কাহারই বাধাদিবার অধিকার নাই।

1st method:—By custom, irrigation from the source is conducted through temporary channels cut across others' fields and nobody has any right to object to that

(২) দ্বিতীয় প্রণালী :—জলসেচন হইতে উপরের স্তরের জমি প্রাথমিক হওয়ার পর নিম্নস্তরের জমি পরস্পরক্রমে জল পাইবার থাকে। উপরিহ জমির দখলকার দ্বারা উহা উন্মুক্ত করিয়া কিংবা আইল কাটিতে বাধাদিবার অস্ত্রের জমিতে জল সেচনে বাধাদিতে পারে না।

2nd method :—Plots lower down the terrace are irrigated after the plots higher up are inundated from the source. Owners of fields have no right to object to irrigation by raising the common alignments or ails and preventing to cut them open for purposes of irrigation.

মন্তব্য :—জল সেচন ব্যতীত অন্য প্রকারে ব্যবহারের স্বত্ব মন্তব্যে লিখিত হইল।

জল সেচনের স্বত্ব নিশি
Record of rights of irrigation

জিলা মুর্শিদাবাদ
District Murshidabad

মৌজা কিরীটেস্বরী
Manza Kiriteswari

জেঃ এলঃ নং ১০১
J. L. No. 101

থানা নবগ্রাম
Police Station Nabagram

পরগণা রুকুনপুর প্রভৃতি
Pargana Rukunpur and others

রেঃ সাঃ নং ২০০
R. S. No. 200.

যে দাগ হইতে জল সেচন হয় তাহার নম্বর ও প্রণী। Number and clas- sification of the source of irrigation.	খতিয়ান নম্বর। Khatian number.	জমির পরিমাণ। Area.		যে যে দাগের উপর সাময়িক নালা কাটা হয় তাহার নম্বর। Plots through which tempo- rary channels pass.	১ কলমে লিখিত দাগ হইতে যে যে দাগে জল সেচন হয় তাহার নম্বর। Plots irrigated from the source in column 1.	৫ কলমে লিখিত দাগে যে প্রণালীতে জল সেচন হয়, তাহার বিবরণ। Details of the methods of irrigation of plots mentioned in column 5.	মন্তব্য। Remarks.
		এঃ Ac.	শঃ Dec.				
				৩০,৯২২	৩১,৯২২	২৭ দাগের পাশেই তীর- চিহ্নিত নালা, তৎপরে ৪ কলমে লিখিত দাগের উপর দিয়া (১) প্রথম প্রণালী অনুসারে। Arrow-marked channel by the side of plot No. 27, then accord- ing to method No. 1 below through plots in column 4.	
১৮০ পুকুর প্রঃ দস্তিনা- পুকুর। 180 Tank called Dastina- Pukur.	৪২৫	১	০২	30,922	31,922	১৮৭ নং নালা দ্বারা। By channel No. 187.	
১৮৩ পুকুর প্রঃ লোহাজুরী পুকুর। 183 Tank called Lohajuri.	২৭১	১	০৩		১৮৪, ১৯২, ১৯৪, ১৯৬, ১৯৭। 184, 199, 194, 196, 193.	১৯৫ নং নালা দ্বারা। By channel No. 195.	

(১) প্রথম প্রণালী :—জলাশয় হইতে অভ্যন্তর দাগের উপর প্রবাহিত নালা কাটিয়া জল সেচন হয় এবং তাহাতে কাহারই বাধাদিবার অধিকার নাই।

1st method:—By custom, irrigation from the source is conducted through temporary channels cut across others' fields and nobody has any right to object to that.

(২) দ্বিতীয় প্রণালী :—জলাশয় হইতে উপরের তরের জমি প্রাপ্ত হওয়ার পর নিম্নতরের জমি পরস্পরাক্রমে জল পাইয়া থাকে। উপরিস্থ জমির দখলকার সাধারণ আইন উল্লঙ্ঘন করিয়া, কিংবা আইন কাটিতে বাধাদিয়া অস্তের জমিতে জল সেচনে বাধাদিতে পারে না।

2nd method :—Plots lower down the terrace are irrigated after the plots higher up are inundated from the source. Owners of fields have no right to object to irrigation by raising the common alignments or ails and preventing to cut them open for purposes of irrigation.

মন্তব্য :—জল সেচন ব্যতীত অন্য প্রকারে ব্যবহারের স্বত্ব মন্তব্যে লিখিত হইল।

N. B.—Rights other than irrigation are entered in the Remarks column.

জল সেচনের স্বত্ব লিপি
Record of rights of irrigation

জিলা মুর্শিদাবাদ
District Murshidabad

মৌজা কীরীটেবরী
Mauza Kiriteswari

জে: এল: নং ১০১

J. L. No. 101

থানা, নবগ্রাম
Police Station Nabagram

পরগণা রুকুনপুর ও অন্যান্য
Pargana Rukunpur and others

রে: সা: নং ২০০

R. S. No. 200

যে দাগ হইতে জল সেচন হয় তাহার নম্বর ও প্রণালী। Number and clas- sification of the source of irrigation.	খতিয়ান নম্বর। Khatian number.	অমির পরিমাণ। Area.	যে যে দাগের উপর সাময়িক নালা কাটা হয় তাহার নম্বর। Plots through which tempo- rary channels pass.	১ কলমে লিখিত দাগ হইতে যে যে দাগে জল সেচন হয় তাহার নম্বর। Plots irrigated from the source in column 1.	৫ কলমে লিখিত দাগে যে প্রণালীতে জল সেচন হয় তাহার বিবরণ। Details of the methods of irrigation of plots mentioned in column 5.	মন্তব্য। Remarks.
১	২	এ: ৩ Ac. Dec.	৪	৫	৬	৭
২০৮ পুকুর প্র: আপসারা পুকুর। 208 Tank called Apsara Pukur.	৮,৯,২৫৮ 8,9,258	১ ৪৭ 1 47	১২২, ১২৭, ১২৮, ২০০, ২০১। 199, 197, 198, 200, 201. ১২৪, ১২১ 194, 191	১২৭ হইতে ২০২ 197 to 202 ১৮৫, ১২০ হইতে ১২২। 185, 190 to 192. ২০২, ২০৭ 209, 207	১২৫ নং নালা তৎপর ৪ কলমে লিখিত দাগের উপর দিয়া (১) প্রথম প্রণালী অনুসারে। Channel No. 195 and then according to me- thod No. 1 below, through plots in column 4. ১২৫ নং নালা তৎপর ৪ কলমে লিখিত দাগের উপর দিয়া (১) প্রথম প্রণালী অনুসারে। Channel No. 195 then by the first method through plots men- tioned in column 4. সরাসরি সেচন হয়। Direct from the source.	

(১) প্রথম প্রণালী :—জলাশয় হইতে অভ্যন্তর দাগের উপর প্রবাহিত হইয়া সাময়িক নালা কাটিয়া জল সেচন হয় এবং তাহাতে কাহারই বাধাদিবার অধিকার নাই।

1st method :—By custom, irrigation from the source is conducted through temporary channels out across others' fields and nobody has any right to object to that.

(২) দ্বিতীয় প্রণালী :—জলাশয় হইতে উপরের দাগের জল প্রবাহিত হওয়ার পর নিম্নতরের জমি পরস্পরক্রমে জল পাইয়া থাকে। উপরিষ্ঠ জমির মালিকের সাধারণ আইন উচ্চ করিয়া, কিংবা আইন কাটিতে বাধাদিবা অন্যের জমিতে জল সেচনে বাধাদিতে পারে না।

2nd method :—Plots lower down the terrace are irrigated after the plots higher up are inundated from the source. Owners of fields have no right to object to irrigation by raising the common alignments or ails and preventing to cut them open for purposes of irrigation.

টীকা :—জল সেচন ব্যতীত অন্য প্রকারে ব্যবহারের স্বত্ব মন্তব্যে লিখিত হইল।

N. B. :—Rights other than irrigation are entered in the Remarks column.

জল সেচনের বহু লিপি
Record of rights of irrigation

জিলা মুর্শিদাবাদ
District Murshidabad

মোজা কীরীটেশ্বরী
Mauza Kiriteswari.

জেঃ এলঃ নং ১০১
J. L. No. 101

থানা নবগ্রাম
Police Station Nabagram

পরগণা রুকুনপুর গং
Pargana Rukunpur and others

রেঃ সাঃ নং ২০০
R. S. No. 200

বে দাগ হইতে জল সেচন হয় তাহার নম্বর ও শ্রেণী। Number and clas- sification of the source of irrigation.	খতিয়ান নম্বর। Khatian number.	জমির পরিমাণ। Area.	বে বে দাগের উপর সাময়িক নালা কাটা হয় তাহার নম্বর। Plots through which tempo- rary channels pass.	১ কলমে লিখিত দাগ হইতে বে বে দাগে জল সেচন হয় তাহার নম্বর। Plots irrigated from the source in column 1.	২ কলমে লিখিত দাগে বে প্রণালীতে জল সেচন হয় তাহার বিবরণ। Details of the methods of irrigation of plots mentioned in column 5.	মন্তব্য। Remarks.
১	২	৩	৪	৫	৬	৭
			২০৭,৯	৮,৯	৪ কলমে লিখিত দাগের উপর দ্বিতীয় (১) প্রথম প্রণালী অনুসারে।	
			207,9	8,9	By the first method through plots men- tioned in column 4.	
			২০৯,২২০,২২১	২২০ হইতে ২২২	৪ কলমে লিখিত দাগের উপর দ্বিতীয় (১) প্রথম প্রণালী অনুসারে।	
			209,220,221	220 to 222	By the first method through plots men- tioned in column 4.	
			২০৭	২০৪ হইতে ২০৬	৪ কলমে লিখিত দাগের উপর দ্বিতীয় (১) প্রথম প্রণালী অনুসারে।	
			207	204 to 206	By the first method through plots men- tioned in column 4.	
২৪৭ পুকুর প্রঃ সুন্দর পুকুর।	৩৮৩	২	৬৬	২৪৬,২৫২,২৫৮, ২৭৩।	সরাসরি সেচন হয়।	
247 Tank called Sundar Pukur.	383	2	66	246,252,258, 273.	Direct from the source.	

(১) প্রথম প্রণালী :—জলাশয় হইতে অত্যন্ত দাগের উপর প্রবাহিত হইয়া সাময়িক নালা কাটা জল সেচন হয় এবং তাহাতে কাহারই বাধাদিবার অধিকার নাই।

1st method :—By custom, irrigation from the source is conducted through temporary channels cut across others' fields and nobody has any right to object to that.

(২) দ্বিতীয় প্রণালী :—জলাশয় হইতে উপরের ভূমির জমি প্রাপ্ত হওয়ার পর নিম্নতরের জমি পরস্পরক্রমে জল পাইয়া থাকে। উপরিস্থ জমির দখলকার সাধারণ আইন উল্লঙ্ঘন করিয়া কিংবা আইন-কাটিতে বাধাদিবা অন্যের জমিতে জল সেচনে বাধাদিতে পারে না।

2nd method :—Plots lower down the terrace are irrigated after the plots higher up are inundated from the source. Owners of fields have no right to object to irrigation by raising the common alignments or ails and preventing to cut them open for purposes of irrigation.

মন্তব্য :—জল সেচন ব্যতীত অন্য প্রকারে ব্যবহারের বহু মন্তব্যে লিখিত হইল।

N. B. :—Rights other than irrigation are entered in the Remarks column.

জল সেচনের স্বত্ত্ব লিপি
Record of rights of irrigation

জিলা মুর্শিদাবাদ
District Murshidabad

মৌজা কিরীটেশ্বরী
Mauza Kiriteswari

জেঃ এলঃ নং ১০১
J. L. No. 101

পান্ডু নবগ্রাম
Police Station Nabagram

পরগণা রুকুনপুর ও গং
Pargana Rukuupur and others

রেঃ সাঃ নং ২০০
R. S. No. 200

যে দাগ হইতে জল সেচন হয় তাহার নম্বর ও শ্রেণী। Number and clas- sification of the source of irrigation.	খতিয়ান নম্বর। Khatian number.	জমির পরিমাণ। Area.		যে যে দাগের উপর সাময়িক নালা কাটা হয় তাহার নম্বর। Plots through which tempo- rary channels pass.	১ কলমে লিখিত দাগ হইতে যে যে দাগে জল সেচন হয় তাহার নম্বর। Plots irrigated from the source in column 1.	৫ কলমে লিখিত দাগে যে প্রণালীতে জল সেচন হয় তাহার বিবরণ। Details of the methods of irrigation of plots mentioned in column 5.	মন্তব্য। Remarks.
১	২	এঃ Ac.	শঃ Dec.	৪	৫	৬	৭
				২৪৬	২৪৪, ২৪৫	৪ কলমে লিখিত দাগের উপর দিয়া (১) প্রথম প্রণালী অনুসারে।	
				246	244, 245	By the first method through plots men- tioned in column 4.	
				২৫২, ২৫৩, ২৫৬, ২৫১, ২৫৪, ২৫৫।	২৫৩ হইতে ২৫৫, ২৫৭, ২৫৯।	৪ কলমে লিখিত দাগের উপর দিয়া (১) প্রথম প্রণালী অনুসারে।	
				252, 253, 256, 251, 254, 255.	253 to 255, 257, 259.	By the first method through plots men- tioned in column 4.	
				২৫৮, ২৬০, ২৬১	২৬০ হইতে ২৬৩	৪ কলমে লিখিত দাগের উপর দিয়া (১) প্রথম প্রণালী অনুসারে।	
				258, 260, 261	260 to 263	By the first method through plots men- tioned in column 4.	
				২৭৩, ২৭২, ২৭১, ২৭৪, ২৭৬, ২৭৫, ২৭৭, ২৭৮, ২৭৯।	২৭১, ২৭২, ২৭৪ হইতে ২৮০।	৪ কলমে লিখিত দাগের উপর দিয়া (১) প্রথম প্রণালী অনুসারে।	
				273, 272, 271, 274, 276, 275, 277, 278, 279.	271, 272, 274 to 280.	By the first method through plots men- tioned in column 4.	

(১) প্রথম প্রণালী :—জলাশয় হইতে অন্তান্ত দাগের উপর প্রথমানুসারে সাময়িক নালা কাটিয়া জল সেচন হয় এবং তাহাতে কাহারই বাধাদিবার অধিকার নাই।

1st method :—By custom, irrigation, from the source is conducted through temporary channels cut across others' fields and nobody has any right to object to that.

(২) দ্বিতীয় প্রণালী :—জলাশয় হইতে উপরের স্তরের জমি প্রাপ্ত হওয়ার পর নিম্নস্তরের জমি পরম্পরাক্রমে জল পাইয়া থাকে। উপরিস্থ জমির মৎলকার সাধারণ আইল উদ্ধ করিয়া কিংবা আইল কাটিতে বাধাদিবার অন্তের জমিতে জল সেচনে বাধাদিতে পারে না।

2nd method :—Plots lower down the terrace are irrigated after the plots higher up are inundated from the source. Owners of fields have no right to object to irrigation by raising the common alignments or ails and preventing to cut them open for purposes of irrigation.

দ্রষ্টব্য :—জল সেচন-ব্যতীত অন্ত প্রকারে ব্যবহারের স্বত্ত্ব মন্তব্যে লিখিত হইল।

N. B. :—Rights other than irrigation are entered in the Remarks column.

জল সেচনের স্বত্ব লিপি
Record of rights of irrigation

জিলা মুর্শিদাবাদ
District Murshidabad

মৌজা কিরীটেশ্বরী
Mauza Kiriteswari

জেঃ এলঃ নং ১০১

J. L. No. 101

থানা নবগ্রাম
Police Station Nabagram

পরগণা রুকুনপুর গং
Pargana Rukunpur and others

রেঃ সাঃ নং ২০০

R. S. No. 200

যে দাগ হইতে জল সেচন হয় তাহার নম্বর ও প্রকার। Number and clas- sification of the source of irrigation.	খতিয়ান নম্বর। Khatian number.	জমির পরিমাণ। Area.		যে যে দাগের উপর সাময়িক নালা কাটা হয় তাহার নম্বর। Plots through which tempo- rary channels pass.	১ কলমের লিখিত দাগ হইতে যে যে দাগে জল সেচন হয় তাহার নম্বর। Plots irrigated from the source in column 1.	৫ কলমে লিখিত দাগে যে প্রণালীতে জল সেচন হয় তাহার বিবরণ। Details of the methods of irrigation of plots mentioned in column 5.	মন্তব্য। Remarks.
		এঃ Ac.	শঃ Dec.				
৩৭৪ পুকুর প্রঃ কল্যাণ পুকুর। 374 Tank called Kalyan Pukur.	৩৮৩ 383	৩	৮৯	৩৭৫, ৩৭৬ 375, 376	৩৭৫, ৩৫৩ 375, 353 ৩৭৬, ৩৭৭ 376, 377	সরাসরি সেচন হয়। Direct from the source. ৪ কলমে লিখিত দাগের উপর দিয়া (১) প্রথম প্রণালী অনুসারে। By the first method through plots men- tioned in column 4.	
				৩৫৩, ৩৫৪, ৩৫২, ৩৫১, ৩৫০, ৩৫৫, ২২২, ৩৫৮, ৩৫৯। 353, 354, 352, 351, 350, 355, 929, 358, 359.	৩৫০ হইতে ৩৫২, ৩৫৪ হইতে ৩৫৬, ৩৫৮ হইতে ৩৬০। 350 to 352, 354 to 356. 358 to 360.	৪ কলমে লিখিত দাগের উপর দিয়া (১) প্রথম প্রণালী অনুসারে। By the first method through plots men- tioned in column 4.	

(১) প্রথম প্রণালী :—জলাশয় হইতে অন্তান্ত দাগের উপর প্রবাহিত হইয়া সাময়িক নালা কাটা জল সেচন হয় এবং তাহাতে কাহারই বাধা দিবার অধিকার নাই।

1st method :—By custom, irrigation from the source is conducted through temporary channels cut across others' fields and nobody has any right to object to that.

(২) দ্বিতীয় প্রণালী :—জলাশয় হইতে উপরের তরের জমি প্রাথমিক হওয়ার পর নিম্নতরের জমি পরস্পরক্রমে জল পাইয়া থাকে। উপরিস্থ জমির মালিকের সাধারণ আইন উদ্ধৃতি করা কিংবা আইন কাটিতে বাধাদিরা অন্তের জমিতে জল সেচনে বাধাদিতে পারে না।

2nd method :—Plots lower down the terrace are irrigated after the plots higher up are inundated from the source. Owners of fields have no right to object to irrigation by raising the common alignments or ails and preventing to cut them open for purposes of irrigation.

উদ্য :—জল সেচন ব্যতীত অন্ত প্রকারে ব্যবহারের স্বত্ব মন্তব্যে লিখিত হইল।

N. B. :—Rights other than irrigation are entered in the Remarks column.

জল সেচনের স্বত্ব লিপ
Record of rights of irrigation

জিলা মুরশিদাবাদ
District Murshidabad

মৌজা কিরীটেশ্বরী
Mauza Kiriteswari

কে: এল: নং ১০১
J. L. No. 101

পলিচা নবগ্রাম
Police Station Nabagram

পরগণা রুকুনপুর গং
Pargana Rukunpur and others

রে: সা: নং ২০০
R. S. No. 200

যে দাগ হইতে জল সেচন হয় তাহার নম্বর ও প্রণালী। Number and clas- sification of the source of irrigation.	খতিয়ান নম্বর। Khatian number.	অমির পরিমাণ। Area.	যে যে দাগের উপর সাময়িক নালা কাটা হয় তাহার নম্বর। Plots through which tempo- rary channels pass.	১ কলমে লিখিত দাগ হইতে যে যে দাগে জল সেচন হয় তাহার নম্বর। Plots irrigated from the source in column 1.	৫ কলমে লিখিত দাগে যে প্রণালীতে জল-সেচন হয় তাহার বিবরণ। Details of the methods of irrigation of plots mentioned in column 5.	মন্তব্য। Remarks.
১	২	এ: ৩ Ac. Dec.	৪	৫	৬	৭
৩৮৪ পুকুর এ: কেশর পুকুর। 384 Tank called Kesar Pukur.	১৭৬ 176	২ ৭২ 2 79	৩৮২, ৩২৪, ৩২৫, ৩৩৪, ৩৩৩, ৩৩২, ৩৩১, ৩৩৫, ৩৩৭, ৩৩৬, ৩৮০, ৩৮১, ৩৮২। 389, 394, 395, 334, 333, 332, 331, 335, 337, 336, 380, 381, 382. ৩৮১, ৩৮৮, ৩৮৬ 389, 388, 386	৩৮২ 389 ৩৩১ হইতে ৩৩৭, ৩৭৮ হইতে ৩৮০, ৩২৪, ৩২৫। 331 to 337, 378 to 380, 394, 395. ৩৮৫, ৩৮৬, ৩৮৮ 385, 386, 388	সরাসরি সেচন হয়। Direct from the source. ৪ কলমে লিখিত দাগের উপর দিয়া (১) প্রথম প্রণালী অনুসারে। By the first method through plots men- tioned in column 4. ৪ কলমে লিখিত দাগের উপর দিয়া (১) প্রথম প্রণালী অনুসারে। By the first method through plots men- tioned in column 4.	

(১) প্রথম প্রণালী:—জলাশয় হইতে অন্তর্ভুক্ত দাগের উপর প্রথমে সাধারণ নালা কাটিয়া জল সেচন হয় এবং তাহাতে কাহারই বাধাদিয়ার অধিকার নাই।

1st method:—By custom, irrigation from the source is conducted through temporary channels cut across others' fields and nobody has any right to object to that.

(২) দ্বিতীয় প্রণালী:—জলাশয় হইতে উপরের স্তরের অমি প্রাপ্ত হওয়ার পর নিম্নস্তরের অমি পরস্পরক্রমে জল পাইয়া থাকে। উপরিহ অমির দখলকার সাধারণ আইল উঠু করিয়া কিংবা আইল কাটিতে বাধাদিয়া অন্তের অমিতে জল সেচনে বাধাদিতে পারে না।

2nd method:—Plots lower down the terrace are irrigated after the plots higher up are inundated from the source. Owners of fields have no right to object to irrigation by raising the common alignments or ails and preventing to cut them open for purposes of irrigation.

দ্রষ্টব্য:—জল সেচন ব্যতীত অন্ত প্রকারে ব্যবহারের স্বত্ব মন্তব্যে লিখিত হইল।

N. B.:—Rights other than irrigation are entered in the Remarks column.

জল সেচনের স্বত্ব লিপি
Record of rights of irrigation

জিলা মুরশিদাবাদ
District Murshidabad

মৌজা কিরীটেশ্বরী
Mauza Kiriteswari

জে: এল: নং ১০১
J. L. No. 101

পলিচা নবগ্রাম
Police Station Nabagram

পদ্মগঙ্গা রুকুনপুর গং
Pargana Rukunpur and others

রে: সা: নং ২০০
R. S. No. 200

যে দাগ হইতে জল সেচন হয় তাহার নম্বর ও প্রণী। Number and clas- sification of the source of irrigation.	খতিয়ান নম্বর। Khatian number.	জমির পরিমাণ। Area.		যে যে দাগের উপর সাময়িক নালা কাটা হয় তাহার নম্বর। Plots through which tempo- rary channels pass.	১ কলমে লিখিত দাগ হইতে যে যে দাগে জল সেচন হয় তাহার নম্বর। Plots irrigated from the source in column 1.	৫ কলমে লিখিত দাগে যে প্রণালীতে জল সেচন হয় তাহার বিবরণ। Details of the methods of irrigation of plots mentioned in column 5.	মন্তব্য। Remarks.
		এ: Ac.	শ Dec.				
১	২	৩	৪	৫	৬	৭	
৪১৪ পুকুর প্রা: আস্তার পুকুর। 414 Tank call- ed Astar Pukur.	২৫৮ 258	২	১৩	ক-৪০৬ A-406 ৪০২, ৪২৭, ৪২৪, ৪২৬, ৪২৪, ৪২১, ৪২০। 402, 427, 424 426, 425, 421 420.	৩৯৩, ৩৯৯ হইতে ৪০৪। 393, 399 to 404 ৪১৮ হইতে ৪২৭ 418 to 427	৪১০ দাগের নালা ও ৪ কলমে লিখিত দাগের উপর দিয়া (১) প্রথম প্রণালী অনুসারে পরে ৩৯২নং নালা দ্বারা। Channel No. 410, then over plots in column 4, then through chan- nel No. 392. ৪১০ দাগের নালা ও ৪ কলমে (ক) বর্ণিত দাগের উপর দিয়া (১) প্রথম প্রণালী অনুসারে তৎপর ৩৯২নং নালা তৎপর ৪ কলমে লিখিত দাগের উপর দিয়া (১) প্রথম প্রণালী অনুসারে। Channel No. 410, then through plot mention- ed against "A" in column 4 by the 1st method, then through channel No. 392 and then by the 1st method through plots men- tioned in column 4.	

(১) প্রথম প্রণালী:—জলাশয় হইতে অন্তান্ত দাগের উপর প্রবাহিত হইয়া সাময়িক নালা কাটিয়া জল সেচন হয় এবং তাহাতে কাহারই বাধাদিবার অধিকার নাই।

1st method:—By custom, irrigation from the source is conducted through temporary channels cut across others' fields and nobody has any right to object to that.

(২) দ্বিতীয় প্রণালী:—জলাশয় হইতে উপরের স্তরের জমি প্রাথমিক হওয়ার পর নিম্নস্তরের জমি পরস্পরক্রমে জল পাইয়া থাকে। উপরিহ জমির দখলকার সাধারণ আইন উচ্চ করিয়া কিংবা আইন কাটিতে বাধাদিবার অন্তের জমিতে জল সেচনে বাধাদিতে পারে না।

2nd method:—Plots lower down the terrace are irrigated after the plots higher up are inundated from the source. Owners of fields have no right to object to irrigation by raising the common alignments or ails and preventing to cut them open for purposes of irrigation.

মন্তব্য:—জল সেচন ব্যতীত অন্ত প্রকারে ব্যবহারের স্বত্ব মন্তব্যে লিখিত হইল।

N. B.:—Rights other than irrigation are entered in the Remarks column.

জল সেচনের স্বত্ব লিপি
Record of rights of irrigation

জিলা মুর্শিদাবাদ
District Murshidabad

মৌজা কিরীটেশ্বরী
Mauza Kiriteswari

জে: এল: নং ১০১

J. L. No. 101

থানা নবগ্রাম

পরগণা রুকুনপুর গং

রে: সা: নং ২০০

Police Station Nabagram

Pargana Rukunpur and others

R. S. No. 200

১	২	৩	৪	৫	৬	৭
যে দাগ হইতে জল সেচন হয় তাহার নম্বর ও শ্রেণী। Number and clas- sification of the source of irrigation.	খতিয়ান নম্বর। Khatian number.	অমির পরিমাণ। Area. এ: শ: Ac. Dec.	যে যে দাগের উপর সাময়িক নালা কাটা হয় তাহার নম্বর। Plots through which tempo- rary channels pass.	১ কলমে লিখিত দাগ হইতে যে যে দাগে জল সেচন হয় তাহার নম্বর। Plots irrigated from the source in column 1.	৫ কলমে লিখিত দাগে যে প্রণালীতে জল সেচন হয় তাহার বিবরণ। Details of the methods of irrigation of plots mentioned in column 5.	মন্তব্য। Remarks.
			৩৯৩,৩৯৪	৩৯৪,৩৯৫	৪১০ দাগের নালা ও ৪ কলমে (ক) বর্ণিত দাগের উপর দিয়া (১) প্রথম প্রণালী অনুসারে তৎপর ৩৯২নং নালা ও তৎপর ৪ কলমে লিখিত দাগের উপর দিয়া (১) প্রথম প্রণালী অনুসারে।	
			393,394	394,395	Channel No. 410, then through plot men- tioned against "A" in column 4 by the 1st method, then through Channel No. 392 and then by the 1st method through plots mentioned in column 4.	

(১) প্রথম প্রণালী:—জলাশয় হইতে অভ্রান্ত দাগের উপর প্রথমে সাময়িক নালা কাটিয়া জল সেচন হয় এবং তাহাতে কাহারই বাধাদিবার অধিকার নাই।

1st method:—By custom, irrigation from the source is conducted through temporary channels cut across others' fields and nobody has any right to object to that.

(২) দ্বিতীয় প্রণালী:—জলাশয় হইতে উপরের স্তরের অমির প্রাথমিক হওয়ার পর নিম্নস্তরের অমির পরস্পরক্রমে জল পাইয়া থাকে। উপরিস্থ অমির দখলকার সাধারণ আইন উচ্চ করিয়া কিংবা আইন কাটিতে বাধাদিয়া অন্তের অমিতে জল সেচন বাধাদিতে পারে না।

2nd method:—Plots lower down the terrace are irrigated after the plots higher up are inundated from the source. Owners of fields have no right to object to irrigation by raising the common alignments or *aile*s and preventing to cut them open for purposes of irrigation.

টীকা:—জল সেচন ব্যতীত অন্ত প্রকারের ব্যবহারের স্বত্ব মন্তব্যে লিখিত হইল।

N. B.—Rights other than irrigation are entered in the Remarks column.

জল সেচনের স্বত্ব লিপি
Record of rights of irrigation

জিলা মুর্শিদাবাদ
District Murshidabad
থানা নবগ্রাম
Police Station Nabagram

মৌজা কীরীটেশ্বরী
Mauza Kiriteswari
পরগণা কুকুনপুর গং
Pargana Rukunpur and others

জে: এল: নং ১০১
J. L. No. 101
রে: সা: নং ২০০
R. S. No. 200

১ যে দাগ হইতে জল সেচন হয় তাহার নম্বর ও শ্রেণী। Number and clas- sification of the source of irrigation.	২ খতিয়ান নম্বর। Khatian number.	৩ জমির পরিমাণ। Area. এ: শ: Ac. Dec.	৪ যে যে দাগের উপর সাময়িক নালা কাটা হয় তাহার নম্বর। Plots through which tempo- rary channels pass.	৫ ১ কলমে লিখিত দাগ হইতে যে যে দাগে জল সেচন হয় তাহার নম্বর। Plots irrigated from the source in column 1.	৬ ৫ কলমে লিখিত দাগে যে প্রণালীতে জল সেচন হয় তাহার বিবরণ। Details of the methods of irrigation of plots mentioned in column 5.	৭ মন্তব্য। Remarks.
			৩৯১ 391	৩৯০ 390	৪১০ দাগের নালা ও ৪ কলমে (ক) বর্ণিত দাগের উপর দিয়া (১) প্রথম প্রণালী অনুসারে তৎপর ৩৯২ নং নালা ও তৎপর ৪ কলমে লিখিত দাগের উপর দিয়া (১) প্রথম প্রণালী অনুসারে। Channel No. 410, then through plot men- tioned against "A" in column 4 by the 1st method, then through Channel No. 392 and then by the 1st method through plots mentioned in column 4.	

(১) প্রথম প্রণালী:—জলাশয় হইতে অভ্যন্তর দাগের উপর প্রবাহিত হইয়া সাময়িক নালা কাটিয়া জল সেচন হয় এবং তাহাতে কাহারই বাধাদিবার অধিকার নাই।

1st method:—By custom, irrigation from the source is conducted through temporary channels cut across others' fields and nobody has any right to object to that.

(২) দ্বিতীয় প্রণালী:—জলাশয় হইতে উপরের তরের জমি প্রাথমিক হওয়ার পর নিম্নতরের জমি পরস্পরক্রমে জল পাইয়া থাকে। উপরিস্থ জমির দখলকার সাধারণ আইন উহু করিয়া কিবা আইন কাটিতে বাধাদিবার অস্তিত্ব জমিতে জল সেচনে বাধাদিতে পারে না।

2nd method:—Plots lower down the terrace are irrigated after the plots higher up are inundated from the source. Owners of fields have no right to object to irrigation by raising the common alignments or ails and preventing to cut them open for purposes of irrigation.

দ্রষ্টব্য:—জল সেচন ব্যতীত অন্য প্রকারে ব্যবহারের স্বত্ব মন্তব্যে লিখিত হইল।

N.B.—Rights other than irrigation are entered in the Remarks column

জল সেচনের স্বত্ব লিপি ।

Record of rights of irrigation

জিলা মুর্শিদাবাদ
District Murshidabad

মৌজা কিরীটেশ্বরী
Mauza Kiriteswari

কেঃ এলঃ নং ১০১
J. L. No. 101

পাশানবগ্রাম
Police Station Nabagram

পরগণা রুকুনপুর গং
Pargana Rukunpur and others

রেঃ সাঃ নং ২০০
R. S. No. 200

যে দাগ হইতে জল সেচন হয় তাহার নম্বর ও শ্রেণী । Number and clas- sification of the source of irrigation.	খতিয়ান নম্বর । Khatian number.	অমির পরিমাণ । Area. এ: ন: Ac. Dec.	যে যে দাগের উপর সাময়িক নালা কাটা হয় তাহার নম্বর । Plots through which tempo- rary channels pass.	১ কলমে লিখিত দাগ হইতে যে যে দাগে জল সেচন হয় তাহার নম্বর । Plots irrigated from the source in column 1.	৫ কলমে লিখিত দাগে যে প্রণালীতে জল সেচন হয় তাহার বিবরণ । Details of the methods of irrigation of plots mentioned in column 5.	মন্তব্য । Remarks.
১	২	৩	৪	৫	৬	৭
			৪০২,৪২৭,৪২৮	৪২৮,৪২৯	৪১০ দাগের নালা ও ৪ কলমে (ক) বর্ণিত দাগের উপর দিয়া (১) প্রথম প্রণালী অনুসারে তৎপর ৩৯২নং নালা তৎপর ৪ কলমে লিখিত দাগের উপর দিয়া (১) প্রথম প্রণালী অনুসারে ।	
			402,427,428	428,429	Channel No. 410, then through plot men- tioned against "A" in column 4 by the 1st method, then through Channel No. 392 and then by the 1st method through plots mentioned in column 4.	

(১) প্রথম প্রণালী :—জলাশয় হইতে অন্তান্ত দাগের উপর প্রথমে সাময়িক নালা কাটিয়া জল সেচন হয় এবং তাহাতে কাহারই বাধাদিবার অধিকার নাই ।

1st method :—By custom, irrigation from the source is conducted through temporary channels cut across others' fields and nobody has any right to object to that.

(২) দ্বিতীয় প্রণালী :—জলাশয় হইতে উপরের স্তরের জমি প্লাবিত হওয়ার পর নিম্নস্তরের জমি পরস্পরক্রমে জল পাইয়া থাকে । উপরিস্থ জমির মালিকের সাধারণ আইল উঠুকরিয়া কিংবা আইল কাটিতে বাধাদিয়া অন্তের জমিতে জল সেচনে বাধাদিতে পারে না ।

2nd method :—Plots lower down the terrace are irrigated after the plots higher up are inundated from the source. Owners of fields have no right to object to irrigation by raising the common alignments or aile and preventing to cut them open for purposes of irrigation.

দ্রষ্টব্য :—জল সেচন ব্যতীত অন্য প্রকারে ব্যবহারের স্বত্ব মন্তব্যে লিখিত হইল ।

N.B.—Rights other than irrigation are entered in the Remarks column.

R. S. No. 200

N R—Rights other than irrigation are entered in the Remarks column.

রে: সা: নং ২০০ .
R. S. No. 200

N.B.—Rights other than irrigation are entered in the Remarks column.

জল সেচনের স্বত্ব নিশি
Record of rights of irrigation

জিলা মুর্শিদাবাদ
District Murshidabad
পলিচ নবগ্রাম
Police Station Nabagram

মৌজা কিরীটেস্বরী
Mauza Kiriteswari
পরগণা রুকুনপুর গং
Pargana Rukunpur and others

জে: এল: নং ১০১
J. L. No. 101
রে: সা: নং ২০০
R. S. No. 200

বে দাগ হইতে জল সেচন হয় তাহার নম্বর ও শ্রেণী। Number and clas- sification of the source of irrigation.	খতিয়ান নম্বর। Khatian number.	জমির পরিমাণ। Area.		যে বে দাগের উপর সাময়িক নালা কাটা হয় তাহার নম্বর। Plots through which tempo- rary channels pass.	১ কলমে লিখিত দাগ হইতে যে বে দাগে জল সেচন হয় তাহার নম্বর। Plots irrigated from the source in column 1.	৫ কলমে লিখিত দাগে যে প্রণালীতে জল সেচন হয় তাহার বিবরণ। Details of the methods of irrigation of plots mentioned in column 5.	মন্তব্য। Remarks.
		এ:	ব:				
১	২	৩	৪	৫	৬	৭	
					৪৬০, ৪৬১	৭৩৪ নং নালা তৎপর ৪ কলমে (ক) বর্ণিত দাগের উপর দিয়া (১) প্রথম প্রণালী অনুসারে তৎপর ৫০২ নং নালা তৎপর ৪৬৭ দাগের পার্শ্ব তীর চিহ্নিত নালা দ্বারা।	
					460, 461	Channel no. 734, then through plot mention- ed against "A" in column 4 by the 1st method, then Channel no. 502, then through arrow-marked channel by the side of plot no. 467.	
					৫৮৮, ৬০৩, ৬০০, ৫৯২, ৫৯৩, ৫৯৫, ৫৯৬।	৫৯৪ নং নালা দ্বারা।	
					588, 603, 600, 592, 593, 595, 596.	By Channel no. 594.	
					৫৮৯, ৫৭৯, ৫৮০, ৫৭৮, ৫৭৭, ৫৭৫, ৫৭০।	৫৯৪ নং নালা দ্বারা তৎপর ৫৭৬ নং নালা দ্বারা।	
					589, 579, 580, 578, 577, 575, 570.	By Channel no. 594 then by no. 576.	

(১) প্রথম প্রণালী:—জলাশয় হইতে অন্তান্ত দাগের উপর প্রবাহিত হইয়া সাময়িক নালা কাটিয়া জল সেচন হয় এবং তাহাতে কাহারই বাধাদিবার অধিকার নাই।

1st method:—By custom, irrigation from the source is conducted through temporary channels cut across others' fields and nobody has any right to object to that.

(২) দ্বিতীয় প্রণালী:—জলাশয় হইতে উপরের স্তরের জমি প্রাতিভ হওয়ার পর নিম্নস্তরের জমি পরস্পরক্রমে জল পাইয়া থাকে। উপরিস্থ জমির দখলকার সাধারণ আইন উল্লঙ্ঘন করিয়া কিংবা আইন কাটিতে বাধাদিয়া অন্তের জমিতে জল সেচনে বাধাদিতে পারে না।

2nd method:—Plots lower down the terrace are irrigated after the plots higher up are inundated from the source. Owners of fields have no right to object to irrigation by raising the common "alignments or ails and preventing to cut them open for purposes of irrigation.

দ্রষ্টব্য:—জল সেচন ব্যতীত অন্ত প্রকারে ব্যবহারের স্বত্ব যুক্তব্যে লিখিত হইল।

N. B.—Rights other than irrigation are entered in the Remarks column.

জল সেচনের স্বত্ব লিপি
Record of rights of irrigation

জিলা মুর্শিদাবাদ
District Murshidabad

থানা নবগ্রাম
Police Station Nabagram

মৌজা কিরীটেস্বরী
Mauza Kiriteswari

পরগণা রুকুনপুর গুণ
Pargana Rukunpur and others

জে: এল: নং ১০১
J. L. No. 101

রে: সা: নং ২০০
R. S. No. 200

যে দাগ হইতে জল সেচন হয় তাহার নম্বর ও শ্রেণী। Number and clas- sification of the source of irrigation.	খতিয়ান নম্বর। Khatian number.	জমির পরিমাণ। Area. এ: শ: Ac. Dec.	যে যে দাগের উপর সাময়িক নালা কাটা হয় তাহার নম্বর। Plots through which tempo- rary channels pass.	১ কলমে লিখিত দাগ হইতে যে যে দাগে জল সেচন হয় তাহার নম্বর। Plots irrigated from the source in column 1.	৫ কলমে লিখিত দাগে যে প্রণালীতে জল সেচন হয় তাহার বিবরণ। Details of the methods of irrigation of plots mentioned in column 5.	মন্তব্য। Remarks.
৬৯ নালা। Channel no. 69.	২৫৮	২৬			অত্র নালা দ্বারা ১০০ নং কোড়রপুর মৌজার ৫৩৩ নং পুকুর হইতে উক্ত মৌজার তথায় বর্ণিত দাগে জল সেচন হয়। This channel irrigates plots mentioned in village Komarpur J. L. no. 100, as irri- gated from tank no. 533.	
১৮৭ নালা। Channel no. 187.	২৫৮	০৪			অত্র নালা দ্বারা ১৮০ নং পুকুর হইতে তথায় বর্ণিত দাগে জল সেচন হয়। This channel irrigates plots mentioned as irrigated from tank no. 180.	
১৯৫ নালা। Channel no. 195.	২৫৮	০৮			অত্র নালা দ্বারা ১৮৩ নং পুকুর হইতে তথায় বর্ণিত দাগে জল সেচন হয়। This channel irrigates plots mentioned as irrigated from tank no. 183.	

(১) প্রথম প্রণালী:—জলাশয় হইতে অভ্যন্তর দাগের উপর প্রথমে সাময়িক নালা কাটিয়া জল সেচন হয় এবং তাহাতে কাহারই বাধাদিবার অধিকার নাই।

1st method:—By custom, irrigation from the source is conducted through temporary channels cut across others' fields and nobody has any right to object to that.

(২) দ্বিতীয় প্রণালী:—জলাশয় হইতে উপরের স্তরের জমি প্রাথমিক হওয়ার পর নিম্নস্তরের জমি পরস্পরক্রমে জল পাইয়া থাকে। উপরিস্থ জমির দখলকার সাধারণ আইন উচ্চ করিয়া কিংবা আইন কাটিতে বাধাদিয়া অন্তের জমিতে জল সেচনে বাধাদিতে পারে না।

2nd method:—Plots lower down the terrace are irrigated after the plots higher up are inundated from the source. Owners of fields have no right to object to irrigation by raising the common alignments or ails and preventing to cut them open for purposes of irrigation.

মন্তব্য:—জল সেচন ব্যতীত অন্য প্রকারে ব্যবহারের স্বত্ব মন্তব্যে লিখিত হইল।

N. B.—Rights other than irrigation are entered in the Remarks column.

জল সেচনের স্বত্ব লিপি
Record of rights of irrigation.

জিলা মুরশিদাবাদ
District Murshidabad

মৌজা কীরীটেশ্বরী
Mauza Kiriteswari

কে: এল: নং ১০১
J. L. No. 101

পোলা নবগ্রাম
Police Station Nabagram

পরগণা রুকুনপুর গং
Pargana Rukunpur and others

রে: সা: নং ২০০
R. S. No. 200

যে দাগ হইতে জল সেচন হয় তাহার নম্বর ও শ্রেণী। Number and clas- sification of the source of irrigation.	খতিয়ান নম্বর। Khatian number.	অমির পরিমাণ। Area.	যে যে দাগের উপর সাময়িক নালা কাটা হয় তাহার নম্বর। Plots through which tempo- rary channels pass.	১ কলমে লিখিত দাগ হইতে যে যে দাগে জল সেচন হয় তাহার নম্বর। Plots irrigated from the source in column 1.	৫ কলমে লিখিত দাগে যে প্রণালীতে জল সেচন হয় তাহার বিবরণ। Details of the methods of irrigation of plots mentioned in column 5.	মন্তব্য। Remarks.
১	২	৩	৪	৫	৬	৭
৩৯২ নালা। Channel no. 392.	২৫৮ 258	১১ 11			অত্র নালা দ্বারা ৪১৪ নং প্লট হইতে তথ্য বর্ণিত দাগে জল সেচন হয়। This channel irrigates plots mentioned as irrigated from tank no. 414.	
৪১০ নালা। Channel no. 410.	২৫৮ 258	০৩ 03			অত্র নালা দ্বারা ৪১৪ নং প্লট হইতে তথ্য বর্ণিত দাগে জল সেচন হয়। This channel irrigates plots mentioned as irrigated from tank no. 414.	
৫০২ নালা। Channel no. 502.	৮,৯ 8,9	৭৬ 76			অত্র নালা দ্বারা ৫৮৭ নং প্লট হইতে তথ্য বর্ণিত দাগে জল সেচন হয়। This channel irrigates plots mentioned as irrigated from tank no. 587.	

(১) প্রথম প্রণালী:—জলাশয় হইতে অন্যান্য দাগের উপর প্রথমে সাময়িক নালা কাটিয়া জল সেচন হয় এবং তাহাতে কাহারই বাধাদিবার অধিকার নাই।

1st method:—By custom, irrigation from the source is conducted through temporary channels cut across others' fields and nobody has any right to object to that.

(২) দ্বিতীয় প্রণালী:—জলাশয় হইতে উপরের স্তরের অধিক প্রাণিত হওয়ার পর নিম্নস্তরের অধিক পরস্পরক্রমে জল পাইয়া থাকে। উপরিস্থ অমির দখলকার সাধারণ আইন উচ্চ করিয়া কিংবা আইন কাটিতে বাধাদিয়া অত্রের অমির জল সেচনে বাধাদিতে পারে না।

2nd method:—Plots lower down the terrace are irrigated after the plots higher up are inundated from the source. Owners of fields have no right to object to irrigation by raising the common alignments or aile and preventing to cut them open for purposes of irrigation.

দ্রষ্টব্য:—জল সেচন ব্যতীত অন্য প্রকারে ব্যবহারের স্বত্ব মন্তব্যে লিখিত হইল।

N. B.—Rights other than irrigation are entered in the Remarks column.

<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; align-items: center;"> <div style="text-align: center;"> জল সেচনের স্বত্ব লিপি Record of rights of irrigation জিলা মুর্শিদাবাদ District Murshidabad থানা নবগ্রাম Police Station Nabagram </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> মৌজা কীরীটেস্বরী Mauza Kiriteswari পরগণা রুকুনপুর গং Pargana Rukunpur and others </div> <div style="text-align: right;"> জে: এল: নং ১০১ J. L. No. 101 রে: সা: নং ২০০ R. S. No. 200 </div> </div>						
যে দাগ হইতে জল সেচন হয় তাহার নম্বর ও শ্রেণী। Number and clas- sification of the source of irrigation.	খতিয়ান নম্বর। Khatian number.	অমির পরিমাণ। Area.	যে যে দাগের উপর সাময়িক নালা কাটা হয় তাহার নম্বর। Plots through which tempo- rary channels pass.	১ কলমে লিখিত দাগ হইতে যে যে দাগে জল সেচন হয় তাহার নম্বর। Plots irrigated from the source in column 1.	৫ কলমে লিখিত দাগে যে প্রণালীতে জল সেচন হয় তাহার বিবরণ। Details of the methods of irrigation of plots mentioned in column 5.	মন্তব্য। Remarks.
১	২	৩	৪	৫	৬	৭
৫৩২ নালা। Channel no. 532.	২৫৮	০৬			অত্র নালা দ্বারা ৫৮৭ নং পুকুর হইতে তথায় বর্ণিত দাগে জল সেচন হয়। This channel irrigates plots mentioned as irrigated from tank no. 587.	
৫৭৬ নালা। Channel no. 576.	৮৯	০৯			অত্র নালা দ্বারা ৫৮৭ নং পুকুর হইতে তথায় বর্ণিত দাগে জল সেচন হয়। This channel irrigates plots mentioned as irrigated from tank no. 587.	
৫৯৪ নালা। Channel no. 594.	৮৯	৫৪			অত্র নালা দ্বারা ৫৮৭ নং পুকুর হইতে তথায় বর্ণিত দাগে জল সেচন হয়। This channel irrigates plots mentioned as irrigated from tank no. 587.	
৭৩৪ নালা। Channel no. 734.	৮৯	০৩			অত্র নালা দ্বারা ৫৮৭ নং পুকুর হইতে তথায় বর্ণিত দাগে জল সেচন হয়। This channel irrigates plots mentioned as irrigated from tank no. 587.	

(১) প্রথম প্রণালী:—জলাশয় হইতে অন্তান্ত্র দাগের উপর প্রবাহিতকারে সাময়িক নালা কাটিয়া জল সেচন হয় এবং তাহাতে কাটারই বাধাদিবার অধিকার নাই।

1st method:—By custom, irrigation from the source is conducted through temporary channels cut across others' fields and nobody has any right to object to that.

(২) দ্বিতীয় প্রণালী:—জলাশয় হইতে উপরের স্তরের অমি প্রাবিত হওয়ার পর নিম্নস্তরের অমি পরস্পরক্রমে জল পাইয়া থাকে। উপরিস্থ অমির মালিকার সাধারণ আইল উঠু করিয়া কিম্বা আইল কাটিতে বাধাদিয়া অন্তের অমিতে জল সেচনে বাধাদিতে পারে না।

2nd method:—Plots lower down the terrace, are irrigated after the plots higher up are inundated from the source. Owners of fields have no right to object to irrigation by raising the common alignments or ails and preventing to cut them open for purposes of irrigation.

দ্রষ্টব্য:—জল সেচন ব্যতীত অন্ত প্রকারে ব্যবহারের স্বত্ব মন্তব্যে লিখিত হইল।

N.B.—Rights other than irrigation are entered in the Remarks column.

APPENDIX IX(C).

Summary of the general instructions regarding record of irrigation.

One of the special forms of easements will be exclusively used for recording rights of irrigation from the particular tanks or other sources of irrigation vested in the possessors of specific plots. The sources of irrigation will be entered in column 1 and column 5 will show, against each source of irrigation, the plots which are irrigated from that and in column 6 the methods or routes by which each plot or group of plots are irrigated. In column 4 will be entered the plots through which temporary channels are cut. The sources of irrigation and the method by which each plot is irrigated should also be shown in column 21 of the *khasta*. The methods generally found are :—

- (1) The plots are on terraced lands and the water is inducted on the upper terrace; all lands on the upper terrace are irrigated and the water either overflowing or through passage made by cutting *ails* passes on to lands on the lower terrace and so on. No one has a right to raise the *ails* over the normal height or stop making passage by cutting *ails* to prevent water from passing on to the lands in the lower terrace.
- (2) The plots are irrigated direct from the source of irrigation without the help of any channel.
- (3) The plots are irrigated by water taken along temporary channels cut along the *ails* over lands which may or may not themselves be irrigated. The direction of the channel is well-known and persons holding lands over which the channel passes have no right to object.
- (4) The plots are irrigated by water taken along permanent channels.
- (5) The plots are irrigated by water taken partly over permanent channels and partly over temporary channels.

In cases of class (1) the entry in column 5 of the easement form against the source of irrigation would be the plots that get water from the tank.

The entry in column 6 will be "by the 2nd method" which is, as shown at the bottom of the easement form, that "plots lower down the terrace are irrigated after the plots higher up are inundated from the source. Owners of fields have no right to object to irrigation by raising the *ails*

(alignments) or preventing to cut them open for purposes of irrigation."

In such cases the entry in column 21 of the *khasta* would be from tank no. so and so or any other source of irrigation, as the case may be.

In class (2) the entry in *khasta* would be simply from tank no. so and so or any other source of irrigation, as the case may be, and in the easement form the entry in column 5 against the tank will be "irrigated direct from the source" without the help of any channel. The plots irrigated direct from the tank without the help of any channel should be mentioned in column 5.

In class (3) it will be generally found that there are more than one main temporary channels from the same tank and there are a number of branches from the main temporary channels through which water flows from the source of irrigation to the lands irrigated. In such cases the easement form should show clearly, in column 4, by which route each plot gets water. For this purpose the different temporary *nalas* (channels) from the same source of irrigation should be distinguished and shown separately in column 4 of the easement form against the source of irrigation mentioned in column 1 and the plots or group of plots that get water by the same route should be shown grouped together under that route. The route of the temporary channel should be described in the easement form by stating the plot numbers of fields over which the temporary *nala* passes in the order in which it flows. The entry in column 5 of the easement form will be the plot numbers of lands which get water by the particular route. The method will be described in column 6, thus,—“By the first method across plots mentioned in column 4.” The “first method” as described at the bottom of the easement form is “By custom irrigation from the source is conducted through temporary channels cut across others’ fields and no body has any right to object to that.”

Many branches will be found running off from the main temporary *nalas*. The branch *nalas* may be described in the easement form either (A) by stating in the easement form all the plots over which the temporary *nala* passes from the source or (B) by stating only the plots over which the branch *nala* passes from the point where it runs off from the main temporary *nala* with a reference to the main *nala*.

Generally (B) would be found to be the more convenient method. In such cases the branch *nala* may be noted after the main *nala* in column 4 of the easement form. The plots so irrigated will appear in column 5, and the method, i.e., "by the first method, etc." will be described in column 6.

If there are more than one branch of temporary *nalas* from the same main temporary *nala*, the main *nala* may be distinguished in the easement form by a letter say ক (*ka*) or খ (*kha*) and in cases of branch temporary *nalas* the words ক ঞ্চে বর্ণিত নাল (the channel described as *ka*) should be substituted for the main সাময়িক নাল (temporary channel) in the easement form.

As regards the entries in column 21 of the *khasra* two sorts of cases would be met with :—

- (1) Plots which are themselves irrigated and over which temporary *nalas* pass for irrigating other plots.
- (2) Plots which are not themselves irrigated but offer passage of water for irrigation of other plots.

The entries in column 21 of the *khasra* should be suitably worded to distinguish the two types of cases.

In case of class (4) the permanent channels would be 10 links or more or less in width at the surface. If 10 links or more, they should be *kistward* (surveyed) *in situ* and receive separate plot numbers. If less than the limit the direction of the channel should be shown by arrow marks on the map. Only the plots on the banks of these *nalas* would be irrigated direct from these *nalas*.

When separate plot numbers have been given to the channels, in the *khasra* entries against the plots irrigated would be অমুক দাগের পুকুর হইতে অমুক দাগের নাল দ্বারা (By channel no. so and so from tank no. so and so) and in the easement form the entry in column 5 would be the plots that get water direct from the *nala* and in column 6 the words "by *nala* no. so and so."

The permanent channel bearing a plot number should also be entered in column 1 of the easement form and against it in column 6 would be written "This channel irrigates plots mentioned as irrigated from tank no. so and so. No plot numbers of the fields irrigated need be entered in column 5 of the easement form against the *nala*. These *nalas* may conveniently be entered in the irrigation easement form at the end after the different sources of water have been entered.

If the channel has been shown only by arrows in the map the entry in column 21 of the *khasra* would be অমুক দাগের পুকুর হইতে তীর চিহ্নিত নাল দ্বারা (By arrow-marked *nala* from tank no. so and so) and the entry in column 5 of the easement form would be the plots that get water from the source through the arrow-marked *nala*.

If there are two or more arrow-marked *nalas* from the same source each should be distinguished by reference to a plot on each side near the source, and the plots irrigated from each should be shown separately in the easement form. In such cases অমুক দাগের পাশে তীর চিহ্নিত নাল (arrow-marked channel by the side of plot no. so and so) should be substituted for তীর চিহ্নিত নাল (arrow-marked channel) in the easement form.

In case a plot gets water from a *nala* which bears both a plot number and an arrow mark, because it is more than 10 links in one part and less than that at another, the entry in column 21 of the *khasra* would be অমুক দাগের নাল ও তীর চিহ্নিত নাল দ্বারা (By *nala* no. so and so and then arrow-marked *nala*) and the entry in column 5 of the easement form would be the plots that are so irrigated.

Class (5) is a combination of classes (3) and (4) and the instructions under (3) and (4) apply *mutatis mutandis* to this. In these cases also the different temporary *nalas* flowing from the same permanent *nala* should be distinguished and shown separately in the easement form. There would generally be three combinations :—

- (a) Water flows partly through a permanent *nala* bearing a plot number and partly through a temporary *nala*.
- (b) Water flows from the source partly by a permanent *nala* bearing a plot number and partly by an arrow-marked *nala* and partly by a temporary *nala*.
- (c) Water flows from the source partly by an arrow-marked *nala* and partly by a temporary *nala*.

In case of (a) the entries in column 21 of the *khasra* would be অমুক দাগের পুকুর হইতে অমুক দাগের নাল দ্বারা ও সাময়িক নাল দ্বারা (By channel no. so and so and then a temporary channel from tank no. so and so). In case of (b) the entry in column 21 of the *khasra* would be অমুক দাগের পুকুর হইতে অমুক দাগের নাল ও তীর চিহ্নিত নাল ও সাময়িক নাল দ্বারা (By channel no. so and so, then arrow-marked channel, then temporary channel from tank no. so and so) and in

case of (c) the entry in column 21 of the *khassra* would be অক্ষ দাগের পুকুর হইতে ভীর চিহ্নিত নালা ও সাময়িক নালা দ্বারা (By arrow-marked channel, and then temporary channel from tank no. so and so). Wherever any temporary *nala* passes over any of these plots the words সাময়িক নালায় জন্য (for temporary channel) should be added in column 21 of the *khassra*.

In case of (a) the entry in column 4 of the easement form will be the numbers of the plots over which the temporary *nala* passes in the order in which the *nala* flows and in column 5 the numbers of the plots thus irrigated. In column 6, the method will be described as in case 5 (a) and class (3) above.

For (b) the entry in column 4 of the easement form will be the plots over which the temporary *nala* passes in the order in which the *nala* flows and in column 5 the plots so irrigated. In column 6, the method will be described as above.

For (c) the entry in column 4 of the easement form will be the plots over which the temporary *nala* passes in the order in which the *nala* flows and in column 5 the plots that are thus irrigated. If there are more than one arrow-marked *nala* these should be distinguished by reference to

plots on their sides near the source. In column 6, the method will be described as above.

In all these cases the different temporary *nalas* should be shown in different groups in the easement form as laid down in the instructions for class (3).

In case a source of water covers a large number of plots which cannot be conveniently mentioned in column 1, as is usually the case when it is a low-lying tract or a *bil* under cultivation then in column 1 of the irrigation form the name of the *bil* or the tract should invariably be mentioned. If a tank or a river which is one water has got more than one plot number as belonging to more than one interest then all the numbers used for it should be bracketted together in the easement form.

If a tank or any other source of water be used both for irrigation and for drinking or any other purpose, it should not be entered twice in the two easement forms but should only be entered in the irrigation easement form and the entry in column 7 would be after the plots irrigated are mentioned “এবং পানির জলের জন্য” (and for drinking purposes) or any other purposes as the case may be.

APPENDIX X.

(a) List of Hats and Markets in the district of Murshidabad.

Serial No.	Police-station.	Name of village.	J. L. No.	Days of marketing.	Principal commodities sold.	Remarks.
1	Berhampore town.	Bara Satui ..	39	Daily bazar ..	Ordinary commodities of daily consumption.	
2	Ditto ..	Gorabazar ..	90	Ditto ..	Ditto.	
3	Ditto ..	Baharampore (Kasaribazar).	96	Ditto ..	Ditto ..	Also brass-ware.
4	Ditto ..	Khagra ..	97	Ditto ..	Ditto ..	Ditto.
5	Ditto ..	Saidabad ..	100	Ditto ..	Ditto.	
6	Ditto ..	Daulatabad ..	129	Tuesday ..	Ditto.	
7	Naoda ..	Surangapur ..	26	Thursday ..	Ditto ..	Known as Amtala bazar.
8	Ditto ..	Patikabari ..	36	Saturday ..	Ditto.	
9	Domkal ..	Jitpur ..	15	Ditto ..	Ditto.	
10	Ditto ..	Ramna Etbar-nagar Basantapur.	38	Tuesday and Friday	Ditto.	
11	Ditto ..	Azinganjagola	39	Ditto ..	Ditto.	
12	Ditto ..	Bhagirathpur	46	Wednesday and Saturday.	Ditto.	
13	Ditto ..	Brindabanpur Chak.	50	Saturday and Thursday.	Ditto.	
14	Ditto ..	Chandpur ..	58	Saturday ..	Ditto.	
15	Ditto ..	Bagdanga ..	72	Monday and Friday	Ditto.	
16	Ditto ..	Garaimari ..	81	Saturday ..	Ditto.	
17	Hariharpara ..	Baruipara ..	14	Daily bazar ..	Ditto.	
18	Ditto ..	Rukunpur ..	30	Wednesday and Saturday.	Ditto.	
19	Ditto ..	Hariharpara ..	32	Daily bazar; <i>hat</i> on Sunday.	Ditto.	
20	Ditto ..	Sankarpur ..	38	Friday ..	Ditto.	
21	Ditto ..	Swaruppur ..	54	Daily bazar; <i>hat</i> on Tuesday and Saturday.	Ditto.	
22	Ditto ..	Choa ..	59	Daily bazar ..	Ditto.	
23	Beldanga ..	Bhabta ..	7	Ditto ..	Ditto.	
24	Ditto ..	Beldanga ..	51	Daily bazar; <i>hat</i> on Tuesday.	Ditto ..	Also a cattle mart.

Serial No.	Police-station.	Name of village.	J. L. No.	Days of marketing.	Principal commodities sold.	Remarks.
25	Beldanga ..	Saktipur ..	79	Daily bazar ..	Ordinary commodities of daily consumption.	
26	Jalangi ..	Khayramari ..	3	Wednesday and Sunday.	Ditto.	
27	Ditto ..	Dhanirampur	6	Daily bazar; <i>hat</i> on Wednesday and Saturday.	Ditto.	
28	Ditto ..	Sagarpara ..	10	Tuesday and Friday	Ditto.	
29	Ditto ..	Narsingpur ..	19	Daily bazar; <i>hat</i> on Monday and Thursday.	Ditto.	
30	Ditto ..	Mradpur Jalangi.	30	Daily bazar ..	Ditto ..	Known as Jalangi Bazar.
31	Ditto ..	Bilaspur Nachharerpara.	38	Daily bazar, <i>hat</i> on Wednesday and Saturday.	Ditto.	
32	Bhagawangola	Mahishasthali	6	Daily bazar ..	Ditto ..	Known as Bhagawangola Bazar.
33	Ditto ..	Habaspur ..	55	Wednesday and Sunday.	Ditto.	
34	Ditto ..	Ranitala ..	79	Tuesday and Friday	Ditto.	
35	Ditto ..	Akheriganja ..	107	Wednesday and Sunday.	Ditto.	
36	Ditto ..	Chhatai ..	123	Thursday ..	Ditto.	
37	Ditto ..	Dakshin Sahar	124	Monday ..	Ditto.	
38	Lalgola ..	Maia ..	2	Tuesday and Thursday.	Ditto.	
39	Ditto ..	Lalgola ..	80	Daily bazar; <i>hat</i> on Wednesday and Sunday.	Ditto ..	Cattle mart on Sunday only.
40	Ditto ..	Diar Fatehpur	97	Tuesday and Saturday.	Ditto ..	Locally known as Dhulaori Hat.
41	Raninagar ..	Uttar-Gopalpur	3	Ditto ..	Ditto.	
42	Ditto ..	Malibari ..	13	Daily bazar ..	Ditto.	
43	Ditto ..	Hurshi ..	16	Monday, Wednesday and Friday.	Ditto ..	Locally known as Saheber Hat.
44	Ditto ..	Moktarpur ..	30	Sunday and Thursday	Ditto ..	Locally known as Rajar Hat.
45	Ditto ..	Paharpur ..	37	Sunday ..	Ditto.	
46	Ditto ..	Islampur ..	56	Monday and Thursday.	Ditto.	
47	Ditto ..	Harharia Chak	58	Sunday and Thursday.	Ditto.	
48	Ditto ..	Komnagar ..	71	Tuesday and Friday	Ditto.	

Serial No.	Police-station.	Name of village.	J. L. No.	Days of marketing.	Principal commodities sold.	Remarks.
49	Raninagar ..	Godhanpara ..	81	Wednesday and Saturday.	Ordinary commodities of daily consumption.	
50	Ditto ..	Majhar Diar ..	88	Daily bazar ..	Ditto.	
51	Ditto ..	Katlamari ..	89	Monday and Friday	Ditto.	
52	Ditto ..	Nabipur ..	90	Tuesday and Saturday.	Ditto.	
53	Jiaganj ..	Jiaganj ..	6	Daily bazar ..	Ditto.	
54	Ditto ..	Mansurganj ..	38	Ditto ..	Ditto.	
55	Murshidabad	Lalbagh ..	44.	Ditto ..	Ditto ..	Locally known as Panchraha Bazar.
56	Ditto ..	Jafraganj ..	62	Ditto ..	Ditto.	
57	Ditto ..	Nashipur ..	63.	Ditto ..	Ditto.	
58	Ditto ..	Naoda ..	72	Wednesday ..	Ditto.	
59	Ditto ..	Hasenpur ..	101	Friday ..	Ditto.	
60	Nabagram ..	Pasla ..	12	Tuesday and Thursday.	Ditto.	
61	Ditto ..	Chupar ..	21	Wednesday and Saturday.	Ditto ..	Locally known as Hazi Bibidanga.
62	Ditto ..	Panchgram ..	23	Sunday and Tuesday	Ditto.	
63	Ditto ..	Gura ..	35	Sunday ..	Ditto.	
64	Ditto ..	Nabagram ..	36	Tuesday ..	Ditto.	
65	Samserganj	Beoa ..	31	Thursday ..	Ditto.	
66	Ditto ..	Beniagram ..	55	Monday and Friday	Ditto.	
67	Ditto ..	Bhabanipur ..	59	Tuesday and Saturday.	Ditto.	
68	Ditto ..	Mahadebnagar	63	Monday and Thursday.	Ditto.	
69	Ditto ..	Samserganj Jiolmari.	92	Daily bazar; <i>hat</i> on Wednesday and Saturday.	Ditto.	
70	Ditto ..	Paranpara ..	93	Sunday and Wednesday.	Ditto ..	Clothes, steel-made articles locally manufactured.
71	Ditto ..	Arijunpur ..	96	Tuesday and Friday	Ditto.	
72	Ditto ..	Nimtita ..	108	Ditto ..	Ditto ..	Locally known as Baburhat cattle mart.
73	Raghunathganj	Raghunathganj	6	Daily bazar ..	Ditto.	
74	Ditto ..	Jangipur ..	7	Daily bazar; <i>hat</i> on Monday and Friday.	Ditto ..	Locally known as Kalitalahat. Also blankets and brasswares available.

Serial No.	Police-station.	Name of village.	J. L. No.	Days of marketing.	Principal commodities sold.	Remarks.
75	Raghunathganj	Giria ..	35	Wednesday and Saturday.	Ordinary commodities of daily consumption.	
76	Ditto ..	Khandua ..	60	Saturday ..	Ditto.	
77	Ditto ..	Mirzapur ..	131	Daily bazar ..	Ditto ..	Also silk clothes and shirtings available.
78	Suti ..	Ichhlipara ..	59	Daily bazar; <i>hat</i> on Wednesday and Sunday.	Ditto ..	Also lac and clothes (silk and ordinary) available.
79	Ditto ..	Punropara ..	63	Wednesday and Saturday.	Ditto ..	Also paddy and <i>gur</i> available.
80	Ditto ..	Ichhlampur ..	69	Daily bazar; <i>hat</i> on Friday.	Ditto ..	Locally known as Satgachhi bazar. Also lac and clothes, (silk, ordinary) available.
81	Ditto ..	Ahiran ..	102	Wednesday and Saturday.	Ditto.	
82	Sagardighi ..	Banyeswar ..	14	Saturday ..	Ditto.	
83	Ditto ..	Morgram ..	30	Ditto ..	Ditto.	
84	Ditto ..	Kismatgadi ..	42	Ditto ..	Ditto.	
85	Ditto ..	Manigram ..	46	Monday and Thursday.	Ditto.	
86	Ditto ..	Kherur ..	48	Saturday ..	Ditto.	
87	Ditto ..	Popara ..	88	Tuesday and Friday	Ditto.	
88	Ditto ..	Narasinghapur	112	Saturday ..	Ditto.	
89	Ditto ..	Ganja Sinheswari	184	Ditto ..	Ditto.	
90	Kandi ..	Gokarna ..	19	Wednesday and Sunday.	Ditto	Locally known as Tilakganj Hat.
91	Ditto ..	Mahalandi ..	20	Tuesday and Saturday.	Ditto.	
92	Ditto ..	Kandi ..	63	Daily bazar; <i>hat</i> on Tuesday and Saturday.	Ditto ..	Also brasswares available.
93	Bharatpur ..	Jajan ..	9	Daily bazar ..	Ditto.	
94	Ditto ..	Bharatpur ..	68	Ditto ..	Ditto.	
95	Ditto ..	Sonarundi ..	96	Ditto ..	Ditto.	
96	Ditto ..	Salar ..	102	Daily bazar, <i>hat</i> on Monday and Thursday.	Ditto.	
97	Ditto ..	Kagram ..	104	Daily bazar; <i>hat</i> on Thursday and Saturday.	Ditto.	
98	Ditto ..	Talibpur ..	107	Sunday and Wednesday.	Ditto.	

Serial No.	Police-station.	Name of village.	J. L. No.	Days of marketing.	Principal commodities sold.	Remarks.
99	Bharatpur ..	Kandara ..	114	Daily bazar; <i>hat</i> on Tuesday and Saturday.	Ordinary commodities of daily consumption. Ditto.	
100	Ditto ..	Sahapur ..	124	Daily bazar ..	Ditto.	
101	Ditto ..	Amlai ..	130	Ditto ..	Ditto.	
102	Burwan ..	Kantur ..	43	Monday and Friday	Ditto.	
103	Ditto ..	Burwan ..	56	Tuesday and Friday	Ditto.	
104	Ditto ..	Sahora ..	91	Wednesday and Friday.	Ditto.	
105	Ditto ..	Gram Salika ..	121	Sunday ..	Ditto ..	Also a cattle mart.
106	Ditto ..	Panchthupi ..	149	Daily bazar ..	Ditto.	
107	Khargram ..	Jhilli ..	2	Saturday ..	Ditto.	
108	Ditto ..	Indrani ..	40	Monday and Friday	Ditto.	
109	Ditto ..	Margram ..	88	Ditto ..	Ditto.	
110	Ditto ..	Eroali ..	106	Saturday ..	Ditto.	
111	Ditto ..	Khargram ..	139	Daily bazar ..	Ditto.	

(b) List of Fairs and Melas in the district of Murshidabad.

Serial No.	Police-station.	Name of village with J. L. No.	Date or days when held.	Number of days occupied.	Number of people attending.	Purpose of the mela.
1	Berhampore town.	Kasimbazar .. 102	October or November	15	1,500	Rashjatra mela.
2	Ditto ..	Bil Bishnupur 94	Every Tuesday and Saturday in Pous.	9	200	Bishnupur Kalibaree mela.
3	Ditto ..	Gopjan .. 18	Every Tuesday and Saturday in Baisakh.	9	150	Basantatala mela.
4	Ditto ..	Gar Baharampur. 91	Jaistha ..	1	2,000	Dasahara Gangapuja.
5	Ditto ..	Saidabad .. 100	Rathajatra ..	2	1,000	Kunjaghata Rathajatra mela.
6	Ditto ..	Gar Baharampur; 91	Ditto ..	2	1,000	Jagannath Ghat Rathajatra mela.
7	Naoda ..	Patikabari .. 36	Beginning of March	30	500	Patikabari mela.
8	Ditto ..	Madhupur .. 18	One month ..	30	150	Madhupur mela.
9	Domkal ..	Katakopra .. 30	Last day of Chaitra	1	200	Chaitra Sankranti.
10	Hariharpara	Rukunpur .. 30	Every Tuesday in Jaistha.	4	300	Kalitala Puja.

Serial No.	Police-station.	Name of village with J. L. No.	Date or days when held.	Number of days occupied.	Number of people attending.	Purpose of the mela.
11	Hariharpara	Choa .. 59	Middle of Baisakh to middle of Jaistha.	4	100	Ramnabami mela.
12	Ditto ..	Tekona .. 41	Kali Puja day ..	2	100	Kali Puja mela.
13	Jalangi ..	Sadikhanr Diar 37	During Rathajatra	8	100	Rathajatra.
14	Ditto ..	Dhanirampur 6	Ditto ..	8	150	Ditto.
15	Ditto ..	Sagarpara .. 10	September or October	3	150	Lakshmi Puja mela.
16	Bhagawangola	Sundarpur .. 11	Once a year in January.	3	100	Pous Sankranti.
17	Ditto ..	Harerampur 120	Every year in Pous	1	200	Ditto.
18	Lalgola ..	Lalgola .. 80	3rd or 4th week of July.	21	500	Ratha jatra.
19	Raninagar ..	Kasbagoas .. 61	July 15th	15	30	Ganesh Janani.
20	Jiaganj ..	Saiduganj .. 12	Chaitra Purnima ..	7	300	Kamale Kamini mela.
21	Ditto ..	Bahadurpur 15	Baisakh Sankranti	8	100	Tongrakhali Tulshi Bihar mela.
22	Ditto ..	Jiaganj .. 6	In Jaistha ..	1	500	Dasahara Ganga Puja mela.
23	Ditto ..	Azinganj .. 39	Ditto ..	1	500	Ditto.
24	Ditto ..	Bahadurpur 15	Rathajatra ..	8	250	Ratha Jatra mela.
25	Ditto ..	Nehalia .. 13	Jhulan Jatra from Ekadashi to Purnima in Sravan.	5	200	Jhulan Jatra.
26	Murshidabad	Nashipur .. 63	1st week of August	5	1,500	Ditto.
27	Ditto ..	Nashipur .. 63	3rd and 4th week of July.	2	500	Ratha Jatra.
28	Ditto ..	Nashipur .. 63	1st Baisakh ..	7	200	Tulashi Bihar mela.
29	Ditto ..	Kella Nezamat 52	Last Thursday of Bhadra.	1	2,000	Bera festival.
30	Ditto ..	Kella Nezamat 52	1st to 10th of the month of Muharram.	10	500	Chal Bazar Muharram mela.
31	Ditto ..	Talgachhi .. 17	10th, 40th and 60th day of Muhurram.	3	1,000	Amaniganj Karbala mela.
32	Nabagram ..	Isanpur .. 68	Every year in Falgun.	15	1,000 1 day, then 50 per day.	Siba Chaturdashi.
33	Ditto ..	Kiriteswari .. 101	Every Tuesday in Pous.	4	500	Kiriteswari mela.
34	Samsanganj	Nimtita .. 108	January ..	1	300	Nimtita Tulashi Sankranti mela.

Serial No.	Police-station.	Name of village with J. L. No.	Date or days when held.	Number of days occupied.	Number of people attending.	Purpose of the mela.
35	Samsorganj	Nimtita .. 108	March ..	4	150	Dole Jatra mela.
36	Ditto ..	Arjjunpur .. 96	July ..	1	500	Sham Chand mela.
37	Ditto ..	Paranpara .. 93	Bijaya day ..	1	1,000	Dhulian Bijaya Dasami mela.
38	Suti ..	Hilora ... 33	September and October.	4	200	Durga Puja mela.
39	Ditto ..	Nurpur .. 86	October and November.	6	200	Jagaddhatri Puja.
40	Ditto ..	Bangsabati 40	February ..	13	500	Rajrajeswari mela.
41	Sagardighi ..	Banyeswar .. 14	In Falgun ..	1	1,000	Siva Chaturdashi-mela.
42	Ditto ..	Banyeswar 14	Last day of Chaitra	1	500	Chaitra Sankranti.
43	Kandi ..	Sadpur .. 65	Middle of April every year.	1	1,000	Ditto.
44	Ditto ..	Kandi .. 63	Middle of November yearly.	15	1,200	Rash Jatra.
45	Ditto ..	Ruppur .. 85	February ..	1	1,000	Sivaratri.
46	Bharatpur ..	Bharatpur .. 68	Magh ..	15	200	Kalitala mela.
47	Ditto ..	Bharatpur .. 68	Ditto ..	15	200	Mayurakshi mela.
48	Ditto ..	Malihati .. 113	Chaitra ..	4	400	Ramnabami mela.
49	Ditto ..	Sisua .. 116	Ditto ..	2	150	Chaitra Sankranti.
50	Ditto ..	Alugram .. 69	Gangapuja ..	1	1,000	Dhopagati Ganga Puja mela.
51	Ditto ..	Dakshin Khanda 99	Falgun or Chaitra	2	300	Dakshinkanda mela.
52	Ditto ..	Jaulia .. 95	Magh ..	7	200	Jaulia mela.
53	Ditto ..	Shahabajpur 51	Ditto ..	7	200	Shahabazpur mela.
54	Burwan ..	Satitara .. 129	Middle of February	7	300	Keshar Pahar mela.
55	Ditto ..	Sahora .. 91	Latter part of February.	3	125	Sahora mela.
56	Khargram ..	Nagar .. 85	Middle of Pous ..	3	300	Dada Pirer mela.
57	Ditto ..	Atgharia .. 107	End of Falgun ..	1	500	Sivaratri.

APPENDIX XI.

List of places connected with local traditions or historical importance.

Description.	Village in which situated.	Jurisdiction List No.	Plot N
<i>Suti.</i>			
1 Tomb of Mallik Dewān Shaheb ..	Bāhutali ..	20	3649
<i>Sagardighi.</i>			
1 Residence of Mahipal I	Mahipal	161	309
2 Ancient Tomb of a Muhammadan Saint known as Shah-Bokhari.	Bokhārā	62	2739
3 Badshahi Tank at Raipur	Fulbārī	60	292
4 Sagardighi tank, said to have been excavated by the Pal Kings.	Sāgardighi	89	992
5 Idol of Nakkati Thakur	Ditto	89	573
6 Ruins of <i>Bisramagar</i> of Jagat Sett with a copy of an inscription and a Tablet.	Dasturhāt	188	1416
7 Tombs of Sultan Giasuddin with children with inscription.	Ganja Sinheswari ..	184	3 and 4
8 Kherur Mosque—preserved by Ancient Monuments Act.	Kherur	48	1909
9 A big dighi—Sheik Dighi—falling in three mauzas, said to have been excavated by Hosain Shah, King of Gour.	Banyeswar Kismat Nispibiral Jindighi	14 15 24	66 764 1 and 2
10 Mosque at Chandpara	Chandpara	40	4106
<i>Jiaganj.</i>			
1 House where Rani Bhawani of Natore used to reside, with several temples.	Baranagar	40	125
2 Rajrajeswari Temple	Ditto	40	137
3 Dayamoyee Kali Temple	Ditto	40	52
4 Traces of Munsurganj palace of Nawab Seraj-ud-daula.	Hirajhil now amalgamated with Satichauraha.	59	89
5 Temples of Siva said to have been built and a tank said to have been excavated by Raja Rajballabh.	Bāgeswarbāti ..	61	48, 49, 57
6 Garden house and a tank of Jagat Sett known as <i>Jagat Sether lahar</i> .	Madhusudanbati ..	51	54 and 70
7 Marhatta Ditch, excavated to ward off the Marhattas.	Fauzbāg Aminábázār Satichauraha	57 58 59	64 210 3, 4, 12

Description.	Village in which situated.	Jurisdiction List No.	Plot No
<i>Raghunathganj.</i>			
1 Field of the 1st battle of Giria fought between Aliverdi Khan and Sarfaraz Khan.	Giria	35	....
2 Field of the second battle of Giria fought between Mir Kasim and Major Adams of the East India Company.	Ditto	35	....
<i>Murshidabad.</i>			
1 Tank, the excavation of which was begun at the time of Murshid kuli Khan and completed by Nawab Seraj-ud-daula.	Farrabag	5	28.
2 Garden of Suja-ud-daula	Rosnáganj	6	78.
3 Burial place of a great Saint (maintained by Public Works Department.)	Ditto	6	79.
4 Grave of Suja-ud-daula	Ditto	6	80.
5 Musjid of Nawab Suja-ud-daula	Ditto	6	81.
6 Graves of Aliverdi Khan, Seraj-ud-daula and his Begum.	Khosbag	12	439.
7 <i>Hazarduari</i> or the Palace of the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad.	Kellá Nezamat	52	6.
8 Dhupghari	Ditto	52	6.
9 Tripaulia Gate	Ditto	52	25.
10 Azimnagar Katra Musjid	Syampur Haydarganj	61	29.
11 Jafraganj Cemetery	Jáfráganj	62	186.
12 The Phuti Musjid, said to have been built by Sarfaraz Khan in one night.	Bazar, Mansurkhán	57	69.
13 Mosque at Bahadurali Khan's Chouraha	Golápbág	50	56.
14 The Katra Musjid	Sabji Kátrá	56	218.
15 Jahan Kosh, the Great Gun	Topkháná	34	33.
16 Kadam Sarif—A stone said to bear an impression of the prophet of the Musalmans.	Kadamsarif	48	266.
17 Nakkati Temple	Khanpur	39	628.
18 Temple of Radhamádhav Thakur	Kumarpara	41	14.
19 Matijhil Palace, Karbala Mosque, Motijhil	Motijhil	42	120 to 122.
20 Banamalipur Mosque	Lálbág	44	575.
21 Site of the Palace of Murshid Kuli Khan	Kumrapur	58	157, 158, 162, 163.
22 The Kolaria Musjid erected by Naseri Begum, wife of Murshid Kuli Khan.	Ditto	58	155.
23 The <i>Deori</i> or the residence of Mirjafar	Jáfráganj	62	65 to 75.

Description.	Village in which situated.	Jurisdiction List No.	Plot No.
24 Nisadbag, the seat of the Nizamut, where Md. Reza Khan used to live.	Kumrapur	58	336.
25 Jafraganj Mohanto's <i>Akhra</i> established by Mohanto Lochan Das in 1168 B.S.	Nashipur	63	140.
26 Site of Jagat Sett's old house ..	Mahimápur	71	2, 3, 14, 17, 80, 164.
27 Residence of the last Agent of the East India Company—Mr. Fox.	Urdubazar	59	86.
<i>Berhampore Town.</i>			
1. The site of the factory of the East India Company.	Kasimbazar	102	87/121.
2. The Cemetery at Kassimbazar ..	Ditto	102	873.
3. The Jain Temple of Nemenath and a Tank named Madhugaria.	Ditto	102	Temple in 935. Tank in 933.
4. Satighat ..	Ditto	102	988.
5. The Chandpakur or the summer residence of Nawab Ali Jah.	Hátinagar	111	22/1134.
	Jánuhammadpur	112	146/503.
6. The site of the jail constructed by Lord Clive.	Hátinagar	111	705.
7. The headquarters of the East India Company before removal to Berhampore.	Mádápur	106	....
8. The site of the old Lunatic Asylum ..	Sibpur	104	266.
9. Sibdanga Palace of the King of Burma ..	Gar Baharampur	91	1166.
10. Bisnupur Kalibari ..	Bisnupur	93	85.
11. The site of the Hindu Raja Sasanka, of Karna Subarna.	Jadupur	55	17, 48, 49.
12. A mound named Rakshasidanga ..	Protappur Chandpara	59	171 to 174.
13. Armenian Church ..	Saidábád	100	530, 558, 559.
14. The Dutch Cemetery at Kalikapur ..	Kálikápur	99	29.
15. Barracks at Berhampore, built 1765-67, continued to be Military Cantonment till 1870.	Gar Baharampur	91	415 to 418, 421, 422, 445, 447 to 470, 488, 489, 518 to 520, 1521, 1522, 1525, 1527 to 1545, 1555.
16. The Cemetery at Berhampore ..	Ditto	91	1130.
17. Kunjaghata Rajbari of Maharaja Nandakumar.	Saidábád	100	900.

Description.	Village in which situated.	Jurisdiction List No.	Plot No.
<i>Beldanga.</i>			
1. Kapileswar Sib Mandir of Saktipur ..	Saktipur ..	79	3299.
2. Imam Shaheb's Darga ..	Bázár Sáu ..	75	1665.
3. Pillars showing the position of the British and the Nawab's troops at the time of the Battle of Plassey (preserved by the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act).	Loknathpur ..	129	1926, 2083, 1411, 2036, 2050.
<i>Noadā.</i>			
1. Indigo Factory ..	Sonatikri ..	14	2745.
2. Dubtola Temple ..	Raypur ..	17	3707.
<i>Nabagram.</i>			
1. Temple of Kiriteswari, one of the <i>Pithas</i> of the Hindus.	Kiriteswari ..	101	847.
2. Temple with an image of Bhairab, which in fact is an image of Buddha.	Ditto ..	101	934.
3. Tombs of Hazrat Shah Badshah ..	Pánchgrám ..	23	1522.
4. Temple of Ishaneswar or Kalindar Siva ..	Isanpur ..	68	2053.
5. Jibantisthan ..	Gopgram ..	88	2844.
<i>Kandi.</i>			
1. Temple of Narasingha Deb and Singhabahini, with an inscription.	Gokarna ..	19	5238, 5246, 5382.
2. Temple of Brindaban Chandra in Gobarhati	Gobarhati ..	40	2609/3104, 682.
<i>Khargram.</i>			
1. Mausaliams numbering about 15 or 16 on a piece of land locally known as Bárabighá.	Sahapur ..	95	965, 966.
2. Serer Dighi ..	Mandalsár ..	97	1634.
3. A Hindu place of worship where the Muhammadans of the locality offer the first fruits of their garden.	Kelai ..	14	5.
4. Sherpur Atai—where a decisive battle was fought between Mansingha and the rebellious Afgans of Orissa.	Nagar ..	85	....
<i>Burwan.</i>			
1. Abej Tank—of about 100 acres said to have been excavated by the kings of Gour.	Faridpur ..	64	160.
2. Badshahi dighi ..	Majlisipur ..	159	578.

APPENDIX XII.

List of Inscriptions on Historical tombs.

(a) *Residency Cemetery in mauza Gar Baharampore, J. L. No. 91, police-station Berhampore Town.*

Plot No. 1130. Area 2.56.

Grave No.	Name of deceased.	Date and place of death.	Date of birth or age.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5
2	William Anthoney MacPherson	2nd April 1839 at Berhampore.	2nd November 1837.	
3	Mary Jane	4th August 1816 ..	2 years and 23 days.	
5	Henry Robert	14th May 1849 at Berhampore.	4th February 1848.	
6	John Edwin	3rd August 1834 ..	28th December 1833.	
7	Allen	24th January 1836	4 months.	
8	Minnie Emily Frederica Louisac Torrens.	1849 ..	65 years.	
9	Sarah Mary Anne Muller, wife of John Muller.	4th September 1840	24 years, 1 month and 4 days.	
10	Lina Rosalie, wife of J. F. Muller of Darjeeling.	8th April 1875 ..	4th February 1823.	
12	Philip (infant son of Captain and Mrs. Goldney).	2nd August 1836 ..	2 years and 2 months.	
13	Fanny Eliza Jean ..	24th August 1891 ..	1 year, 2 months and 12 days.	
15	(a) Lt.-Col. Robert Morrel ..	23rd May 1830 at Berhampore.	63 years.	
	(b) Thomas Palmer Morrel, son of above.	2nd March 1844 at Calcutta.	37 years, 5 months and 7 days.	
	(c) Annelia Martha Travers ..	10th December 1825.	....
	(d) Miss Sophia Maria Grimes	30th November 1818	....
17	(a) Thomas Benjamin Rice and	20th January 1882	80 years, 7 months and 11 days.	
	(b) Maria Eliza Rice, relict of T. B. Rice.	17th April 1893 ..	78 years, 2 months and 9 days.	
18	(a) William Robert Johnston	28th April 1889 ..	49 years, 7 months and 5 days.	
	(b) Maria Mary Johnston ..	2nd September 1889	13th March 1833.	
19	John Hyde, Esq. ..	24th April 1825 at Berhampore.	45 years.	
20	....	....	....	Inscription not legible.
21	Samuel	2nd May 1824 ..	2 months.	
22	Charles Main Waringe, Esq. ..	17th April 1828 ..	38 years.	
23	Major P. W. Ramsay, H. M. 47th Regiment.	28th June 1827 ..	45 years.	

Grave No.	Name of deceased.	Date and place of death.	Date of birth or age.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5
25	Joseph Marion, Esq., and Louisa, his wife.		No date.	
28	John Pennington ..	30th May 1851 ..	34 years.	
29	Lt.-General James Morris ..	5th September 1823	70 years.	
32	James Smart	15th September 1815	56 years, 2 months and 20 days.	
33	Lt.-General William Palmer	....	No date ..	Inscribed by his son.
34	James W. and Eliza R. Maseyk	25th August 1876 ..	16 years, 1 month and 11 days.	
35	Francis Debrine ..	16th October 1887	31 years, 3 months and 24 days.	
36	Eliza Clarkes	7th October 1876 at Berhampore.	Not legible.	
37	Infant son of George and Claudine Conrow.	25th November 1854	18th November 1854.	
38	Shearman Palmer ..	2nd April 1808 ..	21 years and 15 days.	
39	Lt. John Bruce	28th August 1807 ..	29 years.	
40	Sarah Cannon, wife of Sergt-Major In' Cannon.	19th October 1803	23 years.	
42	Sergeant John Little ..	19th October 1817	76 years.	
43	....	....	....	Inscription not legible.
45	(a) Emma Frances Lauce ..	13th July 1870 ..	30th December 1867.	
	(b) John White, M.D. ..	29th June 1871 ..	51 years.	
46	George Price	17th December 1880	42 years and 7 months.	
47	Hugh Pereira .. .	12th June 1881 ..	30th October 1880.	
49	Gay Arthur	27th May 1889 ..	21st July 1888.	
50	Emmanuel Edmond Dubus	24th January 1890	5th April 1813.	
51	Marie Jeanne Clemence Dubus	14th July 1895 ..	24th July 1811.	
51A	C. A. Dabus	31st May 1921 ..	....
53	Mr. William Lane, late of Feredpore Indigo Works.	21st November 1809	58 years.	
54	Infant boy of Lt. E. Grant ..	17th April 1810 ..	12th April 1810.	
55	Margaret Louise Yub Meta ..	28th December 1890	6 years and 2 months.	
62	Mary Bartlet ..	2nd January 1864 at Berhampore.	67 years, 4 months and 21 days.	
65	Captain Charles Corner Smith, 6th Extra Regt., N.I.	6th November 1827	41 years and 16 days.	
66	Fry Magnac, Esq., R.E., E. I. Coy.'s Civil Service.	15th July 1830 at Murshidabad.	....

Grave No.	Name of deceased.	Date and place of death.	Date of birth or age.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5
67	John Lamb, Capt., 29th Regt., B. N. I.	18th September 1861 at Berhampore.	33 years.	Italian inscription.
69	G. Perola DeMilans ..	22nd September 1861 at Berhampore.	26 years ..	
70	William Leslie Wallace ..	9th June 1879 ..	43 years.	
71	Selina	31st October 1860	29 years.	
72	Isabella Sneyd, wife of Lt. Bailey, 7th Regt.	13th March 1835 ..	27 years.	
75	Henry George	31st August 1859 ..	11 months and 12 days.	
76	John Wemys Rait ..	13th April 1862 ..	26 days.	
77	Emphelia Jane Elizabeth ..	27th January 1854	9th December 1851	
78	Elizabeth, wife of L. W. Hutchinson.	12th June 1855 ..	4th August 1834.	
79	Eugene Robert	No date ..	4 months.	
80	Sophia	8th December 1854	21 years and 8 months.	Broken.
81	Jose Louis Larruleta ..	10th April 1851 ..	32 years.	
82	Angels Larruleta ..	12th April 1858 ..	72 years, 1 month and 12 days.	
83	Adeline Mary	August 1850 ..	July 1847.	
84	Mr. T. H. Johnson, S. M. D.	28th March 1855 ..	24 years and 8 months.	
85	Miss Adeline, relict of the late Lt. Lukin.	4th August 1851 ..	26 years.	
86	Lt. J. H. H. Lukin, 14th Reg., N. I.	29th July 1849 ..	....
87	John Duncan	20th November 1852	....
88	....	....	....
89	Colonel Mitchel, C.B., Lt.-Col., H. M., 3rd Regt. or the Buffs.	3rd June 1833 at Berhampore.	53 years.	Inscription not legible.
91	Alige Mand Hand Barton ..	24th January 1869	13th December 1867.	
93	Nancy, daughter of J. and C. Brierly.	26th April 1836 ..	1 year and 8 months.	
95	Frances Catherine Patch	27th August 1837	66 years.	
96	George Meyer, Esq., Principal Sudder Aumeen.	13th October 1836	44 years.	
97	Major A. Beck, H.M.S. 17th Regt., also his infant son Robert.	23rd April 1822 and 6th August 1822.	41 years.	
98	Captain Thomas Binny, H. M. S. 11th Light Dragoons.	26th November 1821	53 years.	

Grave No.	Name of deceased.	Date and place of death.	Date of birth or age.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5
99	Ensign Chas. Wedgewood, Bengal Infantry.	16th September 1820	19 years.	On board Budgerow.
100	Mrs. E. Macnamara ..	28th November 1820	45 years ..	
102	Edward Rice, Esq. ..	5th June 1821 ..	59 years.	
103	Letitia Grant, wife of W. L. Grant, Surgeon.	2nd August 1818 ..	27 years.	
105	M. S. James Locke Mitford	13th October 1823	8 months and 5 days.	
106	Richard W. Pattle, Esq., (Judge and Magistrate, Dinajpur).	8th November 1803	30 years.	
107	(a) Eliza, wife of James Robertson, Civil Surgeon of Murshidabad, and children—	4th January 1808	32 years.	
	(1) Eliza	31st August 1802 ..	16 months and 20 days.	
	(2) William	24th September 1804	10 months and 5 days.	
	(b) James Haldane Robertson	15th September 1817	49 years.	
108	Mary Ann, wife of Mr. Charles Townsend.	23rd November 1832	29 years.	
109	Catherine Mary	1st October 1833 ..	Not legible.	
110	Mr. Charles Webb	5th September 1826	41 years.	
111	Lt. W. Briggs, 20th Regt., N. I.	8th April 1828 ..	....
112	Henry John Tucker, M.D., 21st Regt., N. I.	19th February 1843	32 years.	
114	Michael S. Trawley	20th December 1885	20 years, 10 months and 28 days.	
115	Captain Richard Lambert ..	25th October 1805	40 years.	
116	Matthew Leslie, Esq. ..	25th January 1804	49 years.	
117	Matilda, wife of Charles Rose of Bogowangola.	28th March 1864 ..	49 years, 10 months and 25 days.	
118	James Murray	15th April 1803 ..	41 years.	
120	M. Maria (Illegible)	27th December 1806	36 years.	
121	Mary Wilkinson, wife of Sergt. Wilkinson.	10th January 1804	43 years.	
122	Arthur Cecil	16th November 1878	8th November 1877.	
124	Mackertick Gregory Arrakiel	23rd October 1888	25th August 1829.	
125	W. D. Dundus	16th September 1875 at Berhampore.	43 years ..	Endowment, Rs. 30 from April 1904.
126	Miss Catherine Cumming ..	10th January 1873	80 years.	
128	Colonel Samuel Hampton ..	7th May 1786 ..	51 years.	

Grave No.	Name of deceased.	Date and place of death.	Date of birth or age.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5
129	Mary Sandford ..	2nd October 1787 ..	4 years.	
131	Ella Marry ..	6th March 1856 at Berhampore.	2 years and 23 days.	
132	Infant son of Twisden and Emily Forlees.	10th September 1857	10th September 1857.	
134	Cecil Wilberforce ..	27th November 1857	20th November 1857.	
135	Lt. Henry Read ..	13th March 1795 ..	49 years.	
137	John Maylor ..	Not legible	....
138	Lt. Henry Finch ..	28th November 1810	27 years.	
139	George Rellic Wight, Esq. .	2nd October 1845 ..	26 years.	
140	Isabella Hastings ..	23rd March 1845 at Domekol Factory.	23 years.	
141	Alfred Betts ..	19th December 1845	47 years.	
142	(a) George Lukin Betts .. and	14th February 1848	20 years.	
	(b) Lucy Adelaide Betts, sister of above.	23rd July 1851 ..	19 years.	
143	Michael Betts ..	25th June 1866 ..	79 years.	
144	(a) Lt.-Col. W. H. Eadle, 39th Regt., N. I.	18th November 1846	52 years and 10 months.	
	(b) Annie Griffiths Eadle ..	28th July 1846 ..	18th October 1835.	
145	William Stephen Lembrick, Esq.	13th October 1842	36 years and 8 months.	
146	Julia Adelaide, wife of Henry Slater Thomson.	13th February 1843 at Berhampore.	29th August 1822.	
147	(a) Rev. S. Trawin ..	3rd August 1827	32 years.	
	(b) Rev. Samuel John Hill ..	20th January 1891	22nd December 1825.	
	(c) (i) Nayan Tara Das ..	2nd December 1880	15th November 1870.	
	(ii) Amrita Lal Das ..	12th June 1881 ..	16th December 1873.	
	(d) John Arland Paterson ..	22nd April 1839 ..	27th May 1837.	
	(e) Isabella ..	18th April 1847 ..	....
148	John Ben Garner ..	19th April 1840 ..	35 years.	
149	Charles P. Bradford ..	23rd August 1857 at Rajmohal.	24 years, 8 months and 17 days.	
150	Henry Creighton of Goamatty	2nd October 1807 ..	44 years ..	First institutor of native schools for instructing poor children in their own language.
151	Sophia, wife of Barrack Sergt. Paxton.	21st December 1824	32 years.	
152	Marrienne Turner, wife of Thomas Turner, Barrack Sergeant.	17th September 1817	31 years.	

Grave No.	Name of deceased.	Date and place of death.	Date of birth or age.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5
153	"Lennie," Llwellyn White Frances.	6th May 1889	30 years.	Endowment, Rs. 30 from April 1910.
154	Barbara Moria	15th February 1860	70 years.	
155	Alfred Ferguson, younger son of the Very Revd. J. Ferguson.	29th October 1885	26 years and 9 months	
156	William Tale Holem ..	8th September 1862	38 years.	
157	Three infant daughters of Mr. and Mrs. Nesbith.	No date ..	..
158	Agnes Hillocks Wemyss ..	7th September 1865	32 years.	
159	Captain Martin Hunter Hailes, late of 10th Regt., Bengal Infantry.	9th October 1850 ..	40 years.	
160	Lt. William Alexander Parkar Farnell of the 59th Regt.	2nd November 1850	....
161	Morian Edith	31st July 1857 ..	8 months.	
162	Adelaide Ellen	22nd April 1852 ..	....
163	Thomas Theophilus Smith, Banjetty Factory.	28th January 1879	43 years.	He gave Rs. 40,000 for supporting the Christian religion and for translation of the Holy Scripture.
164	Edgar Perry	24th January 1831	....
166	Kate	30th September 1863	....
167	Simon Adolphus D'Abreu, son of John Lewis and Isabella Barbara.	3rd May 1890 ..	57 years.	
168	Maud Vivian	11th September 1863	7 days.	
169	Reginald Thompson ..	31st August 1865 ..	23rd August 1865.	
170	William Grant, Esq., of Chandney.	23rd October 1807	38 years ..	
171	Arabolla Anne	25th September 1827	5 years.	
172	Charles Sweedland, Esq., of the Civil Service. and Sophia, wife of above ..	9th October 1828 .. 29th October 1928	64 years. 59 years.	
173	Robert Creighton, Esq., Bengal Civil Service.	11th October 1828	31 years.	
174	Sophia Isabella	21st December 1833	29th March 1816.	
175	Mary Cecilia, wife of J. D. Hexloto.	20th April 1841 at Berhampore.	33 years.	
176	Richard Main Warning ..	16th November 1834	20 years.	
177	Elsie Amelia Williamson ..	23rd October 1891	2 years and 2 days.	

Grave No. 1	Name of deceased. 2	Date and place of death. 3	Date of birth or age. 4	Remarks. 5
178	David Morrison ..	25th October 1821	39 years.	
179	Saint James Crocker ..	3rd June 1830 ..	33 years.	
180	Anne ..	13th June 1830 ..	45 years.	
181	Mrs. Frances Burnett ..	29th September 1885	80 years and 6 months.	
182	Eliza Marion ..	5th June 1831 ..	25 years.	
183	Robert Maxwell ..	28th September 1793	6 months and 26 days.	
184	Sergeant R. Park, pensioner	19th January 1857	44 years.	
187	Mary Anne Bishop ..	22nd September 1875.	....
188	Frederick William Griffiths ..	20th October 1791	33 years, 6 months and 22 days.	
189	Job Clarke ..	8th December 1800	57 years.	
190	Engr. Inr. Playford ..	27th April 1787 ..	18 years.	
191	Captain James Skinner ..	15th December 1773	40 years.	
192	(1) Emily Blanche, (2) Ada Jessie (twin sisters).	October 1866 ..	26 days and 30 days.	
193	George Gordon ..	8th July 1866 ..	47 years.	
195	James Cook ..	8th April 1878 ..	....
196	Mrs. Carteret Cox ..	6th January 1792 ..	21 years.	
197	Sarah F. Wood ..	26th October 1791	7th November 1788.	
198	Henry Carpenter Grimley ..	15th August 1869 at Berhampore.	2 years and 4 months	Endowment, Rs. 30 from January 1902.
200	Eliza, Minto (two infant daughters).	27th March 1809, and 12th April 1812.	1 month and 12 months.	
201	Charles Bishop, Esq. ..	16th February 1874	4th May 1790. "	
202	Rev. A. W. Walles, M.A. ..	9th July 1871 ..	51 years.	
203	Neil Rainy, late Sergt.-Major, 33rd Battalion, Native Infantry.	15th October 1793	34 years.	
204	James E. Winchester Black	9th September 1858	....
206	Lt. J. H. Lindsay, 19th Regt., Bengal, N. I., eldest surviving son of Robert Lindsay, Straitton, Fife-shire, Scotland.	14th August 1856 ..	29 years.	
207	Gregar, M. ..	5th August 1831 ..	Not legible.	
208	Owen O'Neil ..	20th January (year not legible).	55 years.	
209	Mrs. Sarrah Collins ..	15th January 1884.	72 years.	
210	Mr. Thomas Rose ..	16th June 1874 at Berhampore.	76 years and 1 month.	

Grave No.	Name of deceased.	Date and place of death.	Date of birth or age.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5
211	William, Thomas Pervis ..	9th November 1866	7 years, 1 month and 24 days.	
212	Henrietta Anne, wife of T. Rose, eldest daughter of Geo. and Ann Burnett.	1st March 1866 ..	38 years, 5 months and 6 days.	
213	Joseph Edwin	29th May 1870 ..	4 years, 5 months and 8 days.	
214	Maria Anstruther ² Hathorn ..	7th April 1829 ..	23 years.	
215	Mary Grant	10th August 1871 at Murshidabad.	1796.	
216	Mr. Joseph Pinner ..	12th February 1851	67 years.	
217	Catherine	22nd April 1848 ..	55 years, 8 months and 14 days.	
218	Charlotte	6th February 1848	28th March 1805.	
219	Thomas Nathaniel ..	24th December 1827	4 years, 8 months and 8 days.	
220	Ensign George Skene, 65th Regt., N. I.	4th June 1851 ..	20 years.	
221	Captain Elias E. Isaac, 65th Regt., N. I.	28th March 1831 ..	37 years.	
222	John Law, Esq., Surgeon, H.C.S.	23rd September 1828	57 years.	
223	Charlotto	21st December 1830	24 years and 11 months.	
227	J. N. Reignier	11th October 1849	17 years and 8 months.	
228	Eleanor Louisa	1st August 1865 ..	7 years, 5 months and 12 days.	
231	Evelyn Stuart	3rd January 1867 ..	25 years.	
232	Eliza	8th March 1822 ..	....
233	Samuel Tickell, Capt., Regt. No. 1.	5th October 1827 ..	32 years.	
234	Harriet Eveline	14th August 1818 ..	12th July 1818.	
235	Mary Ann	2nd July 1818 ..	29 years.	
239	Eleanor Douglas	15th August 1846 ..	1 year and 8 months.	
242	Francis Cordelia	30th May 1830 ..	1 year, 4 months and 19 days.	
243	George Richardson, C. S., Commercial Resident of Rungpore.	21st July 1826 at Berhampore.	34 years.	
244	George Burnett	14th March 1859 ..	59 years, 3 months and 18 days.	
245	George Purvis, Esq. ..	12th May 1864 ..	46 years.	
246	Ensign T. T. M. Matheson ..	26th July 1846 ..	18 years and 10 months.	

Grave No.	Name of deceased.	Date and place of death.	Date of birth or age.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5
247	Thomas Hastings ..	20th August 1850 ..	1 year and 8 days.	
248	Maria Ronald Cleene ..	1st June 1848 ..	3 years, 6 months and 18 days.	
249	Janet Rose	28th October 1847	2 years, 9 months and 27 days.	
251	Mrs. Charlotte Ann Jones, wife of William Jones, Esq., Indigo Planter.	9th June 1853 ..	23 years and 6 months.	
252	Mrs. Thomas Ablett, Comdr., D. P. W.	14th September 1845	58 years, 8 months and 20 days.	
257	Sergeant James Jones ..	14th November 1834	70 years and 10 days.	
260	Thomas Frederick Bevan ..	17th October 1808	33 years.	
262	Adam Freer, M.D., Superintending Surgeon, native of Perthshire, England.	18th January 1811	74 years.	
263	Henry McCreery, M.D., H. M. S. 9th Regt. Infantry.	28th September 1838	53 years.	
264	Captain John Friend ..	21st December 1787	48 years.	
265	James Law, Co.'s C. S. Collector, Murshidabad.	25th November 1812	37 years.	
266	Ann Law, wife of James Law	25th July 1806 ..	22 years and 6 months.	
267	Caroline Augusta ..	4th February 1843	8 months and 13 days.	
268	Thomas Bignell ..	No date ..	7 years and 8 months.	
269	Daniel Robinson Leekie, late in the C. S. of the E. I. Co. and Registrar, Dewanny Adalaut of City Murshidabad.	10th December 1792 at Murshidabad.	24 years.	
270	Emily Louisa	17th December 1842	11 months and 28 days.	
271	Maria Caroline	10th November 1847	26 years.	
272	Lt. Roly Thomas Lake ..	23rd August 1802 ..	28 years.	
274	Eddia Louisa Lecy ..	8th May 1853 ..	19th September 1851.	
275	Florence Jane	7th March 1853 ..	1 year and 17 days.	
276	Edward Desborough, son of Lawrence and Ann Desborough of Huntingdon.	16th August 1815 ..	48 years.	
278	John Macnamara, Lt., H. M. S. 49th Regt.	18th July 1832 ..	30 years.	
279	Lt.-Col. James Templer Parlbby, Commandant of the Corps of Engineers.	1st December 1826	64 years.	

Grave No.	Name of deceased.	Date and place of death.	Date of birth or age.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5
280	James Pattle	16th June 1825 ..	7 years, 9 months and 2 days.	
281	Rhoda Emma	12th June 1825 ..	1 year and 8 months.	
282	Emma	6th August 1824 ..	1 year and 8 months.	
283	C. J. Woodward of the Subordinate Medical Staff.	18th April 1834 ..	26 years.	
284	Lt. John Gibbs, Adjutant, 42nd Regt., N. I.	23rd November 1825	26 years.	
285	Lt. H. C. Sim, 7th Regt., N. I.	26th April 1854 ..	33 years.	
286	Frederick Douglas, son of Capt. and Mrs. F. Buckley.	4th July 1825 ..	26th December 1823.	
287	Lt. Richard Tyrell Spark, 49th Regt.	11th November 1830	29th March 1805.	
288	Jas. Wm. McBara ..	16th May 1832 ..	.....
289	Isabella Rosalind, wife of Capt. Samuel Blyth, 49th Regt.	21st November 1833	23 years.	
292	Georgiana Fances ..	26th June 1866 ..	3rd September 1829.	
293	Henry Close	Not legible ..	Not legible.	
294	Colin Shakespeare, C. S. ..	6th April 1835 ..	64 years.	
296	Aurelia Sarah Howe ..	18th March 1844 ..	3rd March 1844.	
297	Thomas Steers	10th September 1831	40 years.	
298	Roddam Butler, B. C. S. ..	25th October 1851	24 years and 6 months.	
300	Christiana, wife of Mr. J. Littlefield.	10th September 1841	39 years.	
301	Joseph Jones, and his infant son.	6th February 1846	29 years.	
303	Francis	28th June 1815 ..	4 years and 4 months.	
304	Margaret Jane Donahoo ..	Not legible ..	....
305	Captain H. W. Wilkin ..	5th August 1814 ..	....
306	Anne Frances Baynes ..	20th August 1803 ..	25th January 1803.	
307	Dr. Robert Young ..	18th November 1854	45 years.	
308	Augusta, wife of Edward Johnson of Nercolbaria.	18th May 1856 ..	29 years.	
309	Herbert	20th September 1841	9 months.	
310	Mrs. Eleanor Gascoyne ..	20th June 1804 ..	28 years.	
311	William Struthers, Brevet, Major, 14th Regt., B.N.I.	10th September 1848	48 years.	
313	Andrew Ramsay ..	7th October 1809 ..	5th October 1809.	

Grave No.	Name of deceased.	Date and place of death.	Date of birth or age.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5
315	Aron Friflow, pensioner ..	19th December 1801	47 years.	
316	James Rogivier ..	16th April 1806 ..	64 years.	
317	Lt. Alex Wathan Baillie, 70th Regt.	5th December 1842	25 years.	
321	Caroline	10th September 1798	7th May 1798.	
323	Thomas White	1st September 1819	43 years.	
324	Mrs. Maria White, wife of T. White.	26th April 1804 ..	26 years.	
327	Mr. Sub-Cond. W. Clarke ..	31st October 1841 ..	42 years and 6 months.	
328	William Burton	22nd November 1805	14th July 1801.	
329	Henry Charles Burton ..	5th November 1805	2 years and 10 months.	
330	Henry Sherwood	22nd July 1807 ..	Christmas day, 1805.	
331	Major-General Edward Rawstorm.	16th July 1801 ..	54 years.	
332	Lt.-Colonel John Gillanders	Not legible ..	....
333	Thomas Lyon, Esq.	2nd October 1799 ..	62 years.	
335	Henrietta	31st March 1807 ..	1 year and 3 months.	
336	Maria Dorothea Oldfield ..	24th September 1803	5 years, 4 months and 3 days.	
339	Maria Philippa	28th January 1815	9th January 1803.	
340	Martha and Mary	12th May 1815 ..	4 years and 6 months.	
341	Major Thomas Lawry, C. B., Bengal N. I.	2nd December 1819	39 years.	
342	Robert Boileau Pemberton, Capt., 44th Regt., N. I., Agent to Governor-General, Moorshidabad.	26th June 1840 ..	42 years and 5 days.	
343	Mrs. Charlotte Maria Macan	2nd February 1825	22 years.	
344	Miss Eliza Arrow	12th September 1885	65 years.	
345	Captain George Arrow, 2nd Regt., Light Cavalry.	31st January 1825	32 years.	
346	Mrs. Jane Arrow	21st May, 1891 .. at Berhampore.	70 years.	
347	J. G. Arrow	21st March 1894 ..	80 years.	
348	Robert Chamberlain, Esq., C. S.	6th August 1819 ..	32 years.	
350	Carolina	21st June 1816 ..	18 years and 10 months.	
351	(a) Henrietta '...' ..	1st July 1816 ..	16 years.	
	(b) Anna Matilda	8th July 1816 ..	21 years.	

Grave No.	Name of deceased.	Date and place of death.	Date of birth or age.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5
352	Cudbert Thornhill Sealey, Esq., Bengal Civil Service.	5th August 1847 ..	30 years, 7 months and 14 days.	
353	Mrs. Elizabeth Forth ..	16th December 1821	27 years.	
355	Ensign E. H. Showers, 72nd Regt., N. I.	18th March 1854 ..	22 years.	
356	Henry William Droz, late Resident, Cossimbazar.	18th November 1824	46 years and 11 months.	
357	William Lock, Agent to the Governor-General, Moorshidabad, formerly Judge and Magistrate.	10th December 1824	39 years.	
358	Susannah Elizabeth ..	7th November 1839	5th November 1839.	
359	Emily H. G. Boisragon ..	12th August 1834 ..	10 years and 2 months.	
360	Maria	5th June 1833 ..	....
361	Lydia Elizabeth Lavoine, wife of I. L. Lavoine, H. M. Buff.	27th May 1833 at Berhampore.	32 years.	
362	....	....	....	No inscription.
363	Major Henry Manley ..	2nd January 1820	42 years ..	Tablets on graves Nos. 363 to 426 are fixed on wall.
364	Charles John Edward Carrey	29th March 1824 at at Berhampore.	4 months and 16 days.	
365	Edward Morran, Esq. ..	25th October 1829	27 years and 2 months.	
366	Richard Hammond Evans ..	2nd December 1844	22 years, 4 months and 26 days.	
367	Mrs. Sarah Hill, wife of Sergt-Major William Hill.	13th April 1828 ..	34 years.	
368	George	3rd October 1809 ..	2 years and 4 months.	
369	Ann	8th September 1823	24 years.	
370	....	....	....	Not legible.
371	William	12th March 1867 ..	1 year, 3 months and 27 days.	
372	Eliza Bren	21st November 1830	10 years, 6 months and 7 days.	
373	Mary, wife of Adjutant McEwen, H. M. 49th Regt.	22nd November 1831	38 years.	
374	Henrietta Phipps, wife of Capt. Pownal Phipps.	3rd April 1812 ..	35 years.	
375	Henry Darling ..	6th September 1832	30 years.	

Grave No.	Name of deceased.	Date and place of death.	Date of birth or age.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5
376	John Stratford William, Capt., 15th Madras N. I.	18th October 1817	30 years.	
377	Bt.-Captain James Simson, H. M. 49th Regt.	26th March 1829 ..	36 years.	
378	Matilda	19th December 1831	20 years.	
379	(a) Jane Caroline Jones ..	22nd October 1843	4th December 1816.	
	(b) Augustine Jones ..	6th October 1843 ..	7th August 1813.	
380	Ann Shepherd, also infant son William.	21st January 1834 and 6th February 1834.	Not legible.	
381	Mrs. Catharine Daintrall, wife of Qr.-Mr.-Sergt. Thomas Daintrall, H. M. 47th Regt.	11th May 1828 ..	42 years.	
382	Thomas Williams ..	6th June 1831 ..	26 years.	
383	Captain Wrn. Mandeville	1st October 1819 ..	36 years.	
384	Ensign J. R. C. Black ..	9th December 1852	24 years.	
385	Elizabeth Eleanor Stuart ..	24th July 1825 ..	2nd January 1825.	
386	Lt. and Adjutant. Richard Howard, H. M. 59th Regt.	11th May 1820 ..	26 years.	
387	Mary Eliza Burton ..	3rd October 1821 ..	4 years and 5 months.	
388	Captain Henry Wood, H. M. 17th Regt. of Foot.	1st October 1815 ..	33 years.	
389	Simon Marshall, Esq. ..	29th September 1825	28 years.	
390	Andn. Marshall Gardinar ..	22nd July 1818 ..	22 years.	
391	Eliza Hutchinson Sherlock ..	25th October 1824	18th September 1821.	
392	Samuel Swinton ..	6th March 1814 ..	8th October 1813.	
393	Eliza, wife of B. Halfhide, Capt., H. M. 7th Regt.	31st July 1822 ..	34 years.	
394	Louisa Villers Wilson ..	22nd August 1823	24 years and 7 months.	
395	James Brock, Esq., Paymaster, H. M. 49th Regt.	27th March 1830 ..	52 years.	
396	Caroline Graham Masayk ..	3rd August 1823 ..	6th July 1817.	
397	Elizabeth Pearce Taylor, wife of Aldwell Taylor, Lt., H. M. 38th Regt.	13th October 1823	23 years and 6 months.	
398	Cecilia Harriett, also infant daughter Cecilia, aged 8 days.	21st September 1839	17 years, 10 months and 21 days.	
399	John Huband Doyle ..	3rd September 1847 at Murshidabad.	33 years, 5 months and 20 days.	

Grave No.	Name of deceased.	Date and place of death.	Date of birth or age.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5
400	Captain N. Clifford, H. M. 87th Regt.	17th August 1824	50 years.	
401	Fink Lousia Sandbery ..	15th October 1846	1 year, 11 months and 16 days.	
402	Lousia Ann	29th April 1813 ..	14 months and 4 days.	
403	John Piper of Isabella Piper	26th June 1823 ..	7 months.	
404	Elizabeth	15th August 1824 ..	32 years.	
405	Frances Catherine ..	5th January 1823 at Murshidabad.	4th October 1821.	
406	Anna Moria Waller (a native of Spain).	1st November 1824	13 years.	
407	Mr. Henry Tickell ..	10th June 1822 ..	47 years.	
408	Sergt. Ino Hipston ..	6th November 1807	38 years.	
409	William Bartlett ..	11th January 1824	72 years and 2 months.	
410	John Eustace Chinnery ..	10th June 1822 ..	20 years and 10 months.	
411	Eliza Jane ..	28th November 1819	2 years and 5 months.	
412	James Wilson, Surgeon ..	26th August 1803	50 years.	
413	Amelia Rice	26th August 1792 ..	1 year and 6 months.	
414	....	....	....	Not legible.
415	George Morgan, Qr.-Mr.-Sergt., 1st Bt., 2nd Nat. Regt.	27th September 1797	28 years.	
416	....	....	....	Not legible.
417	Charlotte	23rd November 1822	7 months and 21 days.	
418	William Hansen ..	1st December 1814	46 years.	
419	Frances Archibald ..	3rd December 1817	2 years, 4 months and 10 days.	
420	Richard	24th April 1820 ..	7 months and 22 days.	
421	William Wilkinson, Lt.-Col., H. M., 49th Regt.	15th May 1841 at Berhampore.	65 years.	
422	Lucy O'Neale	24th March 1820 ..	11 years and 6 months.	
423	Mary	2nd January 1860	21 years.	
424	....	....	....	Not legible.
425	....	....	....	Ditto.
426	....	....	....	Ditto.
427	William Benjamin Phillips ..	1st February 1896	47 years.	

Grave No.	Name of deceased.	Date and place of death.	Date of birth or age.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5
428	Mary (wife of Major I. H. Tull-Walsh, I.M.S.).	13th August 1898	26 years ..	Endowment, Rs. 15.
429	Baby of Mr. (not legible.)	....	....
430	Eric Lionel, child of A. and M. Keogh.	10th August 1899 at Berhampore.	21st August 1897.	
431	Margaret Howorth, child of John and Lucy Joyce.	20th December 1899	26th February 1899.	
432	Gladys, daughter of V. and A. Von Gold Stein.	17th February 1900	12th June 1896.	
434	Eva (wife of E. A. Murphy)	10th November 1900	30 years ..	Endowment, Rs. 30 from July 1906.
436	Mrs. Ann Frances Devirine	16th October 1887	31 years, 2 months and 24 days.	
437	Ralph, son of James and Edith Brown.	31st January 1903	10th November 1902	Endowment, Rs. 20 from May 1908.
439	Cyril Robert Joseph Durham Norman.	1st February 1905	....
440	Margaret Smart ..	2nd September 1905	72 years ..	Endowment, Rs. 30 from February 1906.
441	E. A. Murphy	22nd December 1905	42 years ..	Endowment, Rs. 30 from July 1906.
442	William Campbell ..	5th January 901	33 years ..	Endowment, Rs. 30 from April 1908.
443	Frederick Valentine Owen Jones.	18th February 1907	16th December 1906	Endowment, Rs. 20 from May 1908.
444	Henry Valdiron	26th February 1908	24 years ..	Endowment, Rs. 30 from August 1908.
445	Hickmott William Charles Henry.	2nd April 1908 ..	47 years.	
446	Mrs. Coakly (Mary Eliza Lillo).	21st April 1908	30 years and 1 month.	
447	Mrs. Malcolm (Margaret) ..	8th September 1909	48 years ..	Endowment, Rs. 30 from May 1910.
448	Miss Irene Prance ..	6th October 1910 ..	11 years and 4 months.	
449	John Thomas Barret ..	17th May 1911 ..	46 years.	
450	Charles John Robertson Milne, Major, I.M.S.	22nd May 1911	39 years ..	Endowment, Rs. 30.
451	Bertram Owen Jones ..	4th November 1911	35 years ..	Endowment, Rs. 30 from July 1912.
452	Albert Gabriel Ranel Dubas	9th July 1912 ..	....	Endowment, Rs. 30, 1912-13.
453	Frances Augusta Campbell	22nd July 1915 ..	1st October 1841 ..	Endowment, Rs. 30, 1913-17.

Grave No.	Name of deceased.	Date and place of death.	Date of birth or age.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5
454	Mrs. Theodora Alicia Alice Thorapson.	20th September 1914.	30 years ..	Endowment, Rs. 30, 1914-15.
455	Mrs. Grace Hibbert ..	1st January 1917 ..	22 years ..	Endowment, Rs. 30, 1917-18.
456	Robert Wallace (inmate of Lunatic Asylum).	24th March 1917 ..	46 years.	
457	Mrs. Leila Gertrude Robinson	18th August 1917	29th January 1862	Endowment, Rs. 15, 1917-18.
458	Dorothy Maud Hibbert (daughter of Grace and Alfred Hibbert).	5th September 1917	1 year, 11 months and 11 days.	Endowment, Rs. 30, 1917-18.
459	George Vincent Campbell Tusto.	26th November 1917	4 years, 1 month and 22 days.	Marble stone over cemented base. Endowment, Rs. 20.
460	Mrs. Isabella Sara Frances	3rd December 1917	51 years ..	Roman Catholic. Katcha.
461	Wilfred Anthoney ..	5th April 1918 ..	42 years ..	Loose bricks over katcha.
462	R. Peter	18th September 1918	....	Katcha.
463	Roderick Alexander Edward Forbes.	21st June 1919 ..	33 years ..	Endowment, Rs. 30.
464	Ralph A. Mortan ..	6th December 1919	73 years ..	(German prisoner.)

N. B.—There are 465 graves in all. The rest do not bear any inscription.

(b) List of Graves with inscriptions in the Babulbona Kuthi, mauza Madhupur, J. L. No. 92, P. S. Berhampore town, plots Nos. 110, 111.

Grave No.	Name of deceased.	Date and place of death.	Date of birth or age.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5
1	Isabella Gray, wife of Domini George Gray.	9th September 1737	32 years ..	(Plot No. 110.)
2	Mrs. Mary Adams, wife of Mr. Charles Adams, with one son and one daughter who died in infancy.	XXIX May MDCCXLI (29th May 1741).	Born XIX of April MDCCXIX (19th April 1719). XXII years, 1 month and X days. (22 years, 1 month, and 10 days).	(Plot 111.)

There are two graves in all.

(c) *Sergeant Cemetery in Mauza Gora Bazar, J. L. No. 90, P. S. Berhampore town, Government Khas Plot No. 2404. Area 5.75 acres.*

Grave No.	Name of deceased.	Date and place of death.	Date of birth or age.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5
2	William Gunton and his sister Humeah.	13th January 1841 and 25th February 1841.	....
3	Mrs. M. Macnamara and her daughter Mary.	15th January 1840 and 16th June 1840.	40 years.	
4	Ellen Macnamara ..	19th December 1847	....
10	John Mathew ..	3rd March 1837 ..	51 years.	
11	James Shepherd ..	12th July 1835 ..	86 years.	
12	Isabella Ablett (wife of Mr. Sub-Conductor T. Ablett, D. P. W.).	12th January 1835	39 years.	
13	John (infant son of Col.-Sergeant C. Kelly).	18th August 1832 ..	....
18	Mary Anne Neal ..	9th November 1826	Not legible.	
19	Margaret Ready (wife of Sub-Conductor J. Ready, A. C. D.).	15th October 1864	28 years and 4 months.	
20	Sergeant Thomas Macnamara	21st July 1862 ..	32 years	Drowned in the river Bhagirathi at Berhampore.
24	Miss Georgiana Mullins (child of Mr. C. Mullins).	29th July 1855 ..	11 years, 10 months and 28 days.	
29	Mrs. Lucy Richey (wife of John Richey).	3rd March 1810 ..	....
30	Maria Smith	2nd October 1808 ..	Not legible.	
31	Mrs. M. Smith	24th March 1808 ..	24 years.	
32	Mrs. Mary Moran ..	Date not legible ..	....
34	Robert Warner	17th January 1840	40 years.	
36	Margaret Smith	10th November 1841	40 years.	
37	Michael Smith	4th June 1844 ..	42 years.	
38	Mary Salmon	25th January 1833	29 years.	
	George Salmon (her son) ..	3rd January 1835 ..	15 years.	
39	John Burton	Date not legible ..	....
40	James Farmer	17th October 1821	....
41	John Cox	1st November 1835	97 years.	
42	Elizabeth Cox (wife of John Cox).	21st October 1834	45 years.	
44	Samuel Davis " " ..	23rd September 1809	55 years.	
45	Robert Warner	17th January 1811	....

Grave No.	Name of deceased.	Date and place of death.	Date of birth or age.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5
48	....	....	....	Not legible.
51	....	....	....	Ditto.
53	William Poldan ..	9th August 1860 at Berhampore.	36 years.	
54	Richard Xavier Lee O'Connell.	13th November 1868	....
56	....	....	....	Not legible.
58	Robert Sharp ..	24th December 1800	40 years.	
60	Hugh Met. Eden ..	4th November 1809	....
62	Charles Rowens Croft ..	15th October 1809	....
64	Job Cross ..	9th May 1800 ..	....
65	Thomas (full name not legible).	20th December 1808	....
66	Charlotte Davis (wife of J. Davis).	9th September 1808	....
67	John George ..	10th October 1827	....
68	Armorer and Thomas Lea ..	Not legible ..	....
70	Eliza Smart ..	30th December 1800	21 years and 3 months.	
71	....	....	....	Not legible.
73	Drum-Major Samuel Stanley	15th November 1826	40 years ..	Tablets from 73 to 138 are fixed on north side boundary wall. Tablet 139 is fixed on east side boundary wall.
74	Elizabeth Carter (daughter of Mark Carter).	14th April 1828 ..	7th October 1819.	
75	Mary Hurree ..	Not legible ..	....	Tablet not legible.
76	Wife and child of S. Oliver	wife died 10th June 1834.	....
77	Private Thomas Cahill with his four sons.	Year not legible ..	....	His four sons :— (1) James, died on 13th April 1829. (2) John, 1st December 1829. (3) Thomas, 3rd December 1829. (4) Michael, 1st November 1831.
78	...	....	....	Inscription worn out
79	Mr. Thomas Turner ..	23rd January 1825	....
80	Margaret Makleh ..	21st August 1808 ..	....

Grave No.	Name of deceased.	Date and place of death.	Date of birth or age.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5
81	James M'Olloy	24th April 1834 ..	....
82	Mary Hale	(Date illegible) 1810	....
83	....	....	....	Tablet worn out.
84	John Mahoes	1st November 1820	....
85	Sergeant William ..	18th March 1862 ..	....
86	John Neale Privatiem ..	24th November 1820	....
87	....	....	....	Tablet worn out.
88	Margaret (wife of Sergeant Thomas Hyder) also Thomas Hyder ..	26th March 1829 .. 27th March 1829 ..	36 years.	
89	Alice (wife of Private James Loughten). Alice (her daughter) ..	4th October 1830 .. Ditto ..	.... ....
90	Mary Anne	12th March 1829 ..	....
91	Elizabeth Jane McGeough (daughter of Col.-Sergt. John and Elizabeth McGeough).	29th July 1832 ..	5 years and 10 months.	
92	Josive	1834 ..	....	Full name and d not legible.
93	....	....	....	Tablet worn out.
94	George Dalton, Private .. also His brother Daniel ..	12th June 1832 .. 20th April 1830 ..	.... ....
95	Catherine (wife of Sergeant William Arnold) also Edmond Sweeney (her father)	19th November 1831 24th March 1829 ..	14 years.	
96	Nicholls	18th August ..	....	Full name and y not legible.
97	....	....	....	Tablet worn out.
98	Isabella	24th November 1824	....
99	Isabella (daughter of Thomas and Bridget Pringle).	9th August 1834 ..	....
100	....	....	....	Tablet worn out.
101	....	....	....	Ditto.
102	Peter McDowall ..	(Date illegible) 1821	....
103	....	....	13th September 1826.	Name illegible.
104	John Airey (infant son of John and Mary Airey).	21st August 1824 ..	....
105	John Mould	28th December 1832	....

Grave No.	Name of deceased.	Date and place of death.	Date of birth or age.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5
106	Allen (son of Sergeant Alexander and Catherine Campbell).	25th June 1829 ..	....
107	Mrs. Catherine Leech (wife of John Leech).	27th May 1822 ..	55 years.	
108	Honora (wife of Rt. Clark, Corporal).	29th March 1829 ..	30 years.	
109	Caronia ..	4th April 1829 ..	....
110	Christopher O'Reilly ..	3rd April 1829 ..	....
	G. Alexr. O'Reilly ..	4th April 1829 ..	....
111	Sergeant Davis Kennedy ..	29th November 1829	....
112	Francis Street (wife of late Mr. Sergeant Samuel Street).	5th June 1827 ..	....
113	Mary Briyan (wife of Mr. Briyan).	2nd September 1827	29 years.	
	Her infant children—			
	Margaret Briyan ..	....	1 year and 2 months.	
	Elizabeth Briyan ..	....	9 days.	
114	Grace Ann Wilson (wife of Sergt.-Major Edward Wilson).	6th April 1829 ..	....
	Emily Ellen Wilson (wife of the above).	12th June 1840 ..	....
	Also Maria Portia ..	30th July 1840 ..	....
115	Edward Soleminihae ..	1st April 1850 ..	....
116	Pat Carroll ..	1st October 1831 ..	....
117	Mary Murray (wife of Michael Murray).	24th April 1834 ..	30 years.	
118	Charles Thomas ..	24th December 1865	....
119	....	....	....	Tablet worn out.
120	Elizabeth Coocar ..	26th January 1864	45 years.	
121	Sergt. Thomas Nash, also his two daughters—	5th February 1832	....
	(1) Ellen ..	9th January 1830	....
	(2) Mary ..	8th April 1830	....
122	Elizabeth (daughter of Sergeant Thomas.)	1st October 1824 ..	1 year, 5 months and 24 days.	
123	Anne (daughter of Joseph and Mary Thomas).	14th April (year illegible).	....
124	Herbert ..	3rd October 1824	....
125	Florence O'Connor ..	22nd December 1816.	....

Grave No.	Name of deceased.	Date and place of death.	Date of birth or age.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5
126	Sarah Caxon ..	14th May 1818 ..	....
127	J. H." ..	36th March 1820 ..	....
128	Elizabeth ..	8th May 1829 ..	....
129	David Richards ..	13th October 1815	35 years.	
130	Margaret (wife of Corporal Lawrence Kerivan)	23rd May 1868 ..	28 years.	
	also			
	Mary Anney ..	....	13 months.	
131	William Dalton ..	21st April 1829 ..	....
132	Elizabeth ..	19th December (year illegible).	....
133	....	....	....	Tablet worn out.
134	....	....	....	Ditto.
135	Andrew Fitzgerald	25th December 1824	....
	also			
	Michael Howley ..	5th April 1826 ..	....
136	Augustus Courtney ..	Date under mortar	....
137	....	7th May 1824 ..	....	(Illegible).
138	Charles Donelly ..	7th January 1840 ..	....
139	Mary Ann ..	13th March 1829 ..	....
141	Clarke ..	....	....	Date and year illegible.
142	Mr. Nyss ..	....	....	Ditto.
143	Mrs. Money Roawl ..	8th December 1905	....
144	Bhaba Rafel ..	4th January 1906	....
145	StanisLaw Fox ..	21st August 1906	....
146	Sebastian Joseph D'Souza ..	31st January 1909	....
147	Mary Manson ..	16th November 1907	....
148	Paobeia ..	5th March 1911 ..	....
149	Miss Antony Josephine ..	13th June 1915 ..	5 years ..	Endowment, Rs. 30 1916-17.
150	Mrs. L. Raven ..	20th August 1913 ..	69 years.	
151	Jacob ..	13th September 1913	23 years.	
152	Harish Mandal ..	16th October 1913	50 years.	
153	William Lewis Luce ..	26th January 1914	54 years.	
154	Inshai ..	13th March 1914 ..	25 years.	
155	Daniel Das ..	October ..	....	Year not legible.

Grave No.	Name of deceased.	Date and place of death.	Date of birth or age.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5
156	Mary Antony (wife of Mr. Antony, Police Superintendent).	7th November 1918	....	Endowment, Rs. 15.
157	Edward Antony Lobo (inmate of Lunatic Asylum), Portuguese, Roman Catholic.	21st September 1919	Born in 1874.	
158	Michael	26th October 1920	1 year and 7 months.	
159	Mr. L. Antony, Superintendent of Police, Roman Catholic.	5th April 1925	....
161	Anrab Mary Rozario (daughter of Police Superintendent Mr. Butler.)	20th March 1929	8th March 1909.	

There are 161 graves. The rest do not bear any inscription.

(d) Old Residency Cemetery at Cossimbazar.

Mauza Kasimbazar. J. L. No. 102. Thana Berhampore Town. Plot No. 873. Area 26 acres.

Serial No. of grave.	Name of deceased.	Date and place of death.	Date of birth or age.	Remarks.
1	Lyon Prager	Factory house at Cossimbazar, 12-5-1793.	47 years	Diamond Merchant and Inspector of Indigo and Drugs to the Hon'ble East India Co. Death due to severe heat of the climate.
2	Alexr. Doyly Anstruthere	8-3-1785	2 years and 16 days.	
3	Eliza, wife of Major Edward Clark of Southampton.	19-8-1783	8th April 1760	Inscription partly broken.
4	Mrs. Eliza Hartle	9-10-1782	....
8	Mrs. Mary Hastings, wife of Warren Hastings and her daughter Elizabeth.	11-7-1759	(In the 2nd year of her age).	Erected by her husband Warren Hastings. Restored by Government of Bengal, in 1863.
10	Mrs. Sarah Mattocks, wife of Lt. C. O' Donel John Mattocks.	4-10-1747	27 years	Grand-daughter of the Great Hampden, Esq.
11	Mr. Joseph Bourdieu	29-8-1790	21 years.	
13	Charles Crommelin, Esq.	25-12-1788	81 years.	
15	Thomas Dugald Campbell, Esq.	6-10-1784 at Rangamatty.	32 years.	
16	Arthur Downie	21-6-1784	34 years.	
17	John Peach, Esq.	24-8-1790	31 years.	

Total number of graves, 18.

(e) Dutch Cemetery at Kalikapore. Mauza Kalikapore, J. L. No: 99, P. S. Berhampore Town.
Plot No. 29. Area 48 acres.

[Protected under the provisions of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act (VII of 1904).]

Serial No. of grave.	Name of deceased.	Date and place of death.	Date of birth or age.	Remarks.
1	Gregorius Herclots ..	14th February 1787	29th November 1739.	Year illegible.
3	Temerus Cantor Visscher ..	31st January 1778	....
12	Mattheus Arnold Brake and Johanna P. Vans Brake	4th September 1772 4th September 1772	26th August .. 25th October 1741.	
18	Danniel Vander Muyil ..	16th May 1721	....
22	Johann Gantvort Van Aalten	20th October 1792	22nd January 1728.	

Total number of graves 22. The rest do not bear any inscription.

APPENDIX XIII.

List of areas excluded from the present operation.

District Murshidabad.

Thana.	Name of mauza.	J. L. No.	Area in respect of mauzas entirely excluded.	Area in respect of mauzas partly excluded.	Remarks. No. of Government Notification.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Berhampore town	Sahajadpur ..	24	811.20	..	No. 9076 L.R., dated the 13th September 1915.
Ditto ..	Rangamati Chandpara ..	50	216.71	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Arazi Chiruti ..	34	..	208.75	No. 12239 L.R., dated the 15th December 1915
Ditto ..	Chumrigachha ..	38	..	1,051.97	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Chhiruti ..	49	..	258.81	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Samaskar ..	60	..	7.82	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Harirampore ..	115	..	281.51	No. 2009 T.R., dated the 7th October 1912.
Ditto ..	Baliadanga ..	116	..	208.57	Ditto.
			1,027.91	2,017.43	
Naoda ..	Bali ..	10	..	4,207.23	Nos. 9981 L.R. and 9979 L.R., dated the 26th October 1914.
Hariharpara ..	Khosalpur ..	12	249.54	..	No. 2009 T.R., dated the 7th October 1912.
Ditto ..	Baruipara ..	14	1,078.27	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Jamalpur ..	18	523.64	..	Ditto.

Thana.	Name of mauza.	J. L. No.	Area in respect of mauzas entirely excluded.	Area in respect of mauzas partly excluded.	Remarks. No. of Government Notification.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Hariharpara ..	Nashipur	31	231·61	..	No. 2008 T.R., dated the 7th October 1912.
Ditto ..	Bainpur	3	..	481·11	No. 2009 T.R., dated the 7th October 1912.
Ditto ..	Balarampur ..	4	..	2·11	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Harishpur	11	..	·15	No. 2012 T.R., dated the 7th October 1912.
Ditto ..	Kismat Imadpur ..	17	..	11·94	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Rukunpur	30	..	89·85	Nos. 2009 and 2012-T.R., dated the 7th October 1912.
Ditto ..	Hariharpara	32	..	2,762·60	No. 2006, 2009, 2010, 2012 T.R., dated the 7th October 1912.
Ditto ..	Dasturpara	33	..	39·13	No. 2009, 2010, 2012-T.R., dated the 7th October 1912.
Ditto ..	Lochanmati Dangapara ..	47	..	135·21	Ditto.
			2,083·06	3,522·10	
Beldanga ..	Joykrishnapur ..	88	41·97	..	No. 12239 L.R., dated the 15th December 1915.
Ditto ..	Sujapur	101	270·37	..	No. 7311 L.R., dated the 6th September 1918, and No. 1595-L.R., dated the 1st October 1917.
Ditto ..	Char Erardanga ..	102	541·10	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Kadkhali	103	578·38	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Ramnagar	104	975·75	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Kataikona	77	..	225·17	No. 12239 L.R., dated the 15th December 1915.
Ditto ..	Panchkatia	85	..	101·50	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Arazi Joykrishnapur ..	91	..	115·75	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Narikelbari	95	..	4·16	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Palitpara	94	..	641·50	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Mahatpore	98	..	444·52	Ditto.
			2,407·57	1,532·60	

Thana.	Name of mauza.	J. L. No.	Area in respect of mauzas entirely excluded.	Area in respect of mauzas partly excluded.	Remarks. No. of Government Notification.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Domkal ..	Daser Chak	19	583·55	..	No. 9076 L.R., dated the 13th September 1915.
Ditto ..	Jot Kanai	20	1,720·26	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Gokul Chak	21	370·38	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Par Raghunathpur ..	23	1,684·85	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Debottar Lakshminarayanpur.	24	1,067·81	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Harisankarpur ..	87	1,224·96	..	Ditto.
			6,651·81	..	
Jalangi ..	(All except J.L. Nos. 38, 41 and 42.)	..	47,453·08	:	No. 9076 L.R., dated the 13th September 1915.
Bhagawangola	Hanumantanagar ..	1	..	6,831·92	
Ditto ..	Mewakhana	3	421·79	..	No. 9076 L.R., dated the 13th September 1915.
Ditto ..	Baligram	64	363·28	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Nayakharida Babupur ..	67	2,837·14	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Nirmalchar	68	134·81	..	No. 10333L.R., dated the 6th November 1914, and No. 9076-L.R., dated the 13th September 1915.
Ditto ..	Dihi Dumuria ..	69	3,068·98	..	No. 9076L.R., dated the 13th September 1915.
Ditto ..	Alaipur	72	225·32	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Sankarpur	73	218·58	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Saidpur	74	667·40	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Goalpara	75	207·37	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Nazirpur	76	371·87	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Sahapur	102	343·90	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Arazi Alaipur ..	103	70·63	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Saralpur	104	548·13	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Giridharpur ..	105	222·43	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Gopirampur ..	111	237·56	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Benipur	112	345·47	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Jazira Char Dumuria ..	127	2,042·71	..	Ditto.
			12,327·37	6,831·92	

Thana.	Name of mauza.	J. L. No.	Area in respect of mauzas entirely excluded.	Area in respect of mauzas partly excluded	Remarks. No. of Government Notification.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Raninagar ..	Jot Balaram ..	2	22.17	..	No. 9076 L.R., dated the 13th September 1915.
Ditto ..	Ramnagar Khas Taluk ..	86	944.41	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Bansgara ..	87	1,969.97	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Majhar Diar ..	88	2,255.40	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Katlamari ..	89	3,978.51	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Nabipur ..	90	2,080.17	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Rajnagar ..	91	3,281.01	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Ramchandrapur ..	92	630.20	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Sibnagar ..	93	2,919.15	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Rajshahi Khash Mahal ..	95	425.31	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Sarandajpur ..	96	1,652.42	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Char Katlamari ..	97	671.48	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Char Nabipur Dihi ..	98	114.02	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Char Rajanagar ..	99	362.29	..	Ditto.
			21,306.51	..	
Lalgola ..	Bayra ..	3	1,721.96	..	No. 9076 L.R., dated the 13th September 1915.
Ditto ..	Radhakrishnapur ..	4	250.92	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Malatipur ..	5	141.49	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Khalifabaj ..	6	69.16	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Sahabajpur ..	7	179.96	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Kalkali ..	8	105.21	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Paharpur ..	9	1,241.85	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Chak Dihi Ganeshpur ..	14	195.36	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Gouridaspur ..	15	425.37	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Ramna Bagsarai ..	16	92.10	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Ekdalia ..	69	53.86	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Narayanpur ..	70	102.41	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Ganeshpur ..	71	1,163.85	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Arazi Narayanpur ..	72	41.65	..	Ditto.

Thana.	Name of mauza.	J. L. No.	Area in respect of mauzas entirely excluded.	Area in respect of mauzas partly excluded.	Remarks. No. of Government Notification.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Lalgola ..	Durgapur ..	73	192.73	..	No. 9076L. R., dated the 13th September 1915.
Ditto ..	Krishnapur ..	74	703.86	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Lalgola ..	80	1,445.71	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Durlabhpur ..	82	1,032.35	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Raninagar ..	83	203.05	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Asaria'daha Khas Mahal ..	86	1,328.69	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Naosara Khas Mahal ..	87	1,173.30	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Char Barnish ..	88	88.74	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Krishnapur ..	90	195.77	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Hazi Muhammadpur ..	91	465.83	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Radhakantapur ..	96	452.73	..	Ditto.
			13,067.91	..	
Kandi ..	Arazi Chhandpara ..	39	221.58	..	No. 12239L.R., dated the 15th December 1915.
Ditto ..	Hijal Thakuranir Chak ..	98	799.53	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Joyrampur ..	99	235.75	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Bhabanandapur ..	100	219.40	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Sadpur ..	65	..	536.03	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Jasahari ..	67	..	22.95	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Rambhadrabati ..	68	..	40.06	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Dohalia ..	84	..	345.69	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Sibrambati ..	87	..	2.51	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Ruppur ..	85	..	.20	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Kalyanpur ..	64	..	65.00	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Baghdanga ..	91	..	26.42	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Parbatipur ..	16	..	233.13	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Bundai ..	48	..	.66	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Hijal ..	41	..	3,466.20	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Ranipur ..	101	..	3.79	Ditto.
			1,476.26	4,742.64	

Thana.	Name of mauza.	J. L. No.	Area in respect of mauzas entirely excluded.	Area in respect of mauzas partly excluded	Remarks. No. of Government Notification.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Bharatpur ..	Arazi Chuator ..	27	28.00	..	No. 12239L.R., dated the 15th December 1915.
Ditto ..	Bil Karul ..	125	889.64	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Britti Gangedda ..	4	..	3.48	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Martiara ..	6	..	173.25	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Ajitpur ..	7	..	106.77	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Jajan ..	9	..	3.54	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Sripatipur ..	19	..	149.23	No. 1469L.R., dated the 7th March 1904.
Ditto ..	Gangedda ..	20	..	246.14	No. 12239L.R., dated the 15th December 1915.
Ditto ..	Simulgachhi ..	21	..	6.78	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Rajarampore ..	22	..	613.55	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Chamardani ..	25	..	15.70	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Sankpalisa ..	26	..	158.25	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Bhabanipur ..	29	..	114.63	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Chuator ..	31	..	216.10	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Arazi Bhabanipur ..	33	..	60.95	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Ibrahimpore ..	34	..	41.54	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Jakhani ..	36	..	.29	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Raha Palisa ..	39	..	10.02	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Santoshpur ..	40	..	748.92	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Gadda ..	44	..	111.33	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Gayesabad ..	53	..	5.63	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Sunuti ..	54	..	722.58	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Salu ..	61	..	17.28	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Kharinda ..	63	..	.59	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Parbbatpur ..	64	..	38.95	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Bharatpur ..	68	..	1,910.22	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Alugram ..	69	..	28.01	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Sunia ..	70	..	318.25	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Sehalai ..	71	..	1.38	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Madanpur-Dafarpur ..	73	..	190.74	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Sijgram ..	81	..	1.92	Ditto.

Thana.	Name of mauza.	J. L. No.	Area in respect of mauzas entirely excluded.	Area in respect of mauzas partly excluded.	Remarks. No. of Government Notification.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Bharatpur ..	Bholta ..	82	..	355.86	No. 12239 L.R., dated the 15th December 1915.
Ditto ..	Syed Kulutia ..	83	..	.74	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Binodia ..	84	..	1.39	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Gulutia ..	86	..	319.09	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Jaulia ..	95	..	2.71	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Dakshin Khanda ..	99	..	20.41	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Salar ..	102	..	4.23	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Kagram ..	104	..	3.48	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Dhandanga ..	105	..	749.74	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Kandra ..	114	..	5.45	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Senpara ..	117	..	24.21	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Salinda ..	122	..	10.18	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Munsurpur ..	123	..	.76	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Sahapur ..	124	..	723.13	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Narayanpur ..	128	..	38.52	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Kataikona ..	134	..	542.42	Ditto.
			917.64	8,818.34	
Khargram ..	Sibpur ..	83	23.71	..	No. 972 L.R., dated the 27th January 1914.
Ditto ..	Harinagar ..	126	59.58	..	No. 12239 L.R., dated the 15th December 1915.
Ditto ..	Haladharpur Arazi ..	143	23.41	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Haladharpur ..	147	28.56	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Mandalsar ..	97	..	893.61	No. 972 L. R., dated the 27th January 1914.
Ditto ..	Garutia ..	115	..	661.28	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Naldihi ..	119	..	304.88	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Eroali ..	106	..	3.28	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Jamuni ..	137	..	2.70	No. 12239 L. R., dated the 15th December 1915.
Ditto ..	Kalgram ..	138	..	6.44	Ditto.

Thana.	Name of mauza.	J. L. No.	Area in respect of mauzas entirely excluded.	Area in respect of mauzas partly excluded.	Remarks. No. of Government Notification.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Khargram ..	Ninur ..	112	..	4.92	No. 972L.R., dated the 27th January 1914.
Ditto ..	Jote Seha ..	84	..	2.06	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Kirtipur ..	98	..	3.73	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Margram ..	88	..	5.48	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Aira ..	101	..	21.18	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Kasigram ..	96	..	2.21	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Garulia ..	114	..	2.09	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Atai ..	86	..	43.09	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Sahapur ..	95	..	.87	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Manikpur ..	142	..	2.05	No. 12239 L. R., dated the 15th December 1915.
Ditto ..	Raypur ..	125	..	4.05	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Harinarayanpur ..	131	..	469.39	Ditto.
			135.26	2,433.31	
Burwan ..	Rameswarpur ..	120	67.64	..	No. 12239 L.R., dated the 15th December 1915.
Ditto ..	Katna ..	59	..	421.95	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Kalla ..	69	..	3.58	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Singadda ..	70	..	1.88	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Raniara Masadda ..	71	..	413.75	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Srihatta ..	123	..	613.75	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Rajhat Siuli ..	136	..	42.52	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Hatisala ..	141	..	6.20	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Panchthupi ..	149	..	.29	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Maliandi ..	151	..	3.67	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Baidyanathpur ..	154	..	4.47	Ditto.
			67.64	1,512.06	
Raghunathganj ..	Ramdebpur ..	33	489.45	..	No. 9076 L. R., dated the 13th September 1915.
Ditto ..	Rameswarpur ..	34	246.00	..	Ditto.

Thana.	Name of mauza.	J. L. No.	Area in respect of mauzas entirely excluded.	Area in respect of mauzas partly excluded.	Remarks. No. of Government Notification.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Raghunathganj	Giria ..	35	1,522.26	..	No. 9076 L. R., dated the 13th September 1915.
Ditto ..	Pirojpur ..	36	1,877.75	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Kajikala ..	37	188.84	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Ramdastuli ..	38	28.54	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Chaksadpur ..	39	193.95	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Sadpur ..	40	134.19	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Binoddighi ..	41	272.95	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Hirkati ..	42	55.97	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Dayarampore ..	43	234.39	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Bajitpur ..	44	259.84	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Hirkati ..	45	55.60	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Dariapur ..	46	74.67	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Khamra ..	47	170.83	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Sibpur ..	48	313.28	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Indranarayanpur ..	49	71.92	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Kalamati ..	50	27.48	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Kajimati ..	51	70.13	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Kanaimati ..	52	111.97	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Pania ..	53	29.01	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Narukhari ..	54	332.86	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Dubra ..	55	619.94	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Jot Biswanath ..	56	180.24	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Char Gotha ..	57	38.30	..	No. 10333 L. R., dated the 6th November 1914, and No. 9076 L. R., dated the 13th September 1915.
Ditto ..	Mal Gotha ..	58	8.36	..	No. 9076 L. R., dated the 13th September 1915.
Ditto ..	Sekhalipur ..	59	1,108.48	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Khandua ..	60	1,516.08	..	Ditto.
			10,233.28,		

Thana.	Name of mauza.	J. L. No.	Area in respect of mauzas entirely excluded.	Area in respect of mauzas partly excluded.	Remarks. No. of Government Notification.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Suti ..	Bajo Gazipur ..	6	494.26	..	Nos. 9980 and 9982- L. R., dated the 26th October 1914.
Ditto ..	Madhupur ..	55	60.95	..	No. 9076 L. R., dated the 13th September 1915.
Ditto ..	Dafahat ..	56	671.93	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Jaglai ..	57	174.96	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Rainapur ..	60	840.16	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Lakshminagar ..	61	329.24	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Syampur ..	62	64.33	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Punropara ..	63	..	1,733.28	Nos. 9980 and 9982- L. R., dated the 26th October 1914.
Ditto ..	Raghunathpur ..	64	231.45	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Hasampur ..	65	210.00	..	No. 9076 L. R., dated the 13th September 1915.
Ditto ..	Gourangapur ..	66	433.00	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Chaipara ..	67	343.03	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Chakpurapara ..	68	217.38	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Ichhlampur ..	69	189.37	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Chak Meghoan ..	70	309.38	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Syampur ..	71	23.86	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Paka ..	72	2,347.88	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Narayanpur ..	73	1,311.33	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Arazi Gotha ..	74	29.85	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Arazi Ramkantapur ..	75	61.83	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Kakramari ..	76	366.77	..	Nos. 9980 and 9982- L. R., dated the 26th October 1914.
Ditto ..	Lakshnipur ..	77	128.33	..	No. 9076 L. R., dated the 13th September 1915.
Ditto ..	Chandamari ..	80	154.56	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Gotha ..	81	221.05	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Sreerampur ..	82	138.45	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Fatepur ..	83	193.75	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Ramkantapur ..	84	94.10	..	Ditto.

Thana.	Name of mauza.	J. L. No.	Area in respect of mauzas entirely excluded.	Area in respect of mauzas partly excluded.	Remarks. No. of Government Notification.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Suti ..	Nurpur-Narayanpur ..	85	1,124.65	..	No. 9076 L. R., dated the 13th September 1915.
Ditto ..	Nurpur ..	86	..	1,319.62	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Chak Saiyadpur ..	87	70.43	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Fatullapur ..	88	51.08	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Naya Bahadurpur ..	89	811.17	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Panchgachhia ..	90	113.31	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Sonapur ..	99	84.85	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Monoharpur ..	112	73.03	..	Ditto.
			11,969.72	3,052.90	
Samserganj ..	Dohitpur ..	29	393.62	..	No. 9076 L. R., dated the 13th September 1915.
Ditto ..	Fatepur ..	30	91.52	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Beoa ..	31	2,042.00	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Sikarpur ..	32	51.99	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Jadabpur-Nimtala ..	33	112.00	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Bharatpur ..	34	40.82	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Govindapur ..	35	631.51	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Srimantapur ..	36	1,781.45	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Puranchandipur ..	37	632.40	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Sahebnagar ..	38	86.28	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Chandipur ..	39	169.25	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Andhua ..	40	524.49	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Chanki ..	41	144.75	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Langaldahi-Ramnagar ..	42	58.69	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Srirampur ..	43	232.03	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Kasinagar ..	44	132.77	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Sahanagar ..	45	149.90	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Fatepur ..	46	205.43	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Jafarganj ..	47	835.56	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Samaspur ..	48	127.16	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Ballalpur ..	49	731.32	..	Ditto.

Thana.	Name of mauza.	J. L. No.	Area in respect of mauzas entirely excluded.	Area in respect of mauzas partly excluded.	Remarks. No. of Government Notification.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Samserganj ..	Laharia ..	50	142.78	..	No. 9076 L. R., dated the 13th September 1915.
Ditto ..	Ballalpur-Brahmotter ..	51	41.29	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Kalupara ..	52	124.23	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Imamnagar ..	53	217.05	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Baikunthapur ..	54	105.13	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Beniagram ..	55	1,284.74	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Asua ..	56	159.86	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Hosenpur ..	57	446.36	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Kuli ..	58	2,989.29	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Bhabanipur ..	59	733.95	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Kankuria ..	88	855.04	..	Nos. 9980 and 9982-L. R., dated the 26th October 1914.
Ditto ..	Jafrabad ..	89	753.54	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Anupnagar ..	90	1,919.21	..	No. 9076 L. R., dated the 13th September 1915.
Ditto ..	Lalpur ..	91	1,171.29	..	Nos. 9980 and 9982-L. R., dated the 26th October 1914.
Ditto ..	Jialmari ..	92	4.74	..	No. 9076 L. R., dated the 13th September 1915.
Ditto ..	Paranpara ..	93	1,399.16	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Jigri Kulgachhi ..	94	102.05	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Sibnagar ..	95	307.48	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Arjunpur ..	96	313.94	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Sankhopara ..	97	435.87	..	Ditto.

Thana.	Name of mauza.	J. L. No.	Area in respect of mauzas entirely excluded.	Area in respect of mauzas partly excluded.	Remarks. No. of Government Notification.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Samsorganj ..	Deonapur	98	2,237 ·14	..	No. 9076 L. R., dated the 13th September 1915.
Ditto ..	Balarampur	99	113 ·04	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Anantapur	100	..	2,672 ·50	No. 1356 L. R., dated the 9th July 1913.
Ditto ..	Sikdarpur	101	93 ·13	..	No. 9076 L. R., dated the 13th September 1915.
Ditto ..	Loharpur	102	547 ·10	..	Nos. 9980 and 9982-L. R., dated the 26th October 1914.
Ditto ..	Jaladhipur	103	173 ·31	..	No. 9076 L. R., dated the 13th September 1915.
Ditto ..	Dhusaripara	104	818 ·04	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Hasimpur	105	111 ·53	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Serpur	106	156 ·30	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Kasimnagar	107	8 ·65	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Nimtita	108	42 ·57	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Durgapur	109	223 ·70	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Radhanagar	110	647 ·33	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Haridebpur	111	59 ·80	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Kamalpur	112	225 ·85	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Sobhapur	114	243 ·55	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Arazi Dharampur	115	18 ·29	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Dharampur	116	133 ·94	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Chandpur	117	19 ·77	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Jot Kasi	118	81 ·08	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Baidyanathpur	119	1,432 ·38	..	Ditto.

Thana.	Name of mauza.	J. L. No.	Area in respect of manzas entirely excluded.	Area in respect of mauzas partly excluded.	Remarks. No. of Government Notification.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Samserganj ..	Nutan Char Tarapur ..	120	432.03	..	No. 9076 L. R., dated the 13th September 1915.
Ditto ..	Nutan Char Jamalpur ..	121	96.38	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Ramnagar ..	122	122.49	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Sukdebpur ..	123	72.69	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Jamalpur ..	124	56.18	..	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Sadek ..	125	49.07	..	Ditto.
			30,897.28	2,672.50	

Abstract of areas excluded from the operation.

Name of thana.	Area in respect of mauzas entirely excluded.	Area in respect of mauzas partly excluded.	Total.
Berhampore town	1,027.91	2,017.43	3,045.34
Naoda .. .. .	..	4,207.23	4,207.23
Hariharpara	2,083.06	3,522.10	5,605.16
Beldanga	2,407.57	1,532.60	3,940.17
Domkál	6,651.81	..	6,651.81
Jalangi	47,453.08	..	47,453.08
Bhagawangola	12,327.37	6,831.92	19,159.29
Raninagar	21,306.51	..	21,306.51
Lalgola	13,067.91	..	13,067.91
Kandi	1,476.26	4,742.64	6,218.90
Bharatpur	917.64	8,818.34	9,735.98
Khargram	135.26	2,433.31	2,568.57
Burwan	67.64	1,512.06	1,579.70
Raghunathganj	10,233.28	..	10,233.28
Suti	11,969.72	3,052.90	15,022.62
Samserganj	30,897.28	2,672.50	33,569.78
	162,022.30	41,343.03	203,365.33 acres or 317.76 sq. miles.

APPENDIX XIV.

List of estates taken up in re-settlement of land revenue.

District Murshidabad.

Tauzi No.	At last settlement.		At present settlement,		Remarks.
	Area.	Revenue.	Area.	Revenue.	
	2	3	4	5	
1	Acres.	Rs. a.	Acres.	Rs. a. p.	6
502	69	130 0	70.11	224 0 0	
503	109	476 0	112.32	476 0 0	
536	364	616 0	363.95	915 0 0	
555	183	261 0	144.27	719 0 0	
561	1,032	1,545 0	840.83	2,240 0 0	
562	294	454 0	294.47	454 0 0	
566	1,113	1,487 0	1,045.68	2,166 0 0	
567	407	611 0	402.25	1,420 0 0	
572	54	144 0	52.90	232 0 0	
573	330	541 0	322.82	849 9 0	
576	643	845 0	654.68	995 0 0	
577	588	515 0	596.35	1,002 0 0	
583	3,058	6,078 3	3,047.03	8,515 3 0	
295	464	944 0	466.02	1,200 4 0	
559	3,870	3,552 0	1,617.26	4,064 5 8	
569	102	1,156 0	103.67	1,251 3 0	
571	425	1,287 0	388.91	1,468 12 8	
580	1,643	5,079 3	1,650.04	6,423 0 11	
842	89	980 0	89.25	1,034 14 0	

Tanzi No.	At last settlement.		At present settlement.		Remarks.
	Area.	Revenue.	Area.	Revenue.	
1	2	3	4	5	6
	Acres.	Rs. a.	Acres.	Rs. a. p.	
1197	11	20 0	12.56	28 12 0	
1462	106	349 0	109.52	453 2 0	
1603	4	17 0	3.66	17 5 0	
2751	1,782	5,687 0	1,583.58	6,383 1 10	
2762	132	361 0	132.31	345 6 0	
2954	4	17 0	3.87	22 8 0	
3052 .. ..	...	..	7.32	332 0 0	Without demand previously.
3128	682	615 0	678.41	650 0 0	
1482	168	551 0	151.96	551 0 0	
1483	133	147 0	94.59	147 0 0	
1484	79	135 0	66.94	213 0 0	
1485	25	55 0	18.82	65 0 0	
1486	367	492 0	348.67	689 0 0	
1487	308	419 0	307.66	605 0 0	
1488	163	271 0	163.14	409 0 0	
1489	216	382 0	147.75	493 0 0	
1633	22	50 0	23.37	94 0 0	
1676	11	22 0	12.30	31 0 0	
1780	19	83 0	14.67	70 0 0	
1843	29	45 0	26.13	81 0 0	
1953	7	15 0	7.18	18 0 0	
1954	16	24 0	18.30	35 0 0	

Tauzi No.	At last settlement.		At present settlement.		Remarks.
	Area.	Revenue.	Area.	Revenue.	
	2	3	4	5	
1	Acres.	Rs. a.	Acres.	Rs. a. p.	6
1961	34	105 0	34.77	105 0 0	
1974	5	16 0	5.21	21 13 0	
2736	56	65 0	57.15	106 0 0	
584	2,076	457 0	1,896.58	2,054 0 0	
585	741	874 0	901.58	4,025 0 0	
587	226	469 0	220.36	686 0 0	
589	113	229 0	83.92	229 0 0	
598	331	321 0	315.30	1,346 0 0	
599	106	223 0	124.68	381 0 0	
1449	243	503 0	219.82	627 0 0	
1451	91	124 0	128.41	815 0 0	
1453	52	111 0	51.88	237 0 0	
1454	187	952 0	187.54	962 14 0	
1455	147	247 0	198.23	521 0 0	
1457	25	50 0	24.89	87 0 0	
1458	274	223 0	274.46	264 0 0	
1460	12	10 0	12.99	64 0 0	
1461	22	52 0	22.10	78 0 0	
1463	303	552 0	316.64	715 0 0	
1465	146	125 0	63.14	203 11 0	
1479	86	200 0	92.01	331 12 0	
1480	115	114 0	119.19	319 3 0	
1481	132	436 0	132.83	546 5 0	
2758	644	1,660 0	1,062.23	3,720 0 0	
2759	672	1,287 0	647.46	1,287 0 0	
2764	197	317 0	199.76	365 0 0	
2792	102	168 0	69.57	190 0 0	
2986	25	45 0	17.75	66 0 0	
3027	16	9 0	16.29	9 0 0	
3045	944	1,491 0	884.46	3,742 0 0	
3050	93	126 0	104.44	247 0 0	
.. ..	27,337	48,019 12	24,681.16	71,735 1 1	

APPENDIX XV.

List of rivers taken up in diara resumptions showing the areas resumed for each newly created estate and the revenue assessed.

District Murshidabad.

River.	Tauzi No.	Area.	Revenue.	Remarks.
			Rs. a.	
The Mayurakshi ..	3193	22.60	21 11	Left without demand.
	3194	22.42	..	
	3195	147.83	202 0	
	3196	27.75	56 12	
	3197	10.37	35 0	Left without demand.
	3198	76.06	..	
	3199	50.15	174 3	
	3200	2.26	8 8	
	3201	49.03	36 0	
	3202	21.22	82 1	
	3203	18.68	72 5	
	3204	47.42	181 4	
	3205	35.32	71 0	
	3206	32.28	84 0	
	3207	2.52	5 15	
	3208	48.16	235 6	
	3209	16.69	33 0	
	3210	26.46	56 14	
	3236	.42	2 4	
	3237	3.73	1 0	
	20	661.37	1,359 3	
The Jellanghi ..	3053	275.87	628 0	
	3055	24.01	79 0	
	3056	21.73	48 0	
	3057	32.75	91 0	
	3058	87.76	236 0	
	3059	242.64	843 0	
	3060	17.46	79 0	
	3061	11.67	25 0	

River.	Tauzi No.	Area.	Revenue.	Remarks.
			Rs. a.	
The Jellanghi (contd.) ..	3062.	262.79	617 0	
	3086	62.45	222 0	
	3087	28.69	60 0	
	11	1,067.82	2,928 0	
The Sialmari ..	3166	70.13	144 12	
	3167	13.39	21 0	
	3168	166.72	512 12	
	3170	115.33	283 0	
	3171	38.13	119 0	
	3172	23.18	66 0	
	3173	129.01	303 0	
	3174	39.53	73 0	
	8	595.42	1,522 8	
The Babla ..	3175	28.68	98 1	
	3176	11.60	19 0	
	3177	12.97	11 0	
	3178	15.79	19 0	
	3179	10.12	27 0	
	3180	28.51	59 6	
	3181	17.62	65 2	
	3183	12.60	14 3	
	8	137.89	312 12	
The Bhagirathi ..	3064	11.31	30 15	
	3065	10.13	48 0	
	3066	11.26	52 6	
	3067	296.75	623 0	
	3068	196.29	568 0	
	3069	22.78	43 0	
	3070	8.55	16 0	
	3071	59.63	124 0	
	3072	13.57	32 0	
	3073	47.17	126 0	
	3074	12.04	29 0	

River.	Tauzi No.	Area.	Revenue.	Remarks.
			Rs. a.	
The Bhagirathi (contd.) ..	3075	77.48	136 0	
	3076	14.69	35 0	
	3077	39.45	100 0	
	3078	16.29	6 10	
	3079	8.43	15 0	
	3080	62.67	161 0	
	3081	69.45	190 9	
	3082	67.08	196 0	
	3083	88.93	281 12	
	3084	15.56	42 0	
	3085	12.64	32 0	
	3088	187.18	433 0	
	3089	18.32	36 0	
	3090	46.25	75 0	
	3091	6.96	14 11	
	3093	67.00	158 0	
	3094	23.03	66 0	
	3095	4.76	14 11	
	3096	26.87	38 0	
	3097	47.98	19 0	
	3098	27.70	144 0	
	3099	61.41	354 0	
	3100	100.00	433 12	
	3101	25.62	3 14	
	3102	14.76	17 14	
	3103	35.21	3 0	
	3104	6.48	20 12	
	3105	4.38	11 4	
	3106	23.39	73 5	
	3107	8.40	18 6	
	3108	59.23	157 11	
	3109	7.36	12 3	
	3110	20.50	3 2	
	3111	1.93	1 12	

River.	Tauzi No.	Area.	Revenue.	Remarks.
The Bhagirathi (contd.) ..			Rs. a.	
	3112.	7.29	11 14	
	3113	97.65	264 0	
	3114	18.91	160 0	
	3115	16.80	150 0	
	3116	3.80	80 0	
	3117	92.43	237 0	
	3118	15.66	31 0	
	3119	101.54	487 0	
	3120	14.77	53 0	
	3121	38.92	8 0	
	3122	32.47	38 0	
	3124	12.29	17 0	
	3125	16.21	34 0	
	3184	.59	10 0	
	3185	2.07	12 9	
	3186	5.82	52 0	
	3187	1.62	17 0	
	3188	3.00	19 5	
	3189	3.45	28 0	
	3190	.77	8 5	
	3191	2.51	15 0	
	66	2,485.44	6,730 10	
The Bhairab ..	3123	11.42	44 3	
	3127	9.94	22 0	
	3129	33.04	141 10	
	3130	22.50	108 15	
	3131	31.49	145 8	
	3132	34.98	172 13	
	3133	22.18	124 10	
	3134	20.27	112 1	
	3135	11.86	52 4	
	3136	17.23	29 0	
	3137	25.55	23 0	
	3138	42.49	217 0	

River.	Tauzi No.	Area.	Revenue.	Remarks.
			Rs. a.	
The Bhairab (contd.)	3139	28.53	44 0	
	3140	97.93	315 0	
	3141	11.35	26 0	
	3142	26.53	113 0	
	3143	6.40	7 13	
	3144	23.49	70 0	
	3145	17.30	62 5	
	3146	18.98	85 0	
	3147	9.71	23 0	
	3148	10.16	39 0	
	3149	11.42	48 0	
	3150	15.83	73 0	
	3151	11.22	29 0	
	3152	14.20	49 10	
	3153	11.72	50 5	
	3154	10.48	75 14	
	3155	17.34	25 0	
	3156	12.23	72 0	
	3157	34.83	111 0	
	3158	83.37	341 10	
	3163	10.74	11 8	
	3164	30.62	70 14	
	3165	11.48	30 12	
	3182	12.29	16 3	
	3192	64.62	119 0	
	3212	150.48	431 0	
	3213	40.64	182 15	
	3214	258.54	1,238 14	
	3215	16.08	50 0	
	3216	45.22	141 4	
	3217	38.03	97 0	
	3218	18.59	18 0	
	3219	23.66	43 0	
	3221	30.41	55 0	

River.	Tauzi No.	Area.	Revenue.	Remarks.
			Rs. a.	
The Bhairab (<i>concl.</i>)	3222	357.09	1,188 10	
	3223	34.98	119 0	
	3224	545.29	207 0	
	3225	12.25	26 5	
	3226	109.48	360 0	
	3231	31.32	67 0	
	3232	7.26	32 10	
	3233	3.46	28 6	
	3234	6.73	35 11	
	3235	1.56	8 7	
	56	2,616.79	7,432 0	

Abstract of resumption work done.

River.	Number of estates created.	Area resumed.	Revenue secured.
			Rs. a.
The Mayurakahi	20	661.37	1,359 3
The Jellanghi	11	1,067.82	2,928 0
The Sialmari	8	595.42	1,522 8
The Babla	8	137.89	312 12
The Bhagirathi	66	2,485.44	6,730 10
The Bhaira	56	2,616.79	7,432 0
	169	7,564.73	20,285 1

APPENDIX XVI.

List of Notifications.

Murshidabad.

No. of Notifications with date.	Remarks.
1. No. 3564L.R. of 10-4-1923	.. Authorising the preparation of record-of-rights of Murshidabad district.
2. No. 2691L.R. of 5-3-1926	.. Authorising the diara survey of Murshidabad.
3. No. 7963L.R. of 29-7-1936	.. Authorising the survey of Tauzi No. 100 of the Murshidabad Collectorate.
4. No. 14374L.R. of 16-9-1927	..
5. No. 7919L.R. of 31-3-1928	..
6. No. 7920L.R. of 31-3-1928	...
7. No. 14373L.R. of 16-9-1927	..
8. No. 16316L.R. of 13-12-1929	..
9. No. 9017L.R. of 21-8-1926	..
10. No. 9018L.R. of 21-8-1926	..
11. No. 9019L.R. of 21-8-1926	..

} Authorising the revision of the record-of-rights of areas previously done by Rajshahi Party.

Authorising the survey of Tauzi Nos. 599 and 568 of the Murshidabad Collectorate.

Authorising the survey and the preparation of the record-of-rights of temporarily-settled private estate Nos. 584, 1463, 3045 and 3046 of Murshidabad.

} Authorising the survey of estate No. 565 of Murshidabad.

APPENDIX XVII.

Summary of the position as regards consolidation of holdings.

One of the important items to be tackled to create conditions for better revival of agriculture in the district of Murshidabad is consolidation of lands. I note in brief what can be done in the matter of consolidation of lands.

Consolidation defined.—Every one acquainted with the topography of the villages in Bengal knows that the plots appertaining to a particular holding covered by one tenancy held by one or more co-sharers lie scattered about in the village. The "plot" is not necessarily a piece of land within only one set of boundaries without any dividing ail between but is a piece of land of the same class belonging to one tenant or set of tenants held under the same tenancy conditions which may include more than one geographical plots or smaller parcels with distinct dividing boundaries of their own. It is important to remember this distinction between the settlement-recognised plot and a geographical plot for a correct view of the obstacles to the use of mechanical processes, which among others is one of the main objectives of consolidation. Even when held by the same person in one block, plots are divided for the purposes of irrigation, etc.

Now, the consolidation of agricultural lands may mean (a) grouping together of all tenancies held by the same person or the same set of persons, or (b) grouping together of all the different plots of land held by the same tenant, or (c) aggregation of lands to form larger units to be owned by the same individual or set of individuals within, as far as possible, one set of boundaries.

To effect the first is an easy process. There is, however, no legal enactment to force it when either the landlord or the tenant object to its application; but in khas mahals and in estates of enlightened landlords such consolidation is frequently effected. Its effect on the efficient use of land, however, is nil. It simply reduces clerical work in accounts. The third one is really a development of the second and it is this latter which needs to be examined first. It is proposed, therefore, to examine how far it is desirable to arrange for a geographical juxtaposition of plots held by the same individual or set of individuals working jointly to create consolidated units or blocks within one set of boundaries, and if economically desirable how to bring about such a juxtaposition. Next, it will be seen if the third process raises any complications.

Causes of disintegration.—The chief causes which lead to disintegration are two (a) the laws of inheritance, (b) inequalities in the advantages of the different blocks of land to cultivators. The former constitute the permanent and the latter the non-permanent causes of disintegration. Some detailed consideration is necessary to appreciate the difficulties in the way of practically dealing with the problem.

(A) The two main religious groups interested in the land are the Hindus and the Muhammadans.

For the Hindus there are two schools determining the course of inheritance: the *Mitakshara* and the *Dayabhag*. In Bengal the number of families governed by the *Mitakshara* system is very limited. The major portion is governed by the *Dayabhag* system. In both, however, inheritance is determined by the question of the right of offering *pindas* to the dead. Some difference of opinion exists as to whether the offering of *pindas* and inheritance are inseparably connected. But the passage of Manu "pindam dadyat haret dhanam" (*पिण्डं दद्यात् हरेत् धनम्*) has been generally accepted as the authority for the proposition that the right of inheritance is founded on the benefit conferred by the offering of *pinda*. It is not necessary to discuss the principles underlying this conception. It is sufficient to note that it seems to be a very ancient conception, traces of which can be found even among the Greeks and the Romans (see Smith's Greek and Roman antiquities). This conception among the Aryan settlers of India developed into a religion and now forms part of the principles on which the ritualistic Hindu bases his socio-religious practices. It will thus appear that the principles of inheritance are bound up with the religion of the Hindus.

For the Muhammadans the rules of inheritance are more definite. Detailed rules—the limits and the quotas—are given in the Quoran. They are based on the following clearest injunctions:—

(a) "*Telka hududulla wa main you ti illaho wa rasu lahu youd khelho jannatin tajri mun tahtihal anharo khalidina filu wa zalikel fawzul Azim*".

which translated means:—

"These are Allah's limits and whoever obeys Allah and His Apostle He will cause him to enter gardens beneath, etc." (Chapter IV, verse 13).

(b) "*Wa main yasillaha wa rasulahu yuta adda hududahu youd khelho naran khalidan feelha wa lahu azabum muhum*".

which means:—

"Whosoever disobeys Allah and His Apostle and goes beyond His limits He will cause him to enter fire to abide in it and he shall have an abasing chastisement" (Chapter IV, verse 14).

It is clear, therefore, that the disposition of property for the followers of Islam is regulated by the clearest injunctions in the Quoran; and deviation therefrom is held as a sin.

Thus both to the Hindus and the Muhammadans the rules of inheritance are a part of their respective religious codes; and one may say, that the ideas of entail or primogeniture or the like, are against their communal prejudice. We have to reckon with the fact, therefore, that the rules of inheritance will be more or less permanent factors continually at work to disintegrate property at each succession and break it up into smaller and smaller parcels, and any legislation to alter the rules

of inheritance will be interpreted as interference with the religions of the people. Consolidation, consequently, once made will be immediately unmade and a solution under existing conditions will only be temporary in effect.

The other cause which tends to split up lands into small fragments is the inequality in the advantages and the class of the land. Suppose an individual dies leaving his homestead and other lands in different fields. The homestead portion with temples and tanks for use is coveted by all for facilities of performing religious rights and of meeting domestic needs. Similarly, each of the heirs and successors may demand a particular field with facilities for irrigation to be split up into parts for equality of advantage. An *aman* land has got to be split up so that each may have his share of *aman* as well as of *aus* or *rabi*. Over and above these each field has got to be "ail" up to hold either rain water or water from irrigation channels. Leaving out the question of homestead lands for the present the inequality is mainly, though not exclusively, of advantages in irrigation and the quality and nature of yield. All these are removable. Science may remove the inequalities. But till it does the tendency will be to disintegrate.

Fragmentation: advantages and disadvantages.—Fragmentation has advantages: but these are entirely due to the present conditions. The cultivator (a) gets a part of land of each class; He shares the advantages and disadvantages with his co-sharers, (b) can "ail" up his lands and thus retain his share of water, and (c) has narrow demarcating strips which leave portions for grazing cattle. The disadvantages are obvious and are mainly these:—

- (a) Waste of time and labour in shifting his cattle and implements from place to place.
- (b) Being scattered, improvements in the shape of devising means of irrigation by sinking wells or excavating tanks are almost impossible to effect.
- (c) Improved appliances which require large blocks to be worked cannot be introduced.
- (d) Effective personal supervision is difficult.
- (e) Small scattered blocks lead to wastage in seeds, manure and labour.
- (f) The demarcating strips have to be left out of cultivation.

The existing aids to consolidation.—The idea of grouping parcels into one block is not foreign to the cultivators of Bengal. Any record of rights will show that there are cases of "*badlayen*" or "*ewaj dakhal*" which means that the cultivators have changed lands on the grounds of contiguity. But mutual arrangement they are known occasionally to have permanently exchanged plots on the same ground.

So far as the law is concerned the Partition Act (Act V of 1893) permits a court at the

instance of a party applying for partition of joint property under certain conditions to have it sold up and bought by one. Individual co-sharers in agricultural holdings with separate possession can, if they desire, and under the conditions laid down in the law, get the holdings thus sold up and bought. The number of separate holders of a joint holding can thus be eliminated.

Similarly the Muhammadan law recognises a right of pre-emption in sale by holders of contiguous lands.

It appears, therefore, that the idea of voluntary exchange exists and that through the Partition Act and the right of pre-emption for Muhammadans consolidation of holdings to a certain extent is possible. The practical effect of these aids is, however, not very great. Exchange on voluntary agreement can only be effected by mutually interested persons owning neighbouring lands in different blocks; it not infrequently depends upon the good-will of the landlords too or their agents. Such instances, however, are rare.

The Partition Act procedure involves the institution of a civil suit; and as it depends on the option of the Court, the result is uncertain. The purchaser needs ready money and as he cannot always command this he is often prevented from resorting to it. The procedure thus is resorted to only in very rare cases.

The exercise of the right of pre-emption is dependant on certain conditions laid down in the Muhammadan law. The officer to exercise the right must be made immediately (*talab-i-monasibat*) and it must be made specifically with the certain gesture laid down in the law before witnesses (*talab-i-isthad*).

The right is liable to be lost by acquiescence while the vendor can defeat it by leaving out a small strip of land immediately adjoining those of his neighbours. All these make the procedure somewhat complicated, and in more cases than not the claim is frustrated.

If consolidation has to be better and more exclusively organised more effective methods are necessary.

Legal position: Possible methods of consolidation.—It should be recognised that consolidation, if it is to be an effective means for improved and intensive agricultural operation, must be made by methods which can be adopted by those actually engaged in cultivation. The large majority in Bengal so engaged belong to the class of raiyats, most of whom again have a right of occupancy under the Bengal Tenancy Act. The law about the transferability of this right is now reasonably clear. The first step, therefore, to introduce consolidation on a large scale has been taken. But mere right to transfer is not enough and legal provision will have to be made to distribute rent on parts of holdings split up, so that the rent of holdings constituted by consolidation may be adjusted. It has further to be remembered that the larger the subinfeudation the greater is the difficulty. Rights of different degrees can hardly be exchanged and where occupancy rights descend lower to under-raiyats of various grades there will be

corresponding difficulties. A simple tenancy system being an essential condition precedent to successful consolidation, tenancy legislation in future should aim at simplifying and not complicating the land system. I consider that the vesting of rights in under-raiyat is a move in the wrong direction.

Psychological change.—The next point that must be attended to is to create the psychology for the change. There must be a will to consolidate. To create that psychology the benefits arising out of consolidation must be demonstrated. These benefits must not be merely theoretically possible but actually attainable under existing conditions. The two main directions in which benefit is possible are saving of time and the possibility of employing better tools and appliances.

It is to be remembered that, situated as the cultivator is to-day, when he has little else to turn his energy and attention to, saving of time really has little practical significance for him. Loss of time is of little consequence to one to whom time has scarcely any value. There must therefore be provision for a larger employment of his time and the consequent increase of its value. His means again are so limited that improvements can hardly in the majority of cases be secured by him. The crops that he grows—and paddy and jute must be the largest single product of the land—hardly need any great improved implements. While the total quantum of land for a group of joint cultivators is ordinarily so small that consolidation will hardly appreciably alter the position—cultivator having an acre and half in all benefits but little if his lands, say, in three blocks, be grouped into one. Other factors which will be discussed later must be brought into operation to create the will to consolidate, and without this will no theoretical scheme has any chance of success.

Assuming that a simple land system, an amended tenancy legislation and the necessary psychology exist, the following appear to be some of the methods by which consolidation can be carried out:—

(1) In *khas mahals* and estates under the direct management of the Government, a propaganda for consolidation by voluntary exchange and the offer of facilities to allow mutation without trouble may be announced as the acceptable principle. If for the estates under the Court of Wards the principle is accepted and private landlords can be induced to co-operate, a considerable advance in consolidation of the simpler type may be made without the aid of any complicated machinery.

(2) *Co-operative consolidation societies.*—The Punjab method of consolidation which is briefly described below may sometimes bring about good results.

Preliminary propaganda work is done by the credit staff and if, in any particular area, people are found desirous of consolidating their holdings co-operatively, they communicate with the special staff maintained for the purpose. The consolidation Sub-Inspector then proceeds to the spot, camps in the village and starts intensive propaganda. He explains in detail the benefits which will accrue

from consolidation. If the zemindars are convinced and are willing to join such a society they are required to sign a statement agreeing—

- (a) to the principles of re-arrangement of scattered holdings so as to secure more compact blocks of fields for each owner;
- (b) to submit to any arrangement approved by two-thirds of the whole number of members in general meeting;
- (c) to permit the re-arrangement of their lands in accordance with any such scheme and to give possession in accordance therewith for a period of four years;
- (d) to submit to arbitration in accordance with the by-laws, disputes touching the business of the society (including disputes as to rights, boundaries, rents, responsibility for land revenue and cesses and possession of lands affected by any such scheme) that may arise during the existence of the society.

A committee is then formed from amongst the promoters. Revenue records and mutation registers are consulted and a list is prepared showing the quantity and class of land held by and the revenue paid on each, together with its respective survey numbers. A tentative scheme is then drawn up on the principle of greatest good to the greatest number, and allotment is then made to each person or group of persons, and the new allotment is marked on the village map. A general meeting of the members is then convened and final allotment is made. If the allotments are agreed to by all, the scheme becomes final. If, however, any member stands out the whole scheme falls through and a fresh scheme is prepared. When every one agrees a new map is prepared showing the final distribution of lands. When final allotments have been agreed to the Sub-Inspector supplies each member or group of members, as the case may be, with a *parcha* in which the survey number, area, class and land revenue of land held and offered for consolidation and the survey number, area, class and land revenue of land to be held in exchange are shown. With the *parcha* a tracing of the block showing its dimensions and boundaries are given. When the *parchas* are made over to the members concerned they are required to sign or record their thumb impressions in the proceedings book of the society. An application is then made to the Revenue Officer who proceeds to the spot and sanctions mutations. The operation embraces two mutations:—

- (1) where all the land is transferred to joint ownership of members, and
- (2) where land under joint ownership is re-transferred to individuals.

The Land Records Department consider this as one mutation and a fee of four annas per holding only is charged. The new holdings are duly recorded by the Revenue Department in the record of rights.

After the mutations have been recorded, the Sub-Inspector forwards all papers to the

Assistant Registrar who scrutinises, examines and forwards them on to the Registrar for registration. All difference amongst the members are settled by arbitration.

It may be noted that, it is not always possible to allot every cultivator a compact block which will include all the classes of land he originally possessed. In these cases land of a particular class is taken in a block and divided amongst the members according to the area of that class they originally possessed. Thus when there are four classes of land in a village the cultivator may have four blocks of land in the new allotment. It is important to note that the basis of re-distribution is always the area of the holding and not its money value.

The circumstances in Bengal in the permanently-settled tracts are radically different from those in the Punjab. In the Government *khas mahals* though the conditions are more allied the fundamental difference lies in the fact that in the Punjab the Government is the controller of the irrigation canals. In Bengal irrigation societies may supplement the efforts of consolidation societies where irrigation exists; but it is not always available as in riparian strips. Irrigation societies have not as yet got a permanent position in Bengal. Where the question of irrigation is not of importance, some progress may be possible.

(3) *Evolution of new types of villages.*—To start with all rights whatever must first be liquified and then a distribution should be made upon a basis most conducive to the welfare of the community. The governing principles should be on the basis of the Enclosure Act of England. The procedure will be similar to that prescribed in the Land Acquisition Act followed by re-allotment after an adjudication of classes according to priority. The machinery will be set in motion on the application of not less than one-half of the villagers.

The application of the procedure may be restricted to blocks or parts instead of being extended to entire villages at once in order, in the first instance, to gain experience of the problems that may arise and details may be modified as the result of such experience. The method, however, is somewhat radical and in its application great caution is needed.

(4) *Co-operative cultivation societies.*—Cultivators owning lands in one block may form themselves into a co-operative society to cultivate the land as one unit breaking up the *ails* and demarcating strips, converting the areas held by all the individuals into one block, and dividing the produce after meeting the cost of cultivation according to the share of each. The more or less will be the principles of group socialism for agrarian purposes. If the people can be educated to the appreciation of this principle, this system may produce very good results. It is, however, in essence based on a communistic idea and the causes which still make communism practically a failure will operate to a certain extent against its success. On the other hand cultivators are known to have combined for specific agricultural purposes—irrigation, harvesting or ploughing; and the extension of the spirit is not altogether impossible to organise. It is

unnecessary to discuss details here. It has possibilities but it has practical drawbacks too which should be carefully considered.

(5) Right of pre-emption in sales of occupancy right by a neighbouring cultivating holder may have some effect.

It must be remembered that against all these the existing causes of disintegration will continue to operate.

Larger issues involved in consolidation.—It has been stated above that (i) consolidation of tenancies will hardly have any effect on improving the methods of agricultural operation.

(ii) So far as mere grouping together of parcels of land of the same holding are concerned the quantity of land per group is so small that in the largest majority of cases the grouping will hardly make blocks of more than 2 acres. It is certain that grouping will have little beneficial effect. It has been pointed out that the largest majority of the people have no other means of occupation; time hangs heavy on them and saving of time thus has little real value to them. Unless, therefore, the value of time is increasingly appreciated, saving of time to them means no gain. So unless and until other occupation can be found for them or agriculture can be so diversified that continuous work for them even with two acres of land can be found throughout the year, there is no practical utility of consolidation while it is doubtful whether agriculture can be so diversified that the cultivator with his means can effectively take to it throughout the year.

(iii) The last process is to go on gradually increasing the size by consolidation. This, however, raises the issue as to what is going to happen to the displaced population. England may be taken as a country which embarked on large-scale consolidation to make way for the capitalistic methods of cultivation. It is worth recalling the period when consolidation under the Enclosure Acts was carried on in England. The enclosure movement started with the visit of Arthur Young, the Secretary to the Board of Agriculture, immediately after its constitution in 1794 and went on till after the middle of the nineteenth century. This period synchronised more or less with the period of England's Industrial revolution. It is on record that the substitution enclosure for the open field system led to a very large expropriation of agriculturists. This is not the place to discuss whether the present problems of unemployment are not indirectly traceable to the movement then initiated, but it is certain that but for the simultaneous process of absorption of the expropriated tenants in the growing industries, the immediate effect of the movement would have been acute and widespread distress. Improved means of agriculture means largely the utilisation of mechanical inventions; and effective mechanical inventions certainly displace human labour. The human labour thus displaced will need to be provided elsewhere. Unless therefore arrangements for alternative occupations are possible, consolidation may lead to economic, social and even political upheavals by intensifying the problem of unemployment—a problem which in India may assume dimensions

beyond control. In one sense it may mean ultimate good in adjusting the population to the means of subsistence from agriculture, but the process is fraught with grave dangers which cannot be contemplated with equanimity.

I do not propose to examine the alternative occupations which are now open and will possibly be open in future, for that will be much beyond the scope of the present discussion. It is certain, however, that no large avenue is immediately available.

The conclusions may be summarised thus:— There are permanent and non-permanent causes operating in the disintegration of plots. Non-permanent causes may be removed by scientific researches and provision for better facilities for irrigation. Permanent causes, rooted as they are in the religious ideas of the people, are difficult to deal with. It may not be altogether impossible that the economic conditions may alter the social psychology. The code of religion about inheritance may be so regulated by an altered social conscience that the real property may be left in tact and others may get the money value of their due shares. That however is a matter of education, and presupposes a better financial position which can supplement or convert shares in real immediately with or in cash.

It is not possible again so to organise the social system of the Muhammadan community that family property may get back to one hand again by intermarriage among cousins. The Hindus have definite rules about intermarriage which make in their case such a scheme impossible to work out. It may be observed that in France the Law Napoleon tends almost similarly to disintegrate the family property, but other causes, of which intermarriage with cousins is one, have tended continually to consolidate holdings into larger and larger units in spite of a disintegrating law of inheritance.

These are, however, matters of education, but without devising some means to counteract the permanent operative causes any attempt at consolidation will be infructuous. Consolidation of different tenancies has hardly any

value from the point of view of agricultural improvement. Consolidation of parcels of the same holding in view of small quantity of land owned by a group, will not create conditions materially favourable to an improvement of the agricultural operations. Consolidation with a view to make larger and larger units, as well as the mere reason for consolidation which is to make larger uses of mechanical devices, will tend to the expropriation of agriculturists and displacement of human labour. Unless alternative means of occupation are possible such consolidation may lead to great economic distress.

The different methods for consolidation have been indicated. In my opinion radical and hasty action is undesirable. Certain legislative changes and permissive procedure indicated, may be introduced. The perfection of the right of transfer, the right of pre-emption of neighbouring cultivator, the familiarity with the ideas of co-operative methods of consolidation and of cultivation may be very helpful. The will to consolidate must be created. For this the efficacy and the possibility of using better appliances on large blocks should be demonstrated to the cultivators. A slow psychological and economic process may thus be introduced which will adapt itself to circumstances. A forced march will be risky; and too elaborate machinery and intervention will be an unmixed evil and may lead to serious complications.

One may still believe that science has not yet exhausted all possibilities of research, and it may not be Utopian to hope that the highest economic use of land is not inconsistent with the use of small blocks. But one is convinced that the blocks in area, situation, must be considerably bigger than what they are now. It has been pointed out before that pressure on land must be reduced as an essential preliminary to this.

There is a large amount of work to be done if the economic uplift is to be secured. A well-planned programme with co-ordinated activities of the official and the non-official can do a lot. Similar situation as found now in the district exists in many other parts of the world but human energies and intelligence have effected revolutionary changes.

APPENDIX XVIII.

A note on the position of silk industry and mulberry, sugarcane, potato and patal cultivation.

Silk industry and mulberry Cultivation.

I—Origin.—According to Chinese mythology the silkworm was discovered in China by the Empress Si-tu-chee in 2602 B.C. For more than 2,000 years the art of rearing of silkworms and the manufacture of silk were secretly guarded amongst members of the royal family and noblemen. It is stated that a Chinese princess married the King of Khotan in Central Asia and brought with her silkworm eggs and seeds of mulberry plants from China. This happened in about 419 A.D. It is, however, held by some to have taken place earlier in 140 B.C.

Numerous references about the use of silk in ancient India are traceable in Vedic literature and in the epics the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*.

The words *Kauseya*, *Dukula*, *Kshauma* and *Pattabasha* are used for silk. According to the Grammarian Panini, whose probable date is 400 B.C., the word *Kauseya* is derived from *Kosha* which means the cocoon of a silkworm. Similarly, *Dukula* implies the two births—butterfly and caterpillar. The term *pat* is even to this day used for a variety of mulberry leaf feeding silkworm in Assam. Although no direct mention of the rearing of silkworm in India is traceable in Indian mythology the use of the words *Kauseya* and *Dukula* justify the assumption that silk culture was practised in India long before the supposed importation of Chinese silkworms in Khotan by the Chinese princess. There are numerous references of silk in other old books also.

II—Silk may be indigenous to India.—At altitudes up to 11,000 feet along the Himalayas the naturalists find indication of silkworms which lead to the probability that they are indigenous to India. The introduction of Chinese silkworms in different periods might have been done to improve local breed or establishing superior types of domesticated mulberry leaf feeding varieties of silkworms. The word "*Resham*," so commonly used for silk in India, is derived from the Persian word "*Ab-resham*." According to historical evidence silkworm rearing was introduced in Persia from Khotan in 550 A.D.

Although the date of the introduction of silkworms in India is still under dispute, it is certain that sericulture has been carried on in India for at least 2,000 years, if not more, with indigenous silkworms and with imported Chinese stock since 300 A.D. The word *Chinangsuka* used in Kalidas's *Sakuntala* (canto 1) for silk indicates its Chinese origin. It may also be that the Chinese variety was popular at that period.

When and how the rearing of silkworms was introduced in Bengal is not known. But the popular adage "পরে তবু গায় বি, ডার পরদায় দরকার কি" shows that *tassur* silkworm

rearing was very common in Bengal. This species of silkworm is wild even to this day and as such it may be inferred that the use of *tassur* in Bengal is of great antiquity. The mulberry leaf feeding silkworms from which the *Garad* and *Matka* silks of Bengal are produced, were probably introduced by the Buddhist monks or later during the Muhammadan régime. In the travels of Ludo Vico II Varthema (1503) mention is made of a very large quantity of stuffs of cotton and of silk from a city called Bangachella in India major. The Portuguese traders monopolised the export of Bengal silk in the sixteenth century.

III—Introduction of silk industry.—In 1592 some private English ships of war captured a large Portuguese carrack called *Madre de Dios* of 1,600 tons and brought her into Dartmouth. She was the largest ship ever seen in England. The cargo consisted of a large quantity of silk and other commodities. The possession of such immense foreign riches greatly encouraged the English to go directly to the East Indies on a mercantile account. (Rawley—p. 150 quotes from Milburn Intro. IV.)

In 1670 a factor well skilled in silk was sent out from England to Cossimbazar and in 1681 when the chief was Job Charnock, the future founder of Calcutta, out of £230,000 sent out by the East India Company as investment to Bengal, £140,000 was assigned to Cossimbazar. From this time forward the Company made unremitting efforts to foster sericulture and extend the trade in silk. (District Gazetteer—Murshidabad, p. 126.)

The silk trade of Bengal prospered for the time being to such an extent that in the time of Aliverdi Khan raw silk to the value of Rs. 87½ lakhs was annually entered in the Custom-house books at Murshidabad. This was exclusive of the European investments which were not entered there as being either duty-free or paying duty at Hooghly. (District Gazetteer, p. 126.)

Though from the records of 1769 we find that the Company did its best to encourage the production of raw silk in Bengal and to further its trade, it is more or less evident that the Court of Directors in England did not show much favour for the manufacture of silk fabrics in Bengal. Their obvious object was to encourage the silk dealers of England. In their general letter to the Board, dated the 17th March 1769, the Court of Directors desired that the manufacture of raw silk should be encouraged in Bengal, and that if possible that of silk fabrics be discouraged. They also recommended that the silk winders should be made to work in the Company's factories and prohibited from working in their own homes under severe penalties by the authority of the Government. This mandate had its desired effect. The manufacture of silk piece-goods declined in Bengal and the people who had exported these stuffs to the markets of Europe and Asia in previous centuries began to import them in increasing quantities (A. F. M. Abdul Ali's "The silk industry in Bengal in the days of John Company," p. 18).

After the East India Company gave up direct control of the silk trade in 1835 no special measures appear to have been taken by the Government to foster the industry till 1882 when the Government of India took up the question of (1) extension of mulberry plantation, and (2) the distribution of silkworm eggs technically known as the seed.

In the year 1888 the late Mr. N. G. Mukherji was deputed to Europe to study the methods of rearing and reeling practised in France and Italy and the measures for the eradication of disease discovered by Mons. Pasteur. After his return to Bengal, Mr. Mukherji was engaged in experimental work and several small nurseries were established in different centres to train the rearers, these nurseries being ultimately handed over to the rearers to carry on the work without further assistance from the Government.

From 1898 to 1907 the Government granted a subsidy to a committee of the silk factories of Murshidabad to maintain nurseries for distribution of silkworm eggs (seeds).

In 1908 a sericultural section was sanctioned under the Department of Agriculture and the nurseries of the silk committee were taken over by the Government. In 1911, it was decided to abolish the small nurseries and to start central nurseries on a larger scale in silk areas to increase the production of healthy seeds.

IV—The present condition.—The department had been maintaining six central nurseries for sale of seeds and for small nurseries for special investigations in different centres with a total area of 150 acres under mulberry. In 1933-34 there was drastic retrenchment and several nurseries were abolished.

During the period from 1915 to 1923 the average annual production of seeds amounted to 16,000 seers. The average for nine years since 1922 has been 21,000 seers out of a total requirement of 100,000 seers (*kahons*) of seeds for the entire province. This production of disease-free seeds is supplemented by about 24,000 seers raised through private seed-rearers under departmental supervision. The remaining half of the requirement are the village seeds which are in most cases the third or fourth generation of departmental stock.

V—Production: Amount.—No reliable statistics about the extent of the silk industry in different districts in Bengal are available. The total area under bush mulberry is estimated to be 2,785 acres in Murshidabad. The bush system of cultivation enables the cultivator to harvest leaves five times in the year to rear silkworms. An acre of bush plantation in this district gives on an average 240 maunds of leaves from which the silkworm rearer gets about 350 to 400 *kahons* of cocoons. The yield of silk from the cocoons varies in different seasons owing to climatic influences as well as due to the variety of silkworms reared. The rearers in this district usually restrict the cold weather crop (November band) to the *choto polu* (*Bombyx Fortunatus*) and for the major portion of the year rear the

nistaris (*Bombyx Craesi*). Both of these breeds are multivoltine, i.e., complete six to seven cycles in the year. By careful observation of the productivity of the different breeds and periods of leaf growth, the rearers in different silk-producing areas have fixed up their rearing programme to suit local environments.

The Sericultural Department is supplying a portion of their seed requirement from the two Government nurseries located at Berhampore and at Kumarpore in Beldanga thana. Kumarpore has since been abolished. Several passed students of the Government sericultural school at the Berhampore sericultural nursery have established seed-rearing nurseries in their villages and selling these seeds to the rearers of the commercial cocoon crop for reeling. The extension of the supply of healthy seeds is an urgent necessity to eliminate the chances of failures through infection of microbic diseases, of which the pebrine is dreadfully virulent and hereditary. The department is pushing on this work vigorously through active demonstration and propaganda in the rearing villages as also by the extension of seed rearing under departmental supervision by the supply of microscopically examined eggs to the seed rearers. It may be noted in this connection that the fly parasite is a source of great loss to the rearers as the fly lays its eggs on the silkworm and thereby either the worm dies or even if it spins the cocoon, such cocoon cannot be reeled as the fly maggot pierces through the cocoon thus breaking the continuity of the silk filament. Under departmental advice many rearers are now filling up their doors and windows with wirenets.

VI—Production: Cost and profit.—The economic importance of the sericultural industry in the district of Murshidabad is reflected in the higher rate of rent of mulberry lands in several areas. In spite of heavy rent it pays the cultivator to take to sericulture as a subsidiary to agricultural pursuits so long as the price of cocoons is not less than 12 annas per *kahon* when he can get an income of about Rs. 200 per acre.

VII—The cost of production of silk per bigha of 33 acre.—The cost as well as profit of silk cocoon rearers varies according to circumstances even in the same village. The following figures are taken from village Dupukhuria in Murshidabad which is considered as a typical village in this respect by the Sericulture Department:—

	Rs.
Cost of manure	18
Cost of labour	19
Cost of leaves (mulberry) ..	16
Cost of seed	4
Rent of land	7
	<hr/>
	64

Cost of labour is now less than that shown above which was the cost before, when labour rate was about 6 annas per head per day. At present the rate is 4 annas per head per day. The cost of labour is thus Rs. 12-8 and the

total cost comes down to about Rs. 57-8. The rearer generally does his own cultivation in which he is assisted by other members of his family.

VIII—Profit per bigha.—Average outturn per bigha may be taken to be 108 *kahons* which may be sold at Rs. 119 deducting from this Rs. 57-8 the net profit comes to about Rs. 61-8 per bigha.

IX—Process of manufacture.—Silk in its development from the cocoon of the silkworm into the finished product of the loom passes through several processes, each process giving occupation to a different set of more or less skilled operators and forming a separate branch of manufacture. Broadly, the silk industry may be grouped into the following four divisions:—

- (1) Sericulture dealing with the rearing of silkworms and the production of cocoons.
- (2) Silk-reeling for the production of silk yarns by heating the cocoons in warm water to wind the silk filament.
- (3) Silk waste spinning.
- (4) Silk weaving and dyeing.

The 1st.—Sericulture is mainly a cottage industry in rural areas and is an adjunct to agriculture. The sericultural industry is divisible into two branches according as the objective is to rear silkworms for cocoons to be reeled or for producing seed cocoons for breeding. It has been already explained that sericultural department is extending the supply of disease-free seeds from the Government nurseries and by the intermediary of trained seed rearers multiplying departmental selected strains with microscopically examined eggs under departmental supervision.

The 2nd.—Silk-reeling was commercialised in the days of the East India Company and many silk filatures were established in Murshidabad, Rajshahi and Birbhum with European capital. The filatures are mere concentration of several units of cottage reels (*khamru*) with the distinction that steam is passed on to the reeling basins by pipes from a boiler instead of heating the water by fuel as is done in the cottage reels. The bulk of the silk reeled in Bengal are the *khamru*. These yarns are coarser and less uniform than the filature-reeled silk. A survey of reeling basins in 1923 showed that in the district of Murshidabad the steam filatures had 1,609 working basins and 1,517 cottage reels (*khamru*). Since then several steam filatures have closed. The total output of Bengal silk is now estimated at about one lakh pound of reeled silk with a corresponding output of *chassam* (floss) which constitutes the unreelable portion of the cocoon. This *chassam* is used for preparing a coarser yarn like the *matka* by hand spinning.

Although the demand of the Bengal silk is now restricted to the handlooms, it is considered that if the standard of reeling be

improved and the yarns are sold after reeling there is much chance of the silk being used for power loom weaving. Excepting in the moist season from May to September in the plains of Bengal, the silk produced during the drier part of the year is of sufficiently superior texture and strength to compete with the foreign—Chinese or Japanese—silk which is now imported into India. The lustre and brilliance of the Bengal silk is far superior to the other foreign silks.

The 3rd.—Silk waste spinning is mostly limited to the spinning of yarns from the pierced mulberry cocoons. Recently the Industries Department have been able to introduce a method for the utilisation of the *chassam* (floss and waste in silk reeling) which used formerly to be exported exclusively to foreign countries. The *matka* silk is obtained from the pierced mulberry cocoons which cannot be reeled but have to be prepared by hand carding and spinning. *Matka* spinning gives occupation to the women in rural areas.

The 4th.—Silk weaving was carried to high pitch of perfection in Murshidabad. The decline of the silk industry in the department of artistic fabrics has been more rapid than in any other branch of the industry. The ornamental silk brocades and figured weaving had obtained great reputation in the past for refinements of texture, richness and grace of design in the textures produced. But with the change in fashion and competition in foreign silkworm by power in Jacquard machines, this high class weaving is now almost extinct. High class weaving of silk with twisted yarns is now done in Mirzapur in the Jangipur subdivision, and a few other localities. But the bulk of the trade is with *Lora* silkworm with the "*Grege*" (not twisted yarn) which has received much impetus owing to the demand of cheaper printed *saris* and dress materials in recent times. It is considered that the cost of producing twisted silk according to local methods is high, and unless the cost of production for twisting can be reduced and improved methods are adopted to ensure regularity in twist, there is very little chance of this high class weaving regaining its former market in competition with imported silk. Out of a total of 921 looms now working 445 are weaving *matka* silk and the rest are *garad* (reeled silk) looms. It is estimated that even now about Rs. 8 lakhs worth of silk fabrics are woven in this district (Murshidabad).

X—Future.—The Bengal silk is declining. French and Japanese fabrics are making headway. Why Bengal which once led the way should decline must be a matter of anxious enquiry. The subject is already engaging the attention of the Central and local Governments. The Textile Protection Amendment Act of 1934 has provided a measure of protection. The Central Government has provided an annual sum of a lakh (of which Bengal gets its share of Rs. 41,347) for enquiries about sericulture. But all these are not enough and special efforts need be made by the people and the Government to resurrect one of their most important industries.

Sugarcane cultivation.

There are no facilities for producing sugarcane from cane juice in this district up to date. Sugarcane is grown almost invariably for human consumption by the ordinary agriculturist, though the prosperous agriculturist sells a part of his product which he does not need for his personal consumption.

Sugarcane is generally an important crop from the administrative point of view in this district, especially in the *Rarh* area. Sugarcane of the district is believed to be good. The soil is suitable and it is reported to be rich in saccharine properties. The cultivation of sugarcane, however, is rather irksome. It needs careful attention. It is in constant need of irrigation and as such can only be grown by the banks of rivers or close to tanks where irrigation can be easily done. As it grows it has to be protected against jackals and wild beasts. Cultivators generally have a small temporary hut near about and they keep a tin canister with a hammer attached to a string which they pull at intervals almost throughout the night to keep away wild beasts.

Generally, when sugarcane is ripe the agriculturists group together and keep men on day hire to which they all contribute both in wages and in labour. When sugarcane is pressed the juice is boiled in big earthen pans put on big earthen ovens to which all the agriculturists having sugarcane to press and cane juice to boil pay their quota of cost according to the quantity of cane juice they want to have boiled. The juice as it boils is constantly stirred with large ladles and great care is taken in watching the colour to prevent excessive heat being applied to any particular part. After the juice is formed into a thick treacle it is poured into earthen pots and stored away. In the villages the pots are sealed up in such a way as to make them air proof. One pot at a time is opened up for use and the next one is not opened till the first is exhausted. The pressed cane fibres are used for fuel.

I.—COST OF PRODUCTION OF SUGARCANE (PER BIGHA OF .33 AC.).

To find out this cost, average for three consecutive years has to be taken, as the cost for the first year is more than the costs for the second and third years, the same cuttings planted in the first year supplying sugarcane for the second and third years.

A.—First year.

	Rs.	a.
(a) Ploughing the field twice ...	1	0
(b) Trenching— (13 men at 4 annas per head) ...	3	4
(c) Price of manure— 2 maunds of castor cake ...	6	4
20 cartloads cowdung ...	5	0
(d) Carrying manure, distribution and hoeing in (4 men) ...	1	0

	Rs.	a.
(e) Price of 4,000 cuttings ...	10	0
(f) Planting the cuttings (8 men) ...	2	0
(g) Earthening the plants twice (12 men) ...	3	0
(h) Trashing twice (16 men) ...	4	0
(i) Weeding (4 men) ...	1	0
(j) Harvesting (16 men) ...	4	0
(k) <i>Gür</i> -making as shown below ...	19	8
Total. ...	60	0

Cost of gür-making.—A machine on hire costs Rs. 15 a month; its outturn may be taken as 5 maunds of *gür* per day. Taking 300 maunds of sugarcane or 30 maunds of *gür* as the yield of a bigha it takes a machine 6 days for the yield of a bigha, so that (i) cost for the machine for a bigha is Rs. 3 for 6 days; (ii) four pair of cattle to drive the machine for 6 days, Rs. 3; (iii) four men to drive the cattle for 6 days, Rs. 6; (iv) one mechanic for 6 days, Rs. 4-8; (v) his two assistants for 6 days, Rs. 3; or total Rs. 19-8.

B—Second year.

The items are the same as in A except those under (a), (b), (e) and (f), that is, except an amount of Rs. 16-4; thus the total cost in the second year is Rs. 43-12.

C—Third year.

The cost is the same as in the second year, viz., Rs. 43-12.

Average cost for a year is thus one-third of Rs. 60 plus Rs. 43-12 plus Rs. 43-12, i.e., about Rs. 49-8, adding to this rent for the land Re. 1-8 cost for a year is roughly Rs. 51.

II—PROFIT FROM SUGARCANE PER BIGHA.

Taking 30 maunds of *gür* as the yield of one bigha, gross profit at Rs. 5 per maund of *gür* is Rs. 150. Deducting cost of Rs. 51 as detailed above, the net profit is Rs. 99 or roughly Rs. 100 per bigha.

In this connection another point about the condition of the land has to be remembered. The land growing sugarcane for 3 years is incapable of growing any crop for the next 3 years without a huge cost in manuring and preparing the land so that the net profit from the land for the next 3 years is very small. Even, however, taking that the land lies waste for 3 years the net profit for the first 3 years distributed over these 6 years comes up to about Rs. 50 annually. Sugarcane cultivation is gaining much in popularity as it is much more profitable than paddy cultivation. The introduction of the variety of sugarcane technically known as Co. 213 has made its cultivation even more popular. It has a much better yield of *gür* than the older variety known as yellow tanna. Co. 213 has a very hard skin which protects it from jackals—a great enemy of the sugarcane cultivator. The Bengal Agricultural Department recommends extensive cultivation of this variety (Co. 213). Chemical fertilisers are used in Government farms to improve the quality of *gür*. The cost is about Rs. 3 only for yield of a bigha, but the refined *gür* brings a much higher price

than unrefined *gūr* but as the outlay necessary is huge it cannot be incurred by a common cultivator who cannot produce sugarcane on a large scale. Sugarcane cultivation has a very good prospect if taken up by Co-operative Societies or big capitalists.

There are limits to the extension of cultivation of sugarcane. As has been observed the land must be suitable. It is generally to be land that does not grow *aman* at its best. On the other hand it must not be too high. To keep moist the facilities for irrigation must be there, and irrigation is very difficult to arrange in these parts. In Bihar well irrigation is largely used for growing sugarcane. In the district of Murshidabad well irrigation is almost unknown. As tanks are getting silted up the opportunities for irrigation are decreasing. Large tracts such as these are to be found in *Hijol* which can be developed into good sugarcane growing tracts provided a manufacturing centre can be established nearabout. The growth of sugarcane as it stands to-day is represented by the following figures in the different parts of the district:—

	Acres.
Sadar subdivision—	
(1) Berhampore town	109.25
(2) Naoda	51.53
(3) Domkal	88.97
(4) Hariharpara	400.21
(5) Beldanga	196.10
(6) Jalangi	181.37
Lalbagh subdivision—	
(7) Bhagawangola	50.10
(8) Lalgola	2.60
(9) Raninagar	173.28
(10) Jiaganj	38
(11) Murshidabad	19.59
(12) Nabagram	161.58
Jangipur subdivision—	
(13) Samserganj	169.54
(14) Raghunathganj	53.68
(15) Suti	110.92
(16) Sagardighi	98.79
Kandi subdivision—	
(17) Kandi	369.62
(18) Bharatpur	712.19
(19) Burwan	837.09
(20) Khargram	518.24
Total	4,305.03

Potato cultivation.

Potato is a well-known crop which is rapidly getting into use. It has not been in the past an old indigenous crop. Its use is rapidly developing and potato is being cultivated to a large extent in the district. Potato is grown

from carefully preserved sprouts. The ground has got to be very carefully prepared. It requires six to ten ploughings normally in this district, the number depending upon the nature of the soil. After the first ploughing an interval of 15 to 20 days is left and then the second ploughing starts. Intervals between the second and third ploughings are generally between six days to a fortnight. In fact, the land is intended to be converted almost into dust. After this is done long strips, at intervals of 27 to 36 inches, are struck and then holes 20 to 25 inches deep are made and in these holes the sprouts are kept. Before the sprouts are planted generally they are soaked in water for about 24 hours. At places the roots are kept covered under the earth for 2 to 6 days and when the sprouts come up they are taken out and transplanted in the way stated before. Where they are not transplanted the roots in the holes are watered for 4 or 5 days. As the sprouts get out of the soil one starts manuring. Generally mustard-cakes are used. The cultivators prefer the ordinary oil-cakes to the oil-cakes that are got out of the oil pressing machines. After the sprouts have grown up beyond six inches the watering commences and fresh earth is put at the roots. This process is repeated four to five times. The number of potato depends upon the number of roots the plants strike out and the cultivator sees to it that every facility for increasing the number of roots is given. The outturn of potato from general averages stands at 100 maunds per acre.

Potato requires three months to mature from the time of sowing, generally about Aswin, and they are dug out by Magh if not Paus (December).

Patal cultivation.

One of the factors for which the district of Murshidabad is well-known is *Patal*. It is grown mostly along the alluvial tracts of the Bhagirathi. It is the sandy clay soil with a new deposit of silt which is very much preferred. Immediately after the rains the land is subjected to four to five ploughings and pulverised. On the soil, at distances of 4 to 6 feet, holes are dug and the bulbs of the old plants are put in. They are covered up then with ashes and rotten straw and watered. They are left undisturbed for 10 to 15 days and the creepers come out. As the creepers shoot out to a height of 3 to 4 inches the roots are tended and a circular pit is made to which the creepers are then limited. Channels are cut out so that irrigation can be carried out without trouble. Generally, irrigation is best done in the month of Magh. The flowers come out up to the end of March and generally lasts throughout the early part of the rains. It is a very lucrative cultivation and buyers from all parts of Calcutta gather together to purchase and export. The outturn varies with the condition of the soil, but as cultivation is not too costly the profit or margin of profit is large. It is to be noted that sandy soil is very much preferred and an admixture of sand with the alluvial deposits is one of the essential ingredients.

Department of Land Records and Surveys, Bengal.

No. XXV/4-3415.

FROM RAI BIJAY BIHARI
MUKHARJI BAHADUR, *Director*
of Land Records and Surveys, Bengal,

TO THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD
OF REVENUE, BENGAL.

Alipur, the 26th January. 1938.

SIR,

I have the honour to submit herewith the Final Report of the Settlement Operation in the district of Murshidabad. The work was completed in 1932, but as I was transferred in 1929 to organise and superintend the Land Revenue Settlement work in Eastern and Western Bengal the report had to be written in course of my tours and could not be completed till 1936. As I have pointed out in Birbhum report that the old arrangement by which the Settlement Officer can be given some time exclusively to write up his report after the field season was over was by far the better procedure. It helped the Settlement Officer to concentrate exclusively on the work of his report and thus to produce a better report than when he has to attend to other works and to write his report at odd ends of his time with numerous distractions. It delays the report which is unsatisfactory from the point of view of general administration. It puts a heavy strain on the officer because the concentration which he requires he hardly gets.

2. The district of Murshidabad was to have been taken up as a district settlement operation in the year 1920. The proposal for the inception of the operation was sent up to Government and received sanction in their letter No. 2726/T.—R. of 28th October 1920. The work was taken up and traverse was completed of the first block of the district of Murshidabad when, on account of the condition of the provincial finance, the work was stopped. In their letter

No. 6795 of the 20th July 1922, the Government communicated their decision that in the interests of economy the partly done districts of Birbhum and Murshidabad should be taken up as one operation with headquarters at Berhampore in the district of Murshidabad. The proposal for joint programme was therefore submitted to Government with Director of Land Records' letter No. 5055 of 25th August 1923 and was approved of by Government in their letter No. 11132L.R., dated the 6th December 1923. The joint programme was then made and work started in 1924. In the year 1932-33 it was directed that two final reports for the two districts should be written up and chapters on the financial aspect and the inception should be common to both. The present report deals with the operation in the district of Murshidabad.

3. The district of Murshidabad and its people have been described in Part I of this report. The district is situated on either banks of the river Bhagirathi which divides it up into two distinct tracts. The western part of the district is locally known as the Rarh—a name common to the districts of Birbhum, Bankura, Burdwan and a part of Midnapore. The eastern portion is known as the Bogri and is more or less allied to the district of Nadia and the districts further south. In geological texture and for agricultural purposes the two tracts differ largely from each other. In physical features and in Flora the Rarh is easily distinguished from the Bogri. The Rarh is distinguished by its tanks with palmyra palm on the banks, by orchards which though not rich, are yet adequate with large amount of jack fruit, and sagina in plenty. The coconut palm is rare except in the villages directly on the banks of the Bhagirathi and the Mourakshi along the northern part where the district touches the Padma. The Bogri tract on the other hand has less of palmyra palm but more of the cocoanut and the date. Its mango gardens are now more plentiful. The orchards near Chunkhali are noted for their mangoes and in and about police-stations Lalbagh, Lalgola and Bhagwangola, one finds excellent mango gardens which are a fruitful source of income to the people.

4. The Revenue Surveyor reported in 1857 that he found tiger, rhinoceroses and wild buffaloes, while antelopes and deer were not uncommon. But none of them exist now. Wild boars persist at places notably in the police-station of Hariharpara and leopards are not uncommon in and about Murshidabad. The chief animal which reigns supreme, however, is the black-faced monkey which is a standing menace to the cultivation of fruits and flowers.

5. *Climate*.—The climate of the district varies in different parts. The record of health of the district in ancient times cannot be traced, but the fact that in the beginning of the 18th century the town of Murshidabad came to be the capital of Bengal, is at least a proof that its health could not have been bad. Even half a century earlier than this, that is, about 1658-59, the fact that Kasimbazar was selected to be one of the first places for factories by European races is a proof that it could not have been unhealthy. There have been great changes since those days. In 1814 a devastating epidemic of fever was reported in the town of Baranagar, Azimganj and the old town of Kasimbazar. Since then there is almost an unredeemed record of unhealthiness. In 1857, the Revenue Surveyor stated that the district of Murshidabad could not be called healthy. In 1871-72, Sir William Hunter noted "Among endemics to be found permanent in the district are malarial fever, splenitis, elephantiasis, cholera and hydrocele. Cholera is endemic in Murshidabad. Splenitis is very common while malarial fever is extremely common in the Murshidabad district." Enquiries to the health were made in 1936-37 by Captain G. E. Stewart and Lieut. A. H. Proctor of the Indian Medical Service, and both of them declared malaria to be prevalent and large mortality in the district was directly due to malaria over the whole area. The report notes some other records of the district to prove that the health of the district cannot in any case be called good. Strenuous efforts appear to have been made by the wealthy and charitable to start dispensaries but there is hardly any improvement. The municipal areas do not seem to fare better and in some of them, especially Murshidabad, the decrease in the population has been marked. The town of Murshidabad had in 1872 a population of 24,534. In 1931, it was found to have only 9,483.

Similarly the municipality of Jiaganj and Azimganj was recorded to have a population of 21,648 in 1872. In 1931, it came down to 10,998 only. Obstruction of drainage, decadence of rivers and their floods have been ascribed by some as reasons. They have been dealt with later in the report.

6. *Roads*.—The road communication is fair though not satisfactory. The length of the metalled roads is about 56 miles and of the unmetalled roads about 515 miles with fair weather roads of the aggregate length of 872 miles. The Settlement Officer notes that between the years 1908-10, when he was posted in the district and had to tour extensively till the time when he went as Settlement Officer in 1924-25, he found that though there were improvements here and there the condition of the roads generally had deteriorated. The district is fairly well served by the railways. On the west bank of the Bhagirathi from west to east there is a short line connecting Azimganj with Nalhati on the East Indian Railway. The main lines running north and south are the Eastern Bengal Railway on the eastern bank and the East Indian Railway on the western bank of the Bhagirathi. The Settlement Officer suggests that Azimganj to Nalhati railway line might probably be given up and the places linked up by good metalled roads. He suggests that there should be at least two other branch connections with the districts of Birbhum and Santhal Parganas—one to tap the resources of Kandi subdivision and help that area to develop and the other apparently in the northern part.

7. In Chapter II of the report the historical connections of the district with the past have been attempted to be brought up to date. There had been a recent excavation by the Archaeological Department in village Rangamati in the district. Nothing definite has been found, but relics abound in villages which are believed to have archaeological value which might be worth studying. The Settlement Officer suggests that it is time that people bestir themselves and start something of the nature of a Research Society to collect together, tabulate and analyse the relics to be found and see how far links of history with the past may be discovered. As there is a first grade college such an effort ought not to be difficult.

The district of Murshidabad is naturally connected with the history of Bengal more intimately than most others which had had its past in the old Hindu period. It was an important place during the Muhammadan régime. The British Administration started here and there were various settlements of different European people in the pre-British Administration days. The Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 was first started here with the 19th Regiment of Native Infantry. The Settlement Officer has written a short summary of the historical connections of each period.

8. *Population.*—The population of the district has gone up from 12,14,104 to 13,70,677 during the period between 1872-1931. The population has increased in the course of 60 years or, about three-fifths of a century by only about 13 per cent. The difference in the strength of religious groups is wider in 1931 than in 1901. In 1901 there was a difference of about 34,000 in the population between the Hindus and Muhammadans. In 1931, the difference was of 72,000. The Muhammadans are more numerous than the Hindus. If one goes still earlier one finds that in 1881 the population stood thus:—

Hindus	6,34,796
Muhammadans	5,89,957

In other words the Hindus had an excess of 44,839 in 1881 but they are fewer by 72,000 in 1931.

Of the castes and sub-castes amongst the Hindus the Mahisya and Sadgopes preponderate. Short notes have been written about the origin of the main sub-castes in the district. One of the particular features of the population of the district is the existence of Jains and Oswals who seem to have continued their trade in Bengal from the time long prior to the advent of the British Administration. The Santhals here are not so numerous as in Birbhum. The total number, according to the census of 1931, is 22,725. The Santhals are not a problem in the district of Murshidabad and live in scattered areas and often come for temporary period and work as mere labourers. The report refers to the work that is being done by the Christian Missionaries and especially the activities of Dr. Miss Hawker whose single-minded devotion to the cause of suffering of womanhood, the Settlement Officer reports, has been a source of inspiration to many.

Of the Muhammadan Group there are the Shias, of whom the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad is the head. He is looked up to with sincere good will in the district. Of the Sunis there are Ashrafs and Altrafs. There are certain groups of old original Muhammadan families who are definitely settlers and who live largely in the area known as Pergannas Sherifabad or the land of Sherifs or the elect. The Hindus and the Muhammadans had been living lives of peace and good fellowship. But tendencies to stir up differences are manifesting themselves. They originate with candidates for political elections or services through communal claims in the largest majority of cases.

The people as a whole are reported to be of quiet, hospitable and law-abiding nature, and judged by their very limited use of intoxicating drugs by the nature and number of criminal cases and civil litigation, the Settlement Officer concludes that they can hold their heads high.

9. *The agricultural position of the agriculturists.*—Chapter IV analyses the agricultural condition of the district. It appears that the percentage of cultivated and culturable lands in the district as a whole has reached the high figure of 87 per cent.

It is at its maximum in Kandi where the figure is as high as 90 per cent. This is followed by the Sadar subdivision where the percentage is 80 per cent., Jangipur 88 per cent. and Lalbagh 84 per cent. Sixty-seven per cent. of the land yields but one crop and about 30 per cent. is twice cropped. The maximum percentage of twice cropped area is in Sadar subdivision where it comes up to 48 per cent. Lalbagh has 38.92 per cent. and Jangipur 24.9 per cent. The lowest proportion is in Kandi where it is only 12.5 per cent. One may observe here that Kandi subdivision yields the highest amount of aman and the lowest amount of aus and the Sadar subdivision the highest amount of aus and the lowest amount of aman. The Settlement Officer has observed that this very interesting analysis shows that the oft-repeated phrase that the quality of land varies directly with the number of crops is not always true. In this particular district the quality is in inverse ratio to the percentage of twice-cropped area. Kandi has by far the best land and Sadar subdivision the poorest.

The chief crop is paddy but sugarcane, gram, mustard and wheat are also grown. Wheat is largely coming into its own, especially along the banks of the rivers. It is noted that pasture is rapidly declining and land is being brought under the plough which formerly had been left fallow for the cattle to graze on. The large tract along Hijol which had at one time supplied rich pasturage, is being ploughed up. Brahmini bulls are getting rare. The system by which the most virile of the local and kindred breed of the Brahmini bull used to be dedicated for public use is rapidly decaying. The reasons are manifold. The courts have declared the Brahmini bulls to be liable to be appropriated for private use and dedicators are shy. Secondly, the economic conditions stand in the way of such dedication; and thirdly, because of the indifference to such rituals. The result is that there are no good bulls in the interior and the breed that exists is more of the poorer type. The number has decreased as well. There is now a pair of bullocks for $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land, while there is only one cow for every $4\frac{1}{2}$ heads of population. The result naturally is that cultivation is poor and the consumption of milk for the largest number is exceedingly small.

10. The report in Chapter V deals exhaustively with the irrigation and drainage system of the district. As far as irrigation is concerned, it is extensively carried out in the West Bhagirathi or the Rarh area, while it is almost unknown in the East Bhagirathi or the Bogri area. Tank irrigation was more common and numerous. Tanks are to be found in decaying conditions in villages. It has been suggested that improvement in the condition of tanks can be brought about by some change in law. Recently legislation has been undertaken to improve matters. Settlement Officer suggests another method by which he considers that considerable private initiative can be started. He considers that if co-sharing in tanks be done away with and the right of the property be vested in one individual, the present hamper against re-excavation will, to a large extent, be eliminated and the people would be interested in re-excavating tanks. The details he has furnished in the report and the suggestion given in paragraph 75 of the report are worth consideration. Wells are rare. Well irrigation is not known. In Behar and

United Provinces the importance of wells for irrigation of rabi crop is fully realised. The report suggests that some attempt to familiarising well irrigation, especially in the Rarh tract, may be undertaken. The main problem, however, will be the large schemes of irrigation by canalization. The subject has been dealt with in paragraphs 77 to 79 of the report.

11. The report suggests that strenuous efforts should be made to improve the drainage of the district and arrest the decay of the rivers and resurrect them if possible. Interesting figures have been collected to show how steadily the rivers have declined.

In reviewing the drainage system in the past the Settlement Officer quotes data to prove that the district in the past was well drained. The river system was active and from recorded notes the gradual decadence of the Bhagirathi has been traced. The tenants of the older generation complained that the lack of flood and gradual decadence directly affected the fertility of the soil. Elsewhere has been shown the steady deterioration in the health of the people. The various opinions as to the reasons for the decadence are quoted. It is not a layman's task to discover which of the various reasons is right and the experts will never agree. It is probable that men and nature vied with each other to bring about the death which, but for the interference of man, probably would have been more gradual.

The more vital problem, however, is how a change can be brought about in the drainage system and in the decadence of the rivers. The report states that probably nature might work where man hesitates and western oscillation of the southern branch of the Padma might develop along the old route of the Bhagirathi or its neighbourhood. There is, however, no definite sign yet to support that optimism. Some alternatives to bring about a change have been discussed.

12. In Part II of the report the fiscal history of Murshidabad has been summarised. The assessments made in the different periods have been noted. The Permanent Settlement has been reviewed with special reference to the facts in this district and alternatives have been examined. It has been suggested that whatever may happen to the revenue paying estates it is worth enquiring

whether the estates held revenue free can be subject to any assessment of revenue.

13. In Part III of the report the economic life of the people has been analysed and conclusions derived are that the economic life is very much lopsided as there is hardly any industry in this district, while there is little of commerce. The energies of the people are almost entirely directed to the cultivation of the land in small holdings in the most primitive style. In paragraphs 129 and 132 suggestions have been made as to how improvements can be brought about.

14. Part IV of the report deals with the present operation. The main difficulties in the area had been the mokarari and the rent-free claims which were numerous. Utbandi, though not common, was not rare in the tracts adjoining the district of Nadia. But mostly they were of the nominal type. Chowkidari chakran lands exist mostly in the West Bhagirathi or Rarh tracts. The char tenants seem to have been suffering under peculiar difficulties and this has been discussed in paragraph 167. Suggestions have been made for amending section 180 (3) vesting the Collector with the power to initiate proceedings in these char type of lands. As in the district of Birbhum so in the areas adjoining that district the system of begar has grown up and in paragraph 167 the methods adopted in converting the begar have been noted.

Partial kharij is another issue which gave the Settlement trouble. A form of entry had to be devised to secure for the tenant the benefit which his salami was expected to secure, while the landlords' right was safeguarded too. There were numerous revenue-free estates and aimas numbered more than a thousand. Generally there were grants during the Moslem period to the learned people. Learning now is at discount, but the grant continues. Similarly there are other debottar grants the income of which is dedicated to a deity. An interesting way in which the deity is maintained is given in paragraph 159. There were a number of other peculiar tenancies referred to in paragraph 163. Abwabs are not numerous but are still to be found to exist. A list of common abwabs is given in paragraph 165 and is not large. The number of large raiyati jotes is not many and generally comprised areas which had been held for the khas cultivation of indigo and were

declared raiyati by the Calcutta High Court. Such holdings were held by the Midnapore Zamindary Co. and Messrs. Anderson and Wright and are discussed in paragraph 166. The raiyati rent rate varies from Re. 1 to Rs. 5 per acre but are generally found to be Rs. 2 to Rs. 2-8 per acre. Bastus pay higher, but on the whole the rent rate is not high.

15. *Recovery and cost.*—The recovery and the realisation of cost raised no difficulties. The people in numbers came to pay up the cost and take the khatians and maps. In a year when distress was declared and it was decided to go slow with recovery, the tenants were anxious and eager to pay up and take their copies of maps and records. The collection was 75 to 80 per cent. on the spot. The number of certificate cases filed later was extremely small. One legal question was raised in which Babu Kamala Ranjan Roy sued the Secretary of State for recovery of the amount that was realised from him as landlord, though it was assessed on the patnidar. He bought the patni subsequent to the preparation of record of rights. The District Judge granted the plaintiff's prayer. An appeal was filed and it was decided (C. L. J. 44, page 126) that the assessment was right and the views of the Judge were revised.

16. The number of cases filed under sections 105 and 106 was fairly large and the more interesting issues were raised under section 105A and section 106. In paragraphs 179 to 181 a summary has been given on the points raised and the decisions given. The resumption and jamabandi work was not heavy. In diara the net result was that the number of estates found was 169 which covered an area of 7,564 acres and yielded a revenue of Rs. 20,285. A number of very interesting questions was raised in connection with the resumption and a summary of these problems with the result is noted in paragraph 186. The number of estates that came under jamabandi was 72 and the amount of increase of revenue was Rs. 23,715.

17. The total gross cost of the joint operation of Birbhum and Murshidabad came to Rs. 42,11,315. The amount of receipts came to Rs. 2,82,848. The amount of recovery from parties of both districts came to Rs. 37,39,881. The entire amount was realised and there was a surplus realisation of about Rs. 80,000. This compares favourably with the excess realised in Jessore which

came to Rs. 4,88,872; in Dacca which came to Rs. 5,02,798, Mymensingh Rs. 3,44,418 and Midnapore Rs. 2,27,902. In recent times the question of surplus has been criticised. Great scrutiny is now made. In spite of it the nature of the work, the difficulties of absolutely correct forecast make some surplus inevitable. If the people and the Government so consider, a solution may be found in handing over the surplus to the Collector or the District Board for utilising it for any institution of help and benefit to the district as a whole.

18. All the records and registers required to be handed over to the Collector and Judge were handed over to them. Accommodation had been found for them.

19. *The cost rate.*—An analysis of the cost shows that the gross cost for the joint operation is Rs. 37,68,073 as against Rs. 36,80,973 sanctioned in the Inception proposals. The actual amount of work done was considerably more than the Inception proposals had expected. The cost rate comes to Rs. 1,131 per square mile as against

that of Rs. 1,122 in the Inception proposals and the rate of Rs. 1,291 adjusted according to the principles laid down by Sir John Kerr. The conclusion is that the operation was conducted with economy and care. The basis and the data are discussed in paragraph 190.

20. The report concludes with a recital of the merits of officers who had worked in the operation. The programme was large and in particular areas could be completed only after a good deal of strain on the staff. The Settlement Officer concludes that it was possible to complete such a programme each year because of the hearty co-operation of the officers concerned. Their good work is commended to the notice of the Government.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

BIJAY BIHARI MUKHARJI,

*Director of Land Records and
Surveys, Bengal.*

INDEX.

	Para.	Page.
Abatement—		
Of suit and when it will be set aside	180	178
<i>Abwabs</i>	102, 165, 179, 182	114, 162, 163, 176 184.
Aditya Sen, inscription of—	10	10
Administrator <i>pendente lite</i>	180	180
Adoption, validity of—of Nirmal Naolakhya	182	182
Agricultural—		
—Stock	68	68
New tendencies in—people	70	69
—Indebtedness	125	137
Agriculture—		
Precarious condition of—at present	126	139
Percentage of people living on—is far lower in France	122	136
<i>Aimas</i>	149, 161	152, 160
—of the Khondkars of Fatesing	49	50
<i>Ain-i-Akbari</i>	16, 95, 96	17, 104, 105, 106
Aliverdi Khan	21, 23, 24, 28	26, 27, 29, 33
Aman—		
Area under—paddy : its percentage	59, 123	62, 136
Cultivation and varieties of—paddy	62	65, 66, 67
—paddy depends upon water for its very existence	71	70
Outturn of—paddy	119	132
Amins, Sardar—	137, 139, 140, 145	144, 145, 147, 148, 149
Animists	47	48
Apportionment orders regarding recovery of settlement cost	178	169
Arbitration by Surendra Ghatak	183	184
Archæological Department—		
Result of excavations of the—	13, 14	13, 14, 15
Aus—		
Area under—paddy : its percentage	59, 123	62, 136
Cultivation and varieties of—paddy	62	64, 65
Outturn of—paddy	119	132
<i>Ausil Toomary jumma</i>	95, 96, 98	105, 106, 107, 108
<i>Avaranga Sutta</i> by Mahavira	10	9
B		
<i>Badar</i> (or, mistakes)	171	165
Baduhat, a plan of old historical associations	11	11
Bagdis, their history and social position	47	44, 47
Ballal Sen	2, 10	1, 11
<i>Banga</i>	2, 10	1, 10, 11
<i>Barkona deul</i>	14	15
<i>Bastu</i> , rates for	151	153
<i>Batta</i>	179	178
<i>Bauris</i>	47	46
<i>Begar</i>	169	164, 165
Bell-metal	129	140
Beveridge, his opinions regarding <i>Karna Subarna</i>	11, 12, 13	12, 13, 14
<i>Bhagdars</i>	157	157
Bhagirathi, the—		
Communication through—	6	5
—As it stood in the earlier papers	84	75
Later history of—	85	76-83
<i>Diara</i> resumption in—	187	194, 195
Some peculiar points in connection with the—	188	196, 197, 198

	Para.	Page.
Bhairab, the—		
<i>Diara</i> resumption in—	187	195
—Some peculiar points in connection with the—	188	195-198
Bils—		
Occur in the riverine tract of the Bhagirathi .. .	2	2
As receptacles for fish	115	129
Blanket—		
—making as a cottage industry	129	140
Bogri, the—		
Physical description of—, and its divisions	2	1, 2
History of—	18	20
Slight increase of population in—	45	43
Roads in—	6	6
Drainage is the problem of—	71	70
Effect on agriculture of decrease of floods in—	90	96, 97
Incidence of rent in—	119	131, 132
Affinity of problems in—to those of Nadia	144	147
Trees in—	3	2
Boundaries—		
Adjustment of—between Murshidabad and Birbhum	93	101
Boundary disputes	142	145, 146
Brahmins, their history and sections	47	45
<i>Brahmottar</i> , as a class of rent-free tenures	150	152
<i>Bujharat</i>	138, 139, 145	144, 147-149
Bukhtiyar Khiliji	10, 18	11, 20

C

Casework, nature of work in	179	173
Cess, illegal, whether addition of—rebutts Mokarari	179	176
<i>Chains</i>	47	47, 48
Chandra Gupta Maurya—	10, 18	9, 20
—Son-in-law of the <i>Lichayabiraj</i> dynasty	10	10
<i>Char</i> tenants	167	163, 164
Charusila Dasi	179, 180, 181, 183	177, 179, 181, 185
<i>Chinch</i>	72	70
<i>Chinra</i>	59, 61	62, 64
Cholera, a great scourge of the district	5	3
<i>Chowkidari Chakran</i>	155	154-156
<i>Circars</i> of which the district is composed	93	100
Claim, necessity of stamped petition for abandoning part of a—in an application under section 105, Bengal Tenancy Act	180	179
Cloth weaving, as a cottage industry	129	140
Compromise on matters not in issue	180	181
Contract, how the original area was proved by—	179	177
Co-sharer landlord, not made a party in a suit under section 105 and its effect	179	178
Purchase by—before the amendment of 1928 of the Bengal Tenancy Act	162	161
Cossim Bazar factory—		
Warren Hastings' description of the—	25	29
Creameries, as a cottage industry	129	141

D

<i>Dadan</i> , a method of securing loan	125	137
<i>Dakhalkar</i> , suit under section 106 against—	183	188
<i>Dastabaz</i> (or <i>Hât Chitta</i>)	124	137
<i>Dastur Rewaz</i>	188	196
<i>Debottar</i>	150, 159, 160	152, 159, 160
Deva Kharga	10	11
Deva Pal	10	11
<i>Dewani</i> , revenue administration since the—grant of 1765	93	101
Dharma Pal Deb	10	11
Diara—		
Areas subjected to—resumption	187	194, 195
Peculiar points in—resumption	188	195-198
Points of procedure regarding—resumption	189	198, 199

	Para.	Page.
Difficulties under the new amended Bengal Tenancy Act ..	184	188, 189
Dispensaries in the district	5	5
Dispute(s)	147	149
—In Kabilpore	183	182
Kamalpore—of Hossenuddin Mea against Midnapore Zemindary Co. ..	183	183
<i>Dofasli</i> or twice cropped area	57	59
Drainage, the problem of the <i>Bogri</i>	71, 80	70, 73, 74
Report of the—Committee on Malaria	5	4
Review of the condition of—in the east	82	74, 75
Conclusions of the—Committee	113	127
Drawing Section	172	166
<i>Duno, Dera, Showa</i>	125	137, 138

E

Effect—		
—of entries in a previous record-of-rights	183	186
—of previous resumption proceedings	183	187
Embankments	89	96
—Pulbandi	84	74
Enhancements, illegal—	152	153, 154
Estates—		
Partitioned—	164	161, 162
Missing—	175	168
Evidence Act problems	181	181
Excluded areas, List of—	1	App. XIII

F

Fatesing, History of—	16, 17	15-18
Revenue administration of—in pre-British days	95	107
Fauna	4	2
Fever, a great scourge of the district	5	3
Final Publication—Janch	177, 171	168, 165, 166
Financial analysis	191	199-202
Fiscal administration of the Muhammadan rulers	21	24-27
Fishing in the <i>bils</i> , a subsidiary industry	115	129
Floods, past and result of decrease at present	82, 83	74, 75
Flora	3	2

G

<i>Gangrih</i>	10, 18	9, 20
<i>Goalas</i>	47	45
Gopal Deb	10, 18	11, 20
Gour—		
Badshahi road through—	6	6
—Does not find mention in any of the inscriptions of Asoka ..	10	10
One King Sasanka held sway over—	10	10
Gopal Deb, King of—	10	11
Rangamati, anciently named Kansonapuri is said to have been built by Karna Sen, who resided chiefly at—	11	12
Khondkars of Fatesing granted aimas by Kings of—	49	50
Mentioned by Babu Ram Comul Sen in the preface to his Bengali Dictionary dated A. D. 1824	87	94
Gur, manufacture of—and sugar, as cottage industries	129	141

H

<i>Harsha Charita</i>	10	10
Harsha Vardhan	10	10
<i>Hats</i> and Markets	7	8 & Appx.
Health,	5, 112, 113	3, 126-128.
Hienên Tsang (or Yuan Chwang)	10, 11, 12, 13, 18	10, 12, 13, 14, 20
<i>Hijol</i>	2	1

Hindu Law Problems	182	182
Historical associations, places with old—	11	11, 12
Hunter (Sir W.—)	5, 16, 91, 159	3, 17, 99, 100

Ijaradar—

Whether the paper of an—comes from proper custody, if filed by proprietor	181	181
Inception of proceedings	133	141
Indebtedness, Agricultural	125	137
Industry, Industries	115, 129	128, 129, 140, 141
Irrigation—		
Needs of—	71	70
Its rights and methods	72	70
Suggestions for improvement of—	73-79	71-73
Ishan Varma	10	10
Ivory carving as a cottage industry	129	140
Izad Lakheraj	149	151
—lands of Mauza Rohigram	149	152

J

Jack-fruits, grow in plenty in <i>Rarkh</i>	3	2
Jagat Sett	20, 21	24, 26
Jains and <i>Oswals</i>	47	45
Jama	148	150
<i>Jamabandi</i> , a peculiar case coming under—	186	190
Jams and Jellies	129	140
Janch, Final	145, 171	148, 165-166
Jata Kharga	10	11
Jellanghi (The), Diara resumption in—	187	194
<i>Jinswar</i> Statistics	174	167, App. V.
<i>Jono-ttari Jotes</i>	163	161
<i>Jotes</i> , large <i>raiya</i>	166	163
Jurisdiction	173	167

K

<i>Kabulabesi</i> , whether—rebutts <i>mokarari</i>	179	176
<i>Kabuliyats</i> —		
Terms in—of char tenants in abrogation of tenants' rights	167	163
—In proof of original area	179	177
Kala Azar	5	4
Kalantar	2, 82, 157	1, 2, 75, 158
Kamalaranjon Roy—		
Case of Babu—in connection with recovery of settlement cost	178	171
<i>Kandars</i> —		
Utilisation of natural channels known as—	77	72
suggestions regarding—	79	73
<i>Kansonagar</i> , <i>Kansonapuri</i>	11, 12	12, 13
<i>Kanungoes</i>	139, 140, 141, 145	144, 145, 147, 148
Kapila	87	95
Karna Sen	11	12
Karna Subarra	10, 11, 12, 13, 18	10, 12, 13, 14, 20
<i>Kayastha</i>	47	45
<i>Khai</i>	59, 61	62, 64
Khargodyan	10	11
Kharij, Partial	168	164
Whether—rebutts <i>Mokarari</i>	179	175
Khas lands—		
Whether addition of—rebutts <i>mokarari</i>	179	175
<i>Khiraj</i> (<i>Kharideri jotes</i>)	163	161
Khondkars of Fatesing	49	50
<i>Khudkhast raiya</i>	102	114, 115

	Para.	Page.
<i>Kirtiswari</i> , temple of	8, 47, 55	9, 43, 58
<i>Debotar</i> land of—Thakurani	109	121
Kishengarh, Revenue-free estate of Sir Madan Singh of—	149	151
<i>Kirtan</i> (<i>Sankirtan</i>) is common	55	58
Kistwar	136, 137	144
<i>Konai</i> , as a sub-caste	47	46
Kumar Gupta	10	10
Kushan Kingdom	10	10
<i>Kut Khamar</i>	95	105

L

Lac as a cottage industry	129	140
Ladh (<i>Rarkh</i>)	10	9
Lakhiraj	149	151
Izad—	149	151
Lakshman Sen	10	9
Land Revenue Policy in pre-British days	98	104-106
Layard, Capt.—		
His views regarding Rangamati, written in the Asiatic Society's Journal No. 3 of 1853	11	12
Long—		
His views on Rangamati written in his Essay on "The Banks of the Bhagirathi."	11	12

M

Magadha	10	9, 10, 11
<i>Mahatran</i> , a grant to Sudras for Secular Services	150	152
Mahavira, the last Tirthankar of the Jaina Sect	10	9
Mahi Pal Deb	10, 11	11
Mahisyas	47	47
Makhshudabad	19	22
Malaria—	5, 113	3, 127
Report of the—Commission of the League of Nations	114	128
Máls	47	46
Mangoes of the <i>Bagri</i> area	3	2
Mansinha	16	17, 18
Marikhari dynasty	10	10
Mayurakshi (The), Diara resumptions in—	187	195
McCrindle	10	9
Megasthenes	10, 18, 87	9, 20, 95
Melas—The principle—	8	8, 9
<i>Melan</i>	72	70
Midnapore Zemindary Co., Kamalapore dispute against—	183	183
<i>Milan Khasra</i> Statistics	174	167
Mohakup-Hajat, Does—rebut <i>Mokarari</i>	179	174
<i>Mokarari</i> —		
Claims commoner in <i>Rarkh</i> than in <i>Bagri</i>	144	146
Claims to—status	156	156
Contractual—	156	157
Whether slight variation rebuts—	179	176
Whether addition of illegal cess rebuts—	179	176
Pulin Sen's claim for <i>raiayat</i> —status	183	182
Muchis	47	46
Mulberry	2, 111, 126, 130, 151	2, 123-126, 139, 142, 153.
Mūri, Mūrki	59, 61	62, 64
Murshidabad, Nawab Bahadur of—	19, 49	23, 49
—a mint town	19	22
Murshid Kuli Khan	1-7, 19, 20, 21, 91, 93	18, 22, 24, 25, 26, 99, 100.

	N	Para.	Page.
<i>Nabasakhas</i>	47	47
Nalanda	10	11
Nashipur Raj, Law of primogeniture if applicable to—	..	182	182
<i>Niskar</i> cases of Charusila Dasi and—	..	183	185
Nidhanpur	10	10
Nirmal Naolakhya—			
Validity of adoption of—	..	182	182
<i>Niskar</i> —			
Cases of Charusila Dasi and Nashipur Raj	..	183	185
Onus of proof in—cases	..	180	179
O			
Objections, 103A	170	165
Occupancy right, Transfers of	148	149, 150
Occupation—			
Distribution of population by—	..	116	129
—in the district compared with that in foreign countries	..	117	130
Officers, merits of	192	202, 204
Onus of proof in <i>niskar</i> cases	180	179
<i>Oresphonta</i> , <i>Hararpana</i> —	..	11	12
Rangamati was formerly called—, or ground dedicated to <i>Hara</i> or <i>Siva</i> .	..		
Oswals	47	45
P			
Paddy—	..	59	62
Varieties of—	60	62-64
Diseases of—	64	67
Cultivation of—	62	64
The uses to which—is put	61	64
Outturn of	65	67
Pal dynasty	10	11
Panchthupi	12, 13, 14	13-15
<i>Patala</i>	6, 66	8, 68
<i>Patnidar</i> —			
Suit by—while record showed proprietor as landlord	..	179	178
Peculiar cases tried	183	182-188
Permanent Settlement (the)—			
Decennial and—	100	111
Effect of—and subsequent regulations	..	102	114
—as a fiscal measure	104	116
—reviewed	105	118
Alternatives to—	106	119
Petition—			
Necessity of stamped—for abandoning claim under section 105, Bengal Tenancy Act	..	180	179
Phthisis	5	4
<i>Pirottar</i>	150, 160	152, 160
Pisciculture as a cottage industry	129	141
Plassey, battle of	27	31, 32
Population, the—	..	45	42, 43
Distribution of—by occupation	116	129, 130
Occupation of the—compared with different countries of the West	..	117	130
<i>Prasy</i>	10	9
Pratapaditya	16	17
Primogeniture—			
Law of—, if applicable to Nashipur Raj	..	182	182
Printing	176	168
Procedure, points of—			
Regarding <i>Diara</i> resumption	..	189	198
Civil Procedure Code	180	178

	Para	Page.
Prodyot Kumar Tagore (Sir)—		
Cases against—(Group 16,006)	183	183
<i>Pulbandi</i> Embankments	81	74
Pulinbehari Sen—		
His claim for raiyat <i>mokarari</i> status	183	182
<i>Pundarika Kula Panjika</i> (History of Fatesing Zemindars)	12	12, 13
Punyah—		
The great—of 1767 at Motijhil	11, 41	12, 40
<i>Purana</i>	10	10
R		
Railway	6	7, 8
Rainfall	5	3
Raiyats—		
Number of interests held by—	118	131
Incidence of rent of—	119	131
Rates of cash rent of— for different classes of lands	151	153
Large raiyati jotes	166	163
Rajbanshis	47	46
Rangamati	11, 12, 13	11, 12, 13, 14, 15
Rarh—		
Topography and history of—	2, 9	1, 9-11
Flora in—	3	2
Roads in—	6	6
Recovery in population of—	45	42
Kirtan is commoner in— than in Bagri	55	58
Irrigation is the problem of—	71	70
Land system problems in—	144	146, 147
Records, handing over of —	190	199
Records-of-rights—		
Effect of entries in a previous—	183	186
Recovery of settlement cost—		
Interruption in—	178	169, 170
Points for consideration in connection with—	178	170
Case of Babu Kamalaranjan Roy in connection with—	178	171
—in respect of resurveyed areas	178	172
Apportionment orders regarding—	178	169
Relics common	15	15
Rent—		
Peculiar cases of—	153	154
Whether additional—for excess area rebuts <i>mokarari</i>	179	176
Rent-free claims	160, 179	160, 174
—Commoner in <i>Rarh</i> than in Bagri	144	146
Rent-free tenures	150	152
Rent settlements—		
Withdrawal of prayer for—and its effect	179	178
Resumption proceedings—		
Effect of—on <i>mokarari</i> presumption	179	176
Effect of previous—	183	187
Revenue administration—		
Of the country since the Dewani of 1765	93, 99	101, 109
Revenue-free properties or estates	149, 174	150-152, 167
Case for subjecting all—to Government revenue	110	122
Revenue jurisdiction, changes in—	92, 93	99, 100
Revenue-roll, changes in—after 1870	107	120
Revenue Statistics—		
Insufficient—of the district	101	112-114
Revenue survey—		
Thanas at the time of—	92	99
Area of the district at—	92	99
River system	6	5, 6
Roads	6, 143	6, 146

	Para.	Page.
<i>Sabdakalpadruma</i> —		
Mention of Rangamati as Kansanagar in Radha Kanta Deb's—	.. 11	12
Sabita Roy .. .. .	.. 12, 16	12, 13, 17, 18
Genealogical table of—'s descendants .. .. .	.. 17	18, 19
<i>Sadgopes</i> .. .. .	.. 47	47
Sagardighi, a place with old historical association, .. .. .	.. 11	11
<i>Sakta</i> .. .. .	.. 47	43
<i>Salami</i> .. .. .	.. 148	149, 150
Samudra Gupta .. .. .	.. 10	10
Sankirtan .. .. .	.. 55	58
Sasanka .. .. .	.. 10, 18	10, 20
Section 22/2—		
Application of—of the Bengal Tenancy Act .. .. .	.. 162	161
Section 52—		
Application of—, Bengal Tenancy Act, with the help of original contracts ..	179	177
Section 105—		
Maintainability of case under if part of a tenancy is finally published ..	179	178
Necessity of stamped petition for abandoning part of a claim under—,		
Bengal Tenancy Act .. .. .	.. 180	179
Serajuddowla .. .. .	.. 24	29
Service tenancies, private .. .. .	.. 154	154
Settlement—		
Withdrawal of prayer for rent—in a section 105 case and its effect of rent	.. 179	178
in tenancies with partly .. .. .	.. 183	188
Finally published records .. .. .	.. 96-98	106-109
First, Second, and Third Mughal— .. .. .	.. 100	111, 112
Decennial and Permanent— .. .. .	.. 102	114, 115
Effect of Permanent—and subsequent regulations .. .. .	.. 104	116-118
The Permanent—as a fiscal measure .. .. .	.. 105	118, 119
The Permanent—reviewed .. .. .	.. 106	119, 120
Alternatives to Permanent— .. .. .	.. 148	150
<i>Sherista, Sherista Kharach</i> .. .. .	.. 19	22
Shorpur Atai .. .. .	.. 49	49
<i>Shia</i> group .. .. .	.. 129	140
Silk .. .. .	.. 19	22, 23
Sobhasing .. .. .	.. 179	177
Srifala group .. .. .	.. 174	167
Statistics .. .. .	.. 66, 130	68, 141
Sugarcane .. .. .	.. 93	161
Sujauddowla, financial rearrangements of— .. .. .	.. 10	10
Sunga dynasty .. .. .	.. 49	49
Sunni Ashraf .. .. .	.. 49	53
Sunni Altrap .. .. .	.. 183	184
Surapat Sinha Cases .. .. .	.. 183	184
Surendra Ghatak, arbitration by—		
T		
<i>Tahari</i> .. .. .	.. 148	150
<i>Tahsildar</i> .. .. .	.. 148	150
<i>Taluka, mojhuri</i> .. .. .	.. 163	161
Tanks as a source of irrigation .. .. .	.. 74	71
Taranath (Tibetan Lama) .. .. .	.. 10	10
Temperature .. .. .	.. 5	2, 3
Tenancies, Land of Small— .. .. .	.. 120	132
Size of—in foreign countries .. .. .	.. 121	134
Tenure-holders .. .. .	.. 150	152
<i>Thak</i> .. .. .	.. 146	149
Todar Mull, rent roll of Raja— .. .. .	.. 93	100
Traverse .. .. .	.. 136	144
Trivedi, Prof. Ramendra Sunder .. .. .	.. 12	12
<i>Tut</i> .. .. .	.. 151	153

					Para.	Page.
<i>Udbastu</i> , rate for—lands	..	..	..	..	151	153
<i>Uthandi</i>	..	..	..	..	144, 147, 158	147, 149, 158

V

<i>Vaidya</i>	..	..	..	..	47	45
<i>Vaidyottar</i>	..	..	..	..	150, 160	152, 160
<i>Vaisnaba</i>	..	..	..	..	47	43
<i>Vaisnabottar</i>	..	..	..	..	160	160
<i>Vajjabhumi</i>	..	..	..	..	10	9
Valentyn's map of 1726 A.D.	..	..	..	..	12	13
Varendra	..	..	..	..	2	1
Vashkaravarma	..	..	..	..	10	10
Vihara	..	..	..	..	10	11
Vincent Smith	..	..	..	..	10	11
Visva Bharati	..	..	..	..	178	170

W

Wells, as a source of irrigation, popularisation of the use of—	..	..	..	..	78	72
Wilford (Capt. F.)	..	..	..	..	11	12
Withdrawal of cases under section 105	..	..	..	..	182	186

GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.**Revenue Department.****Land Revenue.**

DARJEELING, THE 27TH OCTOBER
1938.

RESOLUTION—No. 972T.R.

Read—

The final report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the district of Murshidabad.

Letter No. 3771 S. & S., dated 3rd March 1938, and enclosures, from the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Bengal, containing the comments of the Director of Land Records and Surveys, Bengal, and the Board of Revenue on the report.

Letter No. 1717 R.L., dated 17th June 1938, and enclosure, from the Commissioner of the Presidency Division containing the comments of the Collector of Murshidabad and of the Commissioner of the Presidency Division on the report.

The inception of the survey and settlement operations in the district of Murshidabad was sanctioned in 1920, but, after traverse survey had been completed in the first block of the district, the operations had to be postponed on account of financial stringency. Subsequently, the operations were started in 1924 along with the operation in the district of Birbhum in a single operation.

2. The district is divided, almost equally by the river Bhagirathi into two well marked regions, commonly known as the Rarh and the Bagri. The area of the district is 2,043 square miles of which 1,684 square miles is cultivable. The area actually cultivated was found to be 1,470 square miles or nearly 87 per cent. of the total cultivable area. This shows that the extent of cultivation in the district has reached its limits.

Paddy is the main crop of the district and is grown on 76 per cent. of the total cropped area. Taking the district as a whole the percentage of area which grows more than one crop is 32.83 of the net cropped area and the balance of 67.17 per cent. yields but one crop.

3. The population of the district was 1,370,677 in 1931 against 1,214,104 in 1872, indicating an increase of only 13 per cent. during the last 60 years. This slow progress in the growth of the population is ascribed to the ravages of malaria and other epidemic diseases to which the district had been subject from time to time. The health of the district is still far from satisfactory in spite of considerable public and private efforts to effect an improvement.

4. The main occupation in the district is agriculture. The total number of agricultural interests comes to 985,596 and the area covered by them is 1,215,314 acres, or in other words the average area per interest is 1.23 acres only. The interests of raiyats of all classes represent nearly 73 per cent. of the total interests of the district and about 58 per cent. of raiyats are found to have rights of occupancy in their holdings. The economic position of the district is not very satisfactory. Agriculture—the main source of income—is reported to suffer considerably owing to defects in the sources of irrigation and drainage. The Settlement Officer has made certain suggestions for the improvement of the irrigation and drainage system in the district and these will receive the careful consideration of Government.

5. In 1928-29 the total revenue demand of the district was Rs. 10,40,502 for 2,378 estates borne on the register of revenue-paying estates in the district. As a result of diara proceedings 169 new diara estates were formed covering an area of 7,564 acres with a total demand of Rs. 20,285. The total area of estates lying in the district which are borne on the register of revenue-paying estates of other districts was found to be 129,043 acres. A total area of 31,810 acres of land was recorded in the district as held free of revenue. This area was composed of grants made by the ancient Indian rulers for certain specific purposes.

The rent of the raiyats varies in different parts of the district, and, in the opinion of the Settlement Officer, the varying rent rates represent the quality of the land in the various parts of the district. The average incidence of settled and occupancy raiyats is Rs. 3-7 while that of the raiyats at fixed rates is Rs. 2-15-1 an acre.

6. Like the district of Nadia this district contains a considerable area held under the *utbandi* system. The total area of nominal *utbandi* found in course of the operation was 45-82 square miles and that of real *utbandi* 22-57 square miles. Another system known as *begar* was found to have grown up in the district, in which homestead lands were held by poorer people without any payment of rent. It is satisfactory to note that during the operations under review it was possible through strenuous efforts on the part of the Settlement Officer to commute 90 per cent. of these *begars* to definite money rents.

7. The gross cost of the joint operation in Murshidabad and Birbhum came to Rs. 37,68,073 as against Rs. 36,80,973, sanctioned in the inception proposals. The excess was mainly due to a larger area being taken up than was contemplated in the original estimate.

8. The Governor desires to place on record his appreciation of the work done by all officers in carrying out the operations to a successful conclusion. His

thanks are specially due to Rai Bijay Behari Mukherji Bahadur for the able manner in which he conducted the operation and for his very interesting report.

By order of the Governor,

N. V. H. SYMONS,

Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal.

Nos. 22458-60 L.R.

Copy forwarded to the (1) Director of Land Records and Surveys, Bengal/(2) Commissioner, Presidency Division/(3) Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Bengal, (1) and (2) for information/(3) for the information of the Board with reference to his letter (1) No. 3145, dated 26th January 1938/(2) No. 1717 R.L., dated 17th June 1938/(3) No. 3771S. & S., dated 3rd March 1938.

No. 22461 L.R.

Copy, with a copy of the report, forwarded to the Home (Appointment) Department of this Government for information.

C. C. SEN,

Asstt. Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal.

Calcutta, the 27th October 1938.

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